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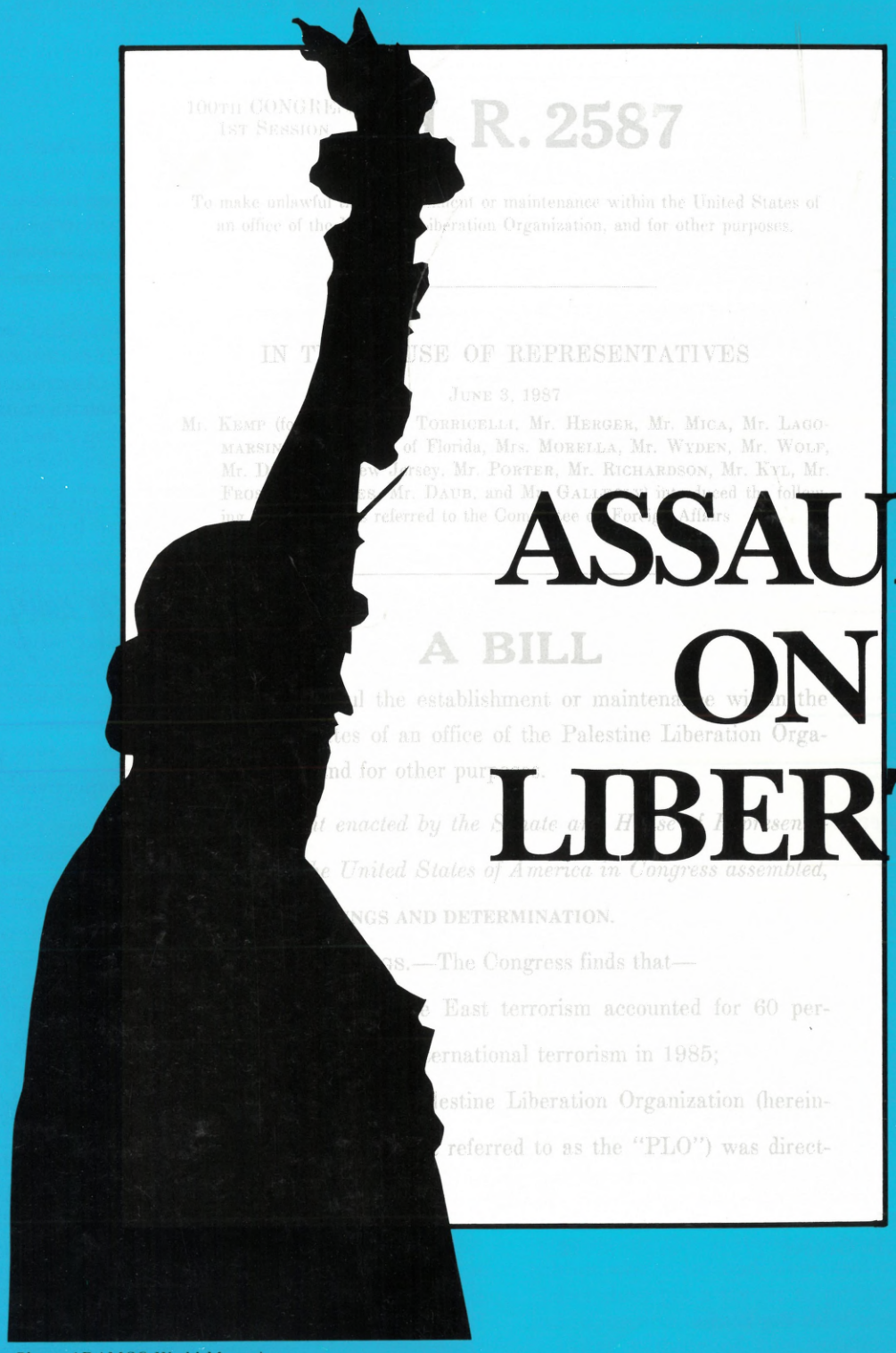


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ASSAULT ON LIBERTY

Editorial
Editorial
Editorial

WHAT A WAY TO HONOR THE CONSTITUTION!

The Zionist lobby's instruments in the U.S. Congress, heeding their master's voice, are poised to strike at the Palestinians and their supporters in America. In the process, they are trampling on the Bill of Rights, a most inconsiderate way to celebrate this 200th year of the U.S. Constitution.

A group of U.S. Congressmen and Senators, led by Jack Kemp in the House and Robert Dole in the Senate, have introduced legislation intended to impose a Zionist monopoly on U.S. public opinion. Under the guise of "fighting terrorism," the proposed legislation would shut down Palestinian information offices and would outlaw various forms of support that Arab-Americans and others may wish to give to a political cause in which they believe.

Under the proposed legislation, an American physician or pharmaceutical firm or charitable organization which donates medicines to the Palestine Red Crescent Society for the treatment of refugees in Lebanon, for example, would be guilty of a crime punishable with a fine and five years in prison. So would a Palestinian student who accepts a scholarship from the PLO's Education Department.

More than ninety percent of the personnel and resources of the PLO is devoted to the humanitarian assistance of needy Palestinians. It supports poor families, it cares for orphans, it gives vocational training to refugees, it provides medical care, and it gives student scholarships. ***To outlaw giving aid to the PLO or any institution affiliated with it, and to forbid receiving such aid, is to outlaw compassion for a deprived and oppressed human community.*** Regardless of what mask the authors of the bill give it, it is an infringement on the right of the Palestinians to live, and a violation of the rights of everyone who wants to assist them.

Congressman Kemp and Senator Dole and the other cosponsors and supporters of their bills may or may not comprehend the Zionist lobby's true motive in mobilizing them for Israel's war on the Palestinian people. AIPAC not only seeks to gag Arab-Americans and the other Americans who support them, it also wants to implicate America more deeply in Israel's war with the Arab world. It wants to poison Arab-American relations to such a degree that the conflict in the Middle East becomes an Arab-American conflict in which Israel "supports" America, instead of an Arab-Israeli conflict in which America aids Israel. This way, Israel would appear to be doing America a favor and not the other way around.

The harassment of Arab-Americans in this country fits in this Zionist strategy. It may serve Israel, but it does not serve America's interests or ideals. □

M. Hallaj

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"IT'S WHAT THEY DO TO US"

FORUM

By Glenn Frankel

[This article was published by The Washington Post *on 19 June 1987 under the title "Antiterrorism tactic turns West Bank homes to rubble." It deals with one of the most cruel Israeli methods of subjugating the population of the occupied Palestinian territories by dynamiting the homes of the families of persons suspected of resistance—indiscriminately labeled by Israel as "terrorism"—before they are charged or convicted of a crime]:*

Ramallah: The Army trucks pulled up just after lunch one day this month. Several dozen soldiers cordoned off the area while others entered the stately stone house. Some sealed off the five second-floor rooms, nailing sheet metal across doorways and windows. Others went to the third floor where they drilled holes and inserted plastic explosives.

Three hours later, the hammering and drilling stopped. Ramzi Jaber, who had lived here for 45 years, his wife, two sons, two daughters-in-law and three grandchildren were ordered to the street outside where they stood mutely.

The silence was shattered by a loud thunderclap. A great cloud of brownish gray smoke engulfed the top of the house, then lifted to reveal the crushed third story, its rubble raining down on the yard below. The soldiers packed up their gear and left.

The Jaber house was the 23rd this year to be demolished or sealed, either fully or partly, by Israeli soldiers in retaliation for Palestinian terrorist attacks. It was singled out because Nader Jaber, 28, Ramzi's son, is suspected by the authorities of participating in the bloodiest attack in Israel in the past five years—the December 1983 bombing of a Jerusalem bus that killed six Jewish civilians, including two sisters, 11 and 13, and wounded 41 others.

Of all the punishments that Israel's military authorities can mete out against suspected terrorists in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, house demolitions are perhaps the most controversial and in many ways the most personal—affecting not only a suspect but often his parents, wife and children as well.

Yet they are increasing. The Jaber house was the 126th to be demolished or sealed since 1985, according to Law in the Service of Man, a Palestinian rights monitoring group based here. By contrast, in the early 1980s there were less than a dozen a year.

As in many such cases, Nader Jaber, a Fullbright scholar who studied engineering in the United States, was never arrested, questioned, tried or convicted of a crime. Israeli authorities say he fled the United States in late 1986 when he learned that Israel planned to seek his extradition. He did not own the house, and his family says he has not lived there since 1983.

The Israelis contend Nader fled the country after the bus massacre, but he actually left for a master's program at Vanderbilt University two years later, according to a knowledgeable source. He left on a travel document issued by Israel after passing a routine security check, the source said.

Critics contend house demolitions violate the Geneva Convention's ban against destruction of civilian property and collective punishment. They also accuse Israel of violating its own standards of due legal process because the penalty is ordered by a military administrator, not by a court, and is usually carried out before a suspect is tried or convicted.

Finally, many critics claim that such actions amount to a double standard of justice because no suspected Jewish terrorist has ever had his house destroyed, a fact that former defense minister Moshe Arens once conceded made him uneasy.

Nonetheless, officials justify house demolitions as the swiftest and most dramatic method of retaliating against terrorist attacks and of perhaps deterring future ones, and they have been upheld by Israel's Supreme Court.

"We do it only on very, very hard cases where blood was involved and we do it very carefully," said Yoni Siegel, spokesman for the occupation authorities. "We know that the United States especially doesn't approve, but we think this is another way to make people understand that terrorism is not the way."

But Nahida Jaber, Nader's mother, surveying the damage this month, asked, "Is this democracy when before you try a person, before you even arrest him, you destroy a house? When they do this thing, how do they expect us to react? It can only lead to more hatred and more violence. This is not the way to solve our problem."

The Jaber house is located on a quiet block near downtown Ramallah, a predominantly Christian Arab city 15 miles north of Jerusalem. The house was built by Ramzi Jaber's father, a prominent local businessman, and Ramzi remembers carrying floor tiles inside as a small boy.

He married Nahida in 1953 and they have lived here since, raising a daughter and four sons—three of them civil engineers—and presiding over a large, boisterous clan.

Nader Jaber is the second-oldest and his family says he was an A student who took a job in a laboratory at Birzeit University here—a center of Palestinian nationalist fervor—after getting a bachelor of science degree from San Francisco State.

"Until now, we don't believe he was involved in anything," said Nahida. "He never talked politics. He always studied, he was very bright and very quiet. I am sorry he has lost his future."

Nader was due home for Christmas last year, his mother said, but last fall the police arrested a young Palestinian who apparently implicated Nader as his partner in the bus attack. Nader then vanished, and Israeli soldiers began coming to the three-story house and asking questions about where he had slept and when he had left. Ramzi Jaber then got a lawyer to petition the Supreme Court for an injunction to prevent demolition.

After a spate of bad publicity in the late 1970s, the authorities had cut down dramatically on practices such as detention without trial, deportations and house demolitions. But in 1985 the number of terrorist incidents nearly

(continued on page 3)



"IT'S WHAT THEY DO TO US"

(continued from page 2)

doubled and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, although a leader of the more dovish Labor Alignment, cracked down.

Israel justifies the demolitions under a British emergency regulation. The regulation was imposed in 1945, when Britain administered Palestine, and Israeli authorities say they inherited it from the period of Jordanian rule, from 1948 to 1967. It purportedly permits a military commander to destroy the property of anyone he suspects of involvement in a violent offense.

The British say, however, that the regulation was withdrawn when they left Palestine in 1948 and Jordanian officials say it was never applied by them during the 19 years of Jordanian rule. But Israel's high court has upheld its validity.

In a ruling last year, the court said house demolitions could have a deterrent effect because a prospective terrorist "should know that his criminal acts will not only hurt him, but are apt to cause great suffering to his family." It reaffirmed that ruling last month in the Jaber case, a decision that left the family bitter.

After making several trips to Nader's old room on the third floor, the soldiers, three weeks ago, ordered the family to remove all its possessions from the top two stories. The next day they returned to blow them up.

While they drilled and pounded upstairs, the family sat downstairs, defiantly drinking coffee and staring numbly at each other. Then they were ordered outside.

"We were angry, we were boiling inside," said Nahida. "But if they wanted us to feel punished or broken, we didn't. They had hurt us, but they did not frighten us."

After the explosion, neighbors slipped through the Army roadblocks and gathered around the family. Then everyone walked slowly back to the house.

"The whole neighborhood was there," recalls Joost Hiltermann, a staff worker with Law in the Service of Man. "Children started laughing. It may have been a deterrent for the parents, but for the children in the neighborhood, the ones who grow up to do this kind of thing, it obviously had just the opposite effect."

In the spacious downstairs of the Jaber home now, there is a double bed in the lounge room where the parents sleep, along with a crib for one of the grandchildren. There is a double bed in the dining room and another in what was the breakfast room. When another son and daughter-in-law and two grandchildren from Saudi Arabia visit this summer, someone will sleep on the floor, said Nahida Jaber.

As the soldiers were leaving, the Jabers noted that the explosive charge had been too strong. It was supposed to demolish only the top story, but it also blew the top off the second floor and sent rubble crashing down into the stairwell, making it impossible to use. The blast also severed water pipes and the telephone line. The fire department quickly restored water and electricity.

The soldiers were apologetic. They said there would be compensation if Ramzi Jaber would make application at the local military headquarters. But none of the family will go there. "We're not going to deal with them," says Nahida.

"If they come and offer compensation, fine, we'll accept, but we won't beg them for it. It's not the house. The hell with this pile of rocks. It's what they do to us." □

THE MARKETS OF JUSTICE

By Ian Black

[The following selection is one of three articles on the Israeli occupation, by British journalist Ian Black, published in the Manchester Guardian *of 7 June 1987. It was originally published under the title "Justice not seen to be done"]:*

Almost any morning around 9 o'clock, outside the Israeli military court at the entrance to the West Bank city of Nablus, there are little clusters of worried, middle-aged Palestinian men loitering by the coils of barbed wire and the concrete guardpost to ambush the overworked lawyers hurrying past them to represent their children inside.

"Your honor perhaps knows where Mansour Al-Daghamneh from Tubas is being held?" a laborer in a dirty keffiyeh asks deferentially of the young Israeli attorney who has just driven up from Jerusalem to try and get nine teenage detainees out on bail. "Yes, yes, he should be in the court," the lawyer replies, brushing other supplicants aside as he strides towards the building.

Decorum and formality are in short supply. A dishevelled border policeman with an M16 rifle slung across his shoulder slumps in the entrance, one eye on the tiny room where the prisoners are held. The door opens to reveal a dozen dark-eyed youths squatting silently on the floor.

At this time of year, it is already very hot by 9 a.m., and the Ramadan fast is starting to take its toll on Muslim nerves. Yet the scene inside the court runs smoothly, like a long-running play—a mousetrap of the occupation in which both actors and audience know their roles by heart and repeat their lines faithfully.

The drama is low-key. This morning's hearings are a fairly standard mixed bag: a tall 16-year-old gets four months and a 300 shekel fine for tire-burning in Ramallah, and there are similar sentences for several of a group of 29 other teenagers arrested in April after throwing stones at the police station in nearby Tubas.

The judge, a paunchy major with a wispy ginger beard, looks bored as he sits alone on a makeshift dais at one end of the room, a large Israeli flag tacked to the wall above his head. Beneath him two private soldiers are bent over a desk, one taking notes and the other, a dark-skinned Sephardi, barking out a rough translation into Arabic.

The Israelis are noisy and restless, but the Palestinian families, packed together on the hard wooden benches, move only when the prisoners are led in, filing silently behind the barred partition that leads to the detainees' room. The sons smile shyly and wave as if they are at the school prize-giving. Expressions of pain or relief pass over mothers' faces. Talking is not allowed.

There are constant interruptions. Many male heads turn for the girl clerk in tight army trousers who bustles in and out with files for the prosecutor, smiling at the handsome soldier guarding the prisoners. One of the youths from Tubas cannot be found and there is a commotion while he, too, is brought in to join the line facing the judge.

In the corridor outside, along one wing of the grimy, British-built fort that houses the court, the Nablus prison, and the civil administration, young Israeli national service-men and women bustle to and fro. Some, off duty, are sprawled on mattresses in a dark and musty room, only slightly more welcoming than the one for the Arab prisoners. "Every day," proclaims a Hebrew poster on the wall, "is the first day of the rest of your life."

Sentences are accepted with resignation. Most of the accused have already spent several weeks in the notorious army-run youth detention facility at Far'ah, near Tubas, where confessions are nearly always extracted before the end of the 18-day period when they have to be remanded. Many of the teenagers never even get to court; the shortish, sharp shock of a fortnight of cold showers, disorientation techniques, and occasional beatings is held to be enough.

Two decades on, military courts like this all over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have become the hard cutting edge of the Israeli occupation, with thousands of sullen youths, all born after the 1967 war, shuffling in and out, year after year, to be sentenced for stone-throwing, tire-burning, demonstrating, raising PLO flags, to spend their weeks and months in custody before the next time they are picked up, often guilty of nothing more than appearing on a list of "troublemakers."

Punishment does not appear to work. Many of the young graduates of Far'ah [detention center] go on later to serve spells in administrative detention on the basis of secret Shin Bet [Israeli secret police] evidence describing them as "activists" in the guerrilla organizations. "Most kids start out in state of fright and confusion," says one expert, "then they start to see all Israelis as the enemy and end up by being radicalized by the experience. It's rubbish to claim that it deters."

The system of Israeli military justice is controversial. Judges and prosecutors serve in the same army command. There is no right of appeal and lawyers cannot see their clients while they are being interrogated. Translation is poor and the proceedings sloppy. Many of the youthful offenders claim they often have no idea what charges they are facing. "These places are markets, not courts," complains an Israeli lawyer, "they are part of the cancer of 20 years of occupation." □

BETWEEN A PSYCHOTIC AND A NEUROTIC

By Uri Avnery

What is the difference between a psychotic and a neurotic? A psychotic believes that 2 + 2 = 5. A neurotic knows that 2 + 2 = 4, but it makes him mad.

In the debate between Israel's two principal political blocs, Likud does not believe that a Palestinian people exists, Labor knows it exists, but it makes it mad.

Likud's belief leads it to the position that Palestinians have no national rights and no national leadership. Therefore, according to Likud, the Palestine Liberation Organization is not a national leadership—it is just a bunch of depraved crooks, murderers and saboteurs. Labor realizes that there are indeed Palestinians and there is a Palestinian people, but, according to Labor also, there is no national Palestinian leadership.

But whom should we talk to if not to the PLO? Labor says that we should negotiate with Jordan's King Hussein, who says that he does not represent the Palestinian people. Labor would consider trading part or all of the occupied territories to Hussein, who does not have the power to guarantee peace, rather than negotiate with the PLO, which does. Where is the logic?

Reaching new levels of irrationality, Labor would prefer to have as a neighbor a strong, enhanced Jordan, stretching from Tulkarm in the West Bank to the outskirts of Baghdad—a Jordan that overnight can concentrate four Arab armies—rather than a small, geographically divided Palestinian state between Tulkarm and the Jordan River, which would exist in the shadow of Israel's overwhelming military might.

When it comes to Palestinian matters, logic evaporates like smoke. Rational thinking is paralyzed. Why? What causes this national psychosis/neurosis?

The answer came to me during [Israeli] Memorial Day observances in April. On a bare hill in the south of Israel, as I stood before a monument to comrades who gave their lives on that battlefield, I thought of the Arab village that once stood there, a village of which literally nothing is left today—not a stone, not a wall, not a hole in the ground.

And suddenly I understood. That village is the crux of the matter.

We stood there, eulogizing our friends. Everyone who came remembers this place as it once was. But no one mentioned, not even with the slightest hint, that villages once stood there, villages that we took over. We even lived in those villages for a short time; we collected mementos—an Arab headdress, an Arab coffee pot.

We remember those villages—and yet we don't remember. Our memory of them has shifted to the dark and hidden areas of our subconscious. There the memory lives, from there it spreads its spiritual poison and distorts the way we think, as individuals and as a nation. We cannot bear to think about those hundreds of Arab villages erased from the face of the earth....

[**Uri Avnery** is the publisher of *Haolam Hazeh*, in which this article originally appeared. This version is excerpted from an English translation by the *Los Angeles Times* of 26 June 1987]

PLO News and Views

THE ANTI-PALESTINE BILL

The Palestine Information Office Responds

[Following is the text of a press release by the Palestine Information Office in Washington, in response to recently-introduced legislation in the U.S. Congress to close Palestinian offices and to forbid other Palestinian activities in the U.S.]:

Since the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, or AIPAC, resolved to press for the closure of PLO offices in the United States as a part of its effort to silence the Palestinian voice in this country, its friends in Congress have been clamoring for granting AIPAC's wish. When it was established by the appropriate U.S. government agencies that the Palestine Information Office in Washington and the PLO U.N. mission in New York have been established, maintained, and operated in full compliance with U.S. laws and treaties, new legislation was introduced in Congress to prohibit what has always been recognized as lawful, in the United States and the rest of the world.

1. To justify this new campaign to deny the Palestinians the right to be heard in the U.S. and to deny the American people the right to hear the other side of the story on the Arab-Israeli conflict, the authors of the legislation resorted to outright distortion of facts about the PLO and the Palestinian cause. They attributed to the PLO acts and views which are both false and libelous.

2. The proposed legislation, namely H.R. 2587 and S. 1203, targets the Palestinian people as a whole, since the PLO is the political structure which represents their nationhood, and every Palestinian is a natural member of the PLO or its affiliated popular institutions such as professional and cultural associations or political affiliates.

3. The PLO has committed itself to the political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of all U.N. resolutions relevant to the conflict and within the framework of a peace conference as approved by the United Nations. This was clearly reflected in the political resolution adopted at the latest PNC session held in Algiers on 20-26 April 1987.

4. The PLO has condemned terrorism against innocent third parties, and limits its struggle to self-defense and lawful resistance to Israeli occupation and aggression. The Cairo Declaration of 7 November 1985 is an unequivocal commitment against terrorism.

5. The PLO has a known and verifiable record of opposition to acts of terrorism. Many countries have acknowledged this fact. West Germany praised the PLO for its efforts in the release of hostages taken from the Lufthansa flight to Mogadisho (Somalia) in 1976. France also thanked the PLO for its intervention to release two French hostages taken in Lebanon.

6. The PLO gave protection to the American Embassy in Beirut during the civil war there from 1974-1982. The PLO also provided protection to U.S. citizens in Lebanon and assisted in their safe evacuation from there in 1975. The then Secretary of State acknowledged this PLO assistance to save American lives and thanked the Organization in writing. The PLO also intervened to bring about the release of 13 of the American hostages taken in Teheran in 1979.

The PLO is a democratic political organization, accepted by the Palestinian people as their sole and legitimate representative, and is acknowledged as such by the world community. It is a full member of the League of Arab States, and it maintains diplomatic relations with its members. It is not true that it has no relations with Jordan, Egypt and Morocco. The PLO mission in Amman, which enjoys diplomatic status, has more than 60 representatives. The PLO representative in Egypt has returned to his post, as did the PLO representative in Morocco, who has recently met with its monarch.

Furthermore, the PLO is an active member of the Non-Aligned Nations and the Organization of Islamic States. It is a member of the Organization of African Unity, and is a Permanent Observer to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. It maintains relations with most countries of the world, through 95 offices and embassies enjoying diplomatic status and immunities, including representation in the countries of the European Economic Community, members of NATO—the closest allies of the United States.

The U.S. has recently joined Israel in objecting to Soviet co-sponsorship of the "peace process" on the basis of the absence of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations. By the same logic, the proposed legislation, which deprives the U.S. of any contact with the PLO, disqualifies the U.S. from co-chairing the same process and undermines American efforts toward peace in the Middle East.

The proposed legislation is also in conflict with the constitution and political traditions of the United States, and the safeguards that they provide for the freedom of expression and association. The Palestine Information Office articulates the point of view of one of the principal parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Its closure would be a violation of the right of expression as well as an infringement on the right of all Americans who wish to hear a view other than that of the Israeli lobby. □

ARAFAT: I HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASK

"I have the right to ask American public opinion: How do they [U.S. government] refuse self-determination for the Palestinian people, for five million Palestinians, while they accept self-determination for the Falkland Islands population of 1,800? There was a big war between Britain and Argentina, and the USA stood beside Britain under this banner of self-determination. Self-determination for 1,800, and no self-determination for five million Palestinians?"

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat
Interview with Scott MacLeod
The New York Review
25 June 1987

Congressman Dymally Speaks Out

ACADEMIC FREEDOM ON THE WEST BANK

[Congress, which frequently expresses its indignation at violations of human rights in various parts of the world, loses its tongue when it comes to the Palestinians. Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally of California recently reminded his colleagues of this fact when he made the following speech on the issue of academic freedom in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. From the Congressional Record of 24 June 1987]:

Mr. Speaker, I want to add my voice to those of Israeli academics who have expressed their concern over the closure of Birzeit University in the occupied West Bank. I emphasize that I join with Israeli academics because, unfortunately, discussion of the issue of West Bank academic freedom is not an easy one in Congress, at a time when concern for human rights in the West Bank and Israel is wrongly equated with being anti-Israel. We are caught in an unfortunate situation where criticism of Israeli practices in the occupied West Bank has been muted because we do not want to be wrongfully perceived as anti-Israeli. The sad thing is that we have lost our ability to perceive how ridiculous such a fear should be.

If we had the same reticence to criticize our own policies, we would be ridiculed for shirking our responsibility as representatives. We would be laughed at if we said we could not speak out because we would be perceived as anti-United States. It is basic to the democratic system that positive criticism is a tool for improvement not a weapon of destruction. We do our friends in the world a disservice when we hold in check our own fundamental values in order to be ingratiating. Even friends make errors in judgment. We are true friends when we let our friends know we think they have made an error. I think our friends in the world have little reticence about letting us know when they think we are wrong. We welcome their views because they help to make our system better.

Academic freedom is fundamental to any society trying to develop. It is something we cherish in the United States, something we would fight to preserve in America. We respect our allies in part because they share this value. Yet, from the occupied West Bank comes disturbing news of repeated infringement on the academic freedom of Palestinians by the Israeli occupied authorities. The continuation of these reported infringements over time leads one to suspect that they are not an aberration but the norm. The 1.3 million Palestinians on the West Bank [and Gaza] are being deprived of the academic freedom that is essential to the blossoming of their society. For 4 months now, the Israeli authorities have kept Birzeit University closed. Birzeit is the oldest Palestinian institution of higher education and is one of the major centers of higher learning for Palestinians. Birzeit University has been closed repeatedly, allegedly as a "preventive" measure for time periods ranging from a few days to a month. But this recent closure is the most punitive and the most damaging because a whole semester has now been lost.

This collective and indiscriminate punishment is a burden with far ranging adverse effects. Obviously, a student body has been deprived of education. Many students are extremely poor and have great difficulty making the relatively small tuition payment. They have expended their precious resources and have nothing to show for the investment. Those who were waiting eagerly for graduation day will have to wait another year. The university even under normal circumstances faces grave financial problems. The 4-month closure has cost the institution $500,000. This closure order also barred the faculty from research laboratories, computer facilities, and the library, bringing the university's academic and administrative work to a complete halt.

Closure of Birzeit University for 4 months is the most glaring, but not the only, example of deprivation of academic freedom on the West Bank. Consider these other examples. According to the Israeli *Jerusalem Post* reporter Joel Greenburg, authorities have fired live ammunition at unarmed students in nonlife threatening situations. The result? Three students have been killed since the beginning of the academic year.

The army forcibly entered and searched Al-Najah and Birzeit Universities on March 8 and 19. They confiscated cultural material and over 100 textbooks which used to be lent out to needy students on a semester basis.

The authorities have deported student council leaders because of their political activism alone. That is, the students were not accused of paramilitary or violent charges. I would point out that purely political deportations are illegal under international law as specified in article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 49, section 1 of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Effective university closure through the setting up of checkpoints has occurred 36 times in the past academic year.

Students and faculty are arrested arbitrarily. For example, in the first semester of the 1986-87 academic year, only 4 of the 55 students and 2 faculty members who were detained were convicted of any offense. Thirty-eight were released without charge. The rest were still in detention awaiting release or charge as of March 10, 1987.

The standard response of the authorities when these incidents are raised is that the actions are preventive measures. The standard response does not ring true to me. I am moved by the number, the severity, the generality, and the arbitrariness of the incidents to conclude that, collectively, they constitute an active campaign to deprive the Palestinians of academic freedom. To illustrate what I mean, let me outline the events which led to the most recent closing of Birzeit University.

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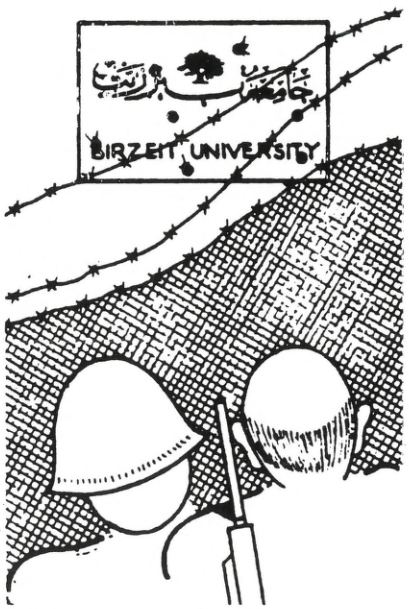
ACADEMIC

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On April 11, 1987, an Israeli woman was killed on the West Bank. In retaliation, Israeli settlers rampaged through the town of Birzeit breaking car windows and uprooting fruit trees. Settler threats of retaliation against Palestinian institutions worried people at the university, particularly when settlers were seen roaming around the town of Birzeit. This, coupled with the news of a widespread campaign of arrests, including the placement of nine Palestinians under administrative detention for 6 months, and the detention of scores of others, led students to stage a rally and demonstration.

Soldiers attacked the demonstrators, firing live ammunition into the crowd. This reportedly was the first step before instructing the demonstrators to disperse and before using tear gas. One student was shot in the throat and killed. Three other students were wounded. The university was subsequently closed.

In reflecting on this chain of events, it is clear that the murder of the Israeli settler is abhorrent. The murderer should be caught and punished. But the response of the Israeli Army is not less abhorrent. Death and pain were meted out indiscriminately and unnecessarily to people who took no part in the original crime and who were reacting to the overreaction on the part of Israeli authorities and to alarming activities by settlers.



I would point out that students protest the world over. In a free society, there is room for such protest. The curtailing of academic freedom is not a justifiable reaction to student protest in a free society. I have spoken with many Israeli citizens who are coming to loath such overreaction on the part of their authorities. Perhaps this is why on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, there were so many somber articles in the Israeli press discussing the troublesome and corrupting effects of occupation on the occupier. When a society reaches the point where suppression of academic freedom can be accepted as no more than a preventive measure, then one must fear that the society has lost an important element of consciousness.

I do not think Israelis in general have lost sight of fundamental values. In fact, I think it is of great importance that more and more young Israelis refuse to serve on the West Bank. While taking measures to preserve its freedom, Israel must not lose its humanity. Israel was founded as a home for those who wished for their humanity to blossom in an atmosphere free from oppression. It would be tragic for Israel if, in protecting the country, it lost the values that were the source of that country's creation. The peace movement within Israel is a hopeful and positive sign of a human renaissance there, and I for one applaud the effort and urge its support.

The way to achieve harmony between Palestinians and Israelis is not to systematically deprive the Palestinians of learning and of opportunity. Rather, it is to encourage learning and thereby to create opportunities. One needs think for a very short time to see that taking students out of classrooms and off athletic fields insures that the students will grow in their frustration rather than in wisdom. Closing the university, therefore, promotes rather than suppresses protest.

I urge the Israeli authorities to listen to those of its citizen who urge the reopening of the university and the restoration of academic freedom. The Jewish people know from their own experience that oppression does not engender the tranquility of the oppressed, but rather it breeds resolve to cast off the oppressor and to do whatever is necessary to never be oppressed again. □

UPA ANNUAL REPORT

The United Palestinian Appeal, a Washington-based charitable organization, has issued its annual report detailing its activities during the year 1986. The non-profit organization assists needy Palestinians in the occupied territories, in the fields of health care, community development, education and child support.

The UPA report shows that it had contributed $522,966 to support Palestinian institutions performing such services in 1986, more than double the $226,633 disbursed in 1985. Health and community services constituted nearly 85 percent of the total disbursements.

In 1986, UPA gave over $442,000 to fourteen institutions in Palestine providing health services and community development projects. They included rehabilitation and counseling centers, libraries, cultural institutions, orphanages and vocational schools.

Among the other projects supported by UPA are a nursing college in Jerusalem affiliated with al-Makassed Hospital, and financial aid to students in occupied Palestine. It has also donated equipment to educational institutions, including materials valued at $10,000 for the farm machinery department of the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron.

UPA also initiated in 1986 a child sponsorship program on behalf of orphaned, handicapped and severely deprived Palestinian children. So far, UPA reports, sponsors have been found for 80 children.

Dr. Mohammad Tarbush, a Palestinian investment banker residing in Paris, is the chairman of UPA's board of directors, and Dr. Bishara A. Bahbah is the director of its Washington office.

KEMP AND DOLE CHAMPION AIPAC'S ANTI-PALESTINIAN MOVE

Israeli-Like Law to Prohibit Support for PLO Introduced

A group of congressmen and senators, headed by Jack Kemp in the House and Robert Dole in the Senate, have introduced legislation which echoes Israeli laws against support for the PLO and its constituent agencies. The law would also mandate the closure of the Palestine Information Office in Washington and the PLO mission to the United Nations.

The legislation, which appears to forbid what have always been lawful acts and to curtail constitutional freedoms, has been attacked by Arab-Americans who see it as a part of the ongoing process to "Israelize American policy" toward the Middle East. The Departments of Justice and State have previously ruled that the Palestinian offices in the United States were legally established and operated, and that there was no justification for closing them without violating First Amendment freedoms.

As of press time (13 July), it appears that the Reagan administration—cognizant of U.S. obligations under treaties with the United Nations and thorny constitutional issues involved—is deliberating issuing an executive order to close down the Palestine Information Office in Washington in exchange for withdrawal of the Kemp-Dole legislation.

This move is seen by the Arab-American community as compliance on the part of politicians with the wishes of the Israeli lobby as the general elections of 1988 approach. □

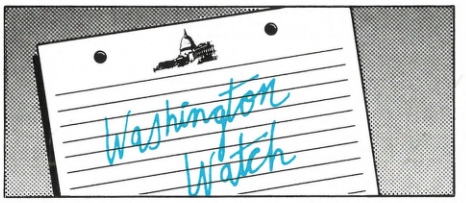
AAUG CONDEMNS ANTI-PALESTINIAN MOVE

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates called the drive to close PLO offices in the United States as "a thinly disguised attempt to deny the right of U.S. citizens to be informed of the views of the Palestinians." The following is the full text of a press release issued by AAUG on 10 June 1987:

"We are deeply concerned by legislative bill HR 2211 introduced recently by Representative Jack Kemp and Senator Robert Dole to close the office of the PLO at the U.N. in New York and the PLO Information Office in Washington, DC. Given the status of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people, as has been repeatedly confirmed by all polls of Palestinians and reaffirmed by all knowledgeable visitors to the area including former President Jimmy Carter, the move by the Republican leaders is a thinly disguised attempt to deny the right of U.S. citizens to be informed of the views of the Palestinians. There has never been any charge of unlawful conduct by any of the persons affiliated with the PLO offices. To invoke anti-terrorism in connection with the PLO office at the U.N., despite the worldwide recognition of the PLO as a national liberation movement, is a backhanded way to impose the pro-Israel views of the U.S. within the international body.

"Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have been refugees for the past forty years; more than a million have been under occupation for the past twenty years. For many of these Palestinians, the PLO is not only their political representative, but also the main or indeed the sole source of educational, health and social services. Many American citizens who support and assist the Palestinians are concerned that the Kemp-Dole proposal would severely limit the ways such assistance can be furnished.

"The U.S. Congress should not perpetuate the illusion that peace in the Middle East can be achieved without dialogue with the PLO as the true and legitimate voice of the Palestinians. The Kemp and Dole proposition is a cheap way to attract the support of the pro-Israel lobby as the 1988 presidential election approaches." □



CROCKETT OPPOSES GAG BILL

The Bill Endangers the Rights of All Americans

Congressman Geo. W. Crockett, Jr. (D-Michigan) released on 25 June the text of a letter he and eight of his colleagues have circulated in the U.S. House of Representatives in opposition to the proposed legislation to outlaw and close down the offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the United States.

The bill, introduced in the House by Congressman Jack Kemp of New York, would make it unlawful "to further the interests of the PLO" by receiving anything of value except informational material from the PLO; or to expend any funds from the PLO; or to open or maintain a PLO office or facility in the United States.

"This proposed legislation," said Congressman Crockett in a statement released by his office on 25 June, "is a clear and present danger to the rights of all Americans to access to information, to freedom of speech and to freedom of association. To argue that it does not hinder those rights is absurd. It proposes to have the Congress officially label and condemn the Palestine Liberation Organization as an outlawed organization without the benefit of trial or opportunity to defend—a practice reminiscent of Hitler's Germany. Anyone who speaks out in support of Palestinian rights and liberation in the West Bank and Gaza is obviously 'furthering the interests' of the PLO; and if any person is reimbursed 'by the PLO or any of its constituent groups' for any expense incident to a speaking engagement or other event, they would be in violation of this law."

Crockett's statement continued to say that "the chilling effect such legislation would have on advocacy

(continued on page 11)

ADC STATEMENT *(Excerpts)*

■ "There is not a shred of evidence, not even an allegation by anyone, of criminal activity on the part of any member of the staff at either of the two offices [of the PLO in the U.S.]. If there were, existing criminal laws are totally adequate to prosecute any such violation.

■ "Again, true concern by these legislators about terrorism would, of course, require them to close down the Israeli Embassy, since the Government of Israel has engaged in terrorism on a continuing basis for a number of years. For example, General Amos Yaron, who is living in Washington and working as the military attache in Israel's embassy here, is responsible for the commission of war crimes. General Yaron was in charge of the Israeli forces in Beirut in 1982 when he dispatched their Phalangist allies into the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps to murder the helpless civilians living there....

■ "It is clear that these legislators—Kemp, Dole, Grassley and the others—are not concerned about terrorism. They are concerned that the representatives of the Palestinian people tell their side of the Middle East story in America. This is simply an assault on free speech—free speech guaranteed by the Constitution. Worse, this assault is being made at the behest of the Israeli government and its lobby in Washington. AIPAC, the registered Israeli lobby, has recently announced the anti-PLO legislation to be a priority in its legislative work.

■ "The legislation to close the PLO offices—in effect, an effort to delegitimize the PLO—is the goal of those who wish to prevent any negotiation at all with the Palestinians, whom the PLO represents. Thus, American legislators who have been persuaded to support this effort have aligned themselves directly with the most right-wing elements in Israel, and in direct opposition to moderate elements.

■ "There is a great deal of confusion in certain quarters of the United States about the role of the PLO. First of all, the PLO is the expression of Palestinian nationhood in exile, and is so recognized by every Palestinian wherever he or she may exist in the diaspora. There is no membership card in the PLO.

■ "The PLO is a democratic organization comprising, as best it can in the absence of borders and a functioning Palestinian government within those borders, organizations of Palestinian workers, and professional people throughout the world. For example, the General Union of Palestinian Doctors and Pharmacists, to which every Palestinian doctor and pharmacist belongs, is a constituent part of the PLO. Similarly, the General Union of Palestinian Teachers, Lawyers, Engineers, Trade Unionists, Women, Students, Farmers, and other vocations make up the PLO. These guilds and unions are the core groups which democratically elect the Palestine National Council. The National Council in turn elects the PLO's Executive Committee.

■ "The tendency by the American press and politicians to attempt to simply brand the PLO as a terrorist organization obscures its role as the real, democratically chosen representative of Palestinians everywhere. To demonstrate the falsity of such a charge, one must label Palestinian doctors, nurses, lawyers, engineers, workers, women, in fact all four million Palestinians living in the Middle East and around the world as terrorists....

■ "While the PLO's military arm has engaged in armed struggle to regain its homeland, it has consistently held itself open for a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, a solution consistently rejected by Israel.... The PLO has advocated a political settlement of the conflict which is based on all relevant United Nations resolutions, and not just those which Israel deems most favorable to its own position." □

DIALOGUE WITH PLO

The establishment of a Commission on American Palestinian Relations was announced in Washington on 30 June 1987. The announcement was made by Dr. James Zogby, Director of the Arab American Institute.

The formation of the Commission was prompted by the current legislative attempts to close Palestine Liberation Organization offices in the United States. Rev. Donald Wagner of Chicago, one of the coordinators of the new Commission, said: "Our concern with the Dole and Kemp bills is that they seek to silence the voice of Palestinians in the United States at a time when U.S.-Palestinian dialogue is most urgently needed to push forward the Middle East [peace] process."

The initial sponsors of the Commission, listed in the Institute's press release, include the following: Rev. Benjamin Weir, former moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Deena Hurwitz and Gordon Fellman of the New Jewish Agenda, Nadine Meyer of the General Board of the United Methodist Church, Jack O'Dell of the National Rainbow Coalition, and Jean AbiNader of the National Association of Arab Americans. □



PHRC ALERT

The Chicago-based human rights organization, Palestine Human Rights Campaign, issued an "Action Alert" warning of the dangers of the proposed Kemp-Dole anti-Palestinian legislation.

PHRC described the proposed legislation as "a direct result of Israel's and the United States utter paranoia over an international peace conference and the growing consensus in having the PLO representing the Palestinian people on equal footing with all others." PHRC said that the bill was "written by the major Israeli lobby AIPAC and showcased at their recent Washington, D.C. convention," and it called on its members to express their opposition to the proposed legislation. □

KEEP COMMUNICATIONS OPEN

Editorial
The Tribune (Oakland)
25 June 1987

If Congress wants to deny the United States any future influence in the Mideast, it need only pass S1203, a bill to kick all representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization and its member groups out of the country.

The bill is a diplomatic firebomb waiting to be lit. Members of Congress will find it hard to oppose the "Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987," particularly with the election year approaching fast. Two leading supporters, Sen. Robert Dole and Rep. Jack Kemp, are looking hard for campaign funds to fuel their presidential ambitions; both appeared prominently in an ad in *Washington Jewish Week* last month seeking support from "American Jewry" based on their support for Israel.

Yet passage of the act would surely prevent the United States from using its good offices to help achieve a peaceful settlement between Israel and its neighbors, including the Palestinians.

The bill would shut down the PLO's information office in Washington, D.C., and its mission in New York. Americans who sit on the Palestine National Council, including the distinguished Columbia University scholar Edward Said, might end up in jail. And so might Palestinian families in the United States who receive welfare payments from the Palestine Social Welfare Department and students living on scholarships provided by the Palestine Student Fund.

The diplomatic repercussions of such a blow would be enormous, not simply within the Arab world. The PLO is accepted as the representative of the Palestinian people by the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of African Unity and more than 140 nations. It has embassies or diplomatic missions in Sweden, France, Italy, Spain, India, Pakistan and dozens of other countries. England and West Germany deal with the PLO through liaison offices.

Such representation—which goes beyond what Washington now pro-

(continued on page 12)

"LET ME EXPLAIN"

Senator Robert Dole
U.S. Senate
Washington, DC 20510

June 26, 1987

Dear Senator Dole:

Item #4 on the agenda of the Arab-American Republican Club last night was: Dole 88 Election. I have difficulty getting enthusiastic about this issue. The reason? S. 1203. Let me explain.

I am an American Palestinian Arab. I consider myself expert on terrorism. At the young age of 36, I've lived through the Six Day War, the 1973 War, and seven years under very harsh and brutal Israeli occupation. As a student at Birzeit University in the late 60s/early 70s, I watched friends and colleagues getting shot, beaten, jailed, and deported for exercising their right to protest the occupation. In 1974, I decided to leave the bloody scene and immigrate to the United States.

I thought after my arrival here in 1974 that I'm really safe now. That is until the morning of Friday October 11, 1985 when a frantic call to my office announced that a bomb had just exploded at my brother's office in Santa Ana, California. Shortly after I arrived at Western Medical Center, my brother, Alex, was pronounced dead of multiple injuries and burns. Terrorists blew up my American Palestinian brother at age 41. He left a young wife and three infant daughters here in the U.S. Life hasn't been the same since. The point is Mr. Dole, when it comes to terrorism, I speak from personal experience—expertly.

Back to S. 1203. I cannot for the life of me imagine why anybody who is interested in peace and justice [would] introduce a bill like this. Disguised as "anti-terrorism" bill, this bill I submit to you is:

A. *Anti-Peace*
B. *Anti-American*
C. *Anti-Constitution*
D. *Anti-American Arab*
E. *Anti-Arab*

Yes, this bill is anti all of the above. It definitely is not anti-terrorism.

Obviously, Mr. Dole, you are not familiar with the PLO. You chose to accept the myths and propaganda. Worse yet, your introduction of this bill shows that you are either unfamiliar with the existence of the Palestinian people and their suffering since 1948, or you chose to accept the Zionist version of "land without people." Either does not speak highly of you.

I question. Where have you been since 1948? Your introduction of this bill, in my judgment, does not qualify you to be our next president.

As a Catholic, however, I learned to forget and forgive. I believe there is time for you to correct this mistake. Withdraw the stupid S. 1203.

Sincerely,
Sami M. Odeh

P.S.: Maybe you can go a step further and demand that the FBI release the identities of the terrorists that blew up my brother. Let's clean our house first.

Visit the PLO office. Try and find what they and the Palestinian people are all about. Be informed. □

DEAR READERS

To ensure that you will continue to receive your copy of ***Palestine Perspectives*** on time, please let us know promptly if you change your address. Thank you.

CROCKETT *(continued from page 8)*
of human rights and freedoms for the Palestinians is obvious." It continued to say that "this bill would provide a legislative pattern that could—and probably would—be used subsequently to similarly outlaw the African National Congress (ANC), the Southwest Africa Peoples' Organization (SWAPO), and other organizations out of favor." And the legislation would "derail recent moves towards a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict."

Eight other members of Congress joined Congressman Crockett in signing the letter, which has been sent to all 435 members, urging them to oppose the proposed legislation. They are: Mervyn Dymally, Augustus Hawkins, Charles Hayes, Gus Savage, Nick Joe Rahall, David Bonior, Harold Ford and John Conyers. The text of the letter follows:

"Dear Colleague:

Our colleague, Congressman Jack Kemp, has introduced legislation which seeks to close the information office of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Washington, D.C. and its UN Observer Office in New York. We urge you to oppose this legislation.

"The language of the bill makes it unlawful to receive anything of value except informational material from the PLO, or to expend any funds from the PLO; the clear intent is to force the closure of these two offices.

"Freedom of speech and association are politically meaningless unless the organizational and institutional means of exercising these rights are protected as well. The right to an office, a mailing address, a staff to produce literature and answer queries and a telephone listing are necessary tools in the exercise of free speech and political expression. Making receipt of funds from the PLO a prohibited act would, in effect, be denying these most fundamental of freedoms which we cherish.

"This legislation has import far beyond the pure political nature of the thrust behind it. It is an assault on free speech; it is a bill of attainder; and it threatens to derail recent moves towards a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict.

"In essence, the legislation is more of a danger to America and to Americans than it is to the PLO.

"While there are a great many allegations about PLO terrorism in the legislation and in statements by its sponsors, not one of them alleges any criminal activity by those who staff the PLO offices. Of course, if there were such allegations [sic], no new legislation would be needed to deal with any such activity—existing criminal laws are more than adequate. On the contrary, the Justice Department has said the PLO offices have broken no laws. Secretary of State George Shultz has said that they are duly registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act and have a right to be open so long as they abide by all applicable laws.

"Furthermore, the PLO has never been designated as a terrorist organization by the FBI or the Department of State, in recognition of the fact that the PLO is a government-in-exile. It enjoys full diplomatic status in ever 100 countries, has been invited by a United Nations General Assembly Resolution to establish a Permanent Observer Mission to the United Nations, and maintains offices in the capital cities of all our NATO allies. In 1974, the 23-member League of Arab States declared the PLO to be the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

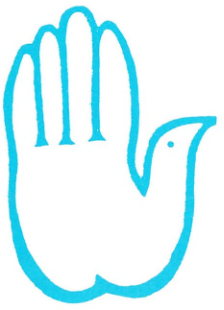
"According to a national poll published by the Los Angeles Times two weeks ago, 50% of all Americans favored negotiations with the PLO, while only 39% opposed it and 11% had no opinion. Of course, with the forced closure of these offices, this would only worsen any opportunity for future contact.

"Given the above, we strongly urge you to oppose this legislation as dangerous to civil liberties in the United States and to search instead for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East." □

June 25, 1987

PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

10th ANNIVERSARY



National Convention
September 18-20, 1987
Quality Inn Hotel
415 New Jersey
Washington, DC

5 yrs. Commemoration Sabra-Shatila
10 yrs. Anniversary PHRC
20 yrs. of Occupation

Palestinian Rights and the United States: "Towards the Next Decade"

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION PLEASE CONTACT:
PHRC, 220 S. STATE ST., SUITE 1308
CHICAGO, IL 60604
(312) 987-1985

PROTEST AT STATE

Yaron Must Go

Arab and Jewish Americans held a protest rally on 23 June in front of the Department of State in Washington to demand the expulsion from the U.S. of the Israeli Military Attache in Washington, Major General Amos Yaron. Yaron was found responsible for his role in the 1982 massacre of Palestinian and Lebanese civilians at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Beirut, and he was denied field command for three years as a result of an Israeli government investigation of the massacre.

The government of Canada rejected Yaron's credentials earlier this year, when the Israeli government Appointed him as its military attache in Ottawa as well as Washington. The Canadian government said Yaron's appointment was "inappropriate." In May, three survivors of the massacre filed a civil

law suit against Yaron in the U.S. District Court seeking punitive and compensatory damages resulting from the murder of relatives in 1982. A hearing in the case is scheduled for 17 July.

Arab-Americans have been protesting the accreditation of Yaron to Washington, arguing that someone found culpable—even by his own government—in a massacre of civilians, should not be granted diplomatic status in the United States. Thousands of letters and telephone calls have been received by congressmen, and public officials in the Pentagon and the State Department. The recent rally was jointly sponsored by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) and the Washington Area Jews for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace (WAJIPP). □

COMMUNICATIONS

(continued from page 10)

vides—does not imply approval of terrorism or PLO demands, any more than recognition of the Soviet Union implies support for its brutal war in Afghanistan. Dealing with the PLO merely recognizes the fact that, like it or not, the organization speaks for a great many Palestinians who have a stake in the Middle East.

Congress must not try to deny a fact that many Israelis themselves accept. Ezer Weizmann, Israeli minister without portfolio, recently told The New York Times, "I believe that, despite all that we say, we will find ourselves sitting with Palestinians whose roots are with the PLO." Members of Israel's Mapam Party and Progressive List for Peace favor negotiations with the PLO. Meir Merhav of the *Jerusalem Post* asked in 1985, "How many more wars must be fought, how many lives must be wasted...before we recognize that the PLO is the genuine representative of the Palestinian people and the key to any settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict?"

Many Americans apparently ask the same question. According to a *Los Angeles Times* poll, half of all Americans favor negotiations with the PLO, compared to 39 percent who oppose talks with it.

To banish the PLO now would be especially ironic given that Israel has a prime minister who made his mark through terrorism. Yitzhak Shamir was a leader of the notorious Stern Gang, which fought for Zionist ideals by assassinating civilians, including a British minister in 1944 and a United Nations mediator in 1948.

The United States government should condemn terrorism whenever and wherever it takes place. The PLO must know that the immoral practice will never legitimize its struggle and can only set back the cause of peace. And Congress must know that peace can never be achieved except by keeping open all channels of communication. □

In Brief

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, has declared Faisal Husseini a "prisoner of conscience." Husseini, the director of the Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Society, was arrested by the Israeli occupation authorities in April and served with a six-month "administrative detention" order. Such detainees are imprisoned without trial.

ISRAELIS HARASS UNIONS

Leaders of Palestinian trade unions charged the Israeli occupation authorities with continued harassment of union activists in the West Bank and Gaza. At a press conference, Palestinian trade unionists complained of arbitrary arrests, illegal searches and other restrictive practices aimed at blocking union efforts to serve their membership.

ISRAEL THREATENS WATER SOURCES

Palestinian leaders in the occupied territories are extremely concerned about a new Israeli move to deprive the Arab population of water resources. The state-owned Mekorot Water Company is said to be working to divert 18 million cubic meters of water to Jewish settlements.

ARAB STUDENTS AND WORKERS ASSAULTED

A series of attacks on Arabs in the Israeli town of Ramat Gan took place in late June and early July 1987. In one incident, a Jewish mob invaded an apartment where two Arab workers lived, beat them up and smashed their furniture and belongings. Later, four other apartments inhabited by Arab workers and university students were torched. *The Jerusalem Post* (4 July) quoted a Jewish resident of the area saying: "It won't end until all the Arabs are gone" from the town.

POLL ON PLO

A recent public opinion poll by the *Los Angeles Times*, published on 3 June 1987, reveals that more Americans disagree than agree with U.S. government policy on Israel and the Palestinians. "The nationwide poll," the Times wrote, "showed that in contrast to the American government, which has strongly supported Israel under every presidency, the American public has a mixed view of Israel. Those in this survey who expressed a favorable impression of Israel numbered only slightly more than those who voiced an unfavorable impression."

On the PLO question, the survey asked respondents "whether they sided with the view that the United States should not negotiate with the PLO 'because they are terrorists and refuse to recognize the right of Israel to exist,' or with the idea that 'in order to bring peace to the Middle East, we should be willing to talk to all parties involved in the conflict, including the PLO.' The American public was inclined to think that the PLO should be brought into negotiations, a step that Israel and the United States generally have resisted."

The Los Angeles Times said that "Fifty percent favored negotiations with the PLO, 39% opposed it and 11% had no opinion."

It is interesting to note that American politicians who blindly support Israel, especially in the U.S. Congress, argue that they do so because it is what their constituents want. The poll, and others before it, show how attentive some congressmen are to the voice of the people. □

Books . . .

THE NATURAL ALLIANCE: ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

The Unnatural Alliance, by James Adams. London: Quartet Books, 1984. vii + 201 pages; glossary, bibliography, notes and index to page 218. $18.95.

Reviewed by Dr. Alfred T. Moleah

James Adams, a seasoned newsman with experience and contacts in both Israel and South Africa, has written a journalistic and highly informed book on the controversial topic of the ever-increasing relationship between Israel and South Africa. Adams has consulted the known and the less familiar published sources on this relationship, and has carefully checked and verified most of the denied and disputed facts; and in the process he also unearthed more incriminating dimensions of the relationship. This is a frightening book.

The book opens rather weakly on the history and basis of the relationship, comparing the insecurities of the two settler-colonial states. It is weakest in explaining, or even acknowledging, the inevitability of Israel and South Africa drawing forever closer. This problem is best expressed by the title of the book, *The Unnatural Alliance,* which suggests an inherent incompatibility, or even contradiction. The very opposite is the case. As Vladimir Jabotinsky wrote in *The Iron Law* in 1925, "Zionism is a colonizing adventure," which in the words of Israel Zangwill was a movement began by "a people without land in search of a land without people." Theodor Herzl and Chaim Weizman unabashedly declared the colonial nature of Zionism.

Jan C. Smuts, an equally fervent colonialist, was attracted to Zionism and lent it immense and crucial help, precisely because he saw it as a colonial venture similar to South Africa's "mission."

Central to this is the inherent racism of such settler-colonial ventures, whose sine qua non is to declare the natives sub-human beings, and ultimately nonexistent by reason of being non-human. This non-understanding of Zionism (I would like to believe that to be the case) leads Adams to assert that the founders of Israel were anti-apartheid, and even more improbably that they "always argued that the state must be established on the grounds of freedom and justice for all without regard to race, colour or creed" (p. 10). Hendrik Verwoerd, the principal ideologue and chief architect of apartheid, was right on the mark when he observed that the Jews "took Israel from the Arabs after the Arabs had lived there for a thousand years. In that I agree with them, Israel like South Africa is an apartheid state." This is the foundation of the relationship.

In subsequent chapters Adams does a truly marvelous job in exposing just about every facet of the relationship between Israel and South Africa. This he does meticulously and thoroughly. He brings out known facts and details which render them incontrovertible. Two aspects of the trade relationship which make a qualitative difference from any other trade relationship the two states might have with others are: the trade relations have grown organic through joint investments in both countries and joint ventures in manufacturing, sharing in the production process; and how this has made sanctions against South Africa alone impossible. Israeli and South African goods have largely become one and the same, thus sanctions against South Africa will have to be also against Israel. This, no Western government can countenance.

On the military alliance, including nuclear cooperation, this book ranks with the best ever written and surpasses them in its detail. Not only has Israel become South Africa's principal arms suppliers, it also acts as the principal conduit and middleman for all who wish to do so, in flagrant violation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 418 of 1977, which imposed a mandatory arms embargo by all U.N. members on South Africa.

Not only does Israel supply South Africa, it also shares and passes on the latest technology it so readily obtains from the West, primarily from the United States. As in trade, there are joint ventures in arms manufacturing, joint investments in production, and more importantly joint investments in long-term research and development. There is also extensive sharing of military personnel, nuclear scientists and intelligence personnel and information. The frightening details of this aspect of the relationship are thoroughly presented and discussed. The shroud of secrecy of course remains, but Adams offers much more than a peek; he offers a picture that shatters deniability. One can only shudder at what more exists which he could not bring out.

Western connivance in this matter is fully explored and exposed, particularly that of the United States. What is often presented as phenomenal Israeli feats, Adams exposes as nothing more than the proverbial unlocking of the stable and walking away. This is particularly so in Israeli nuclear bomb development, brought out as he so ably and painstakingly chronicles the Space Research Corporation, Dr. Zalman Shapiro's Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation and "The Plumbat Affair," just to name a few, which made it possible for Israel to join the nuclear club.

The book has minor inconsequential lapses, for example, Marcia Friedman is an Israeli not a South African, and Va indaba is Nguni not Sotho. It is well written, easy to read and highly informative on the subject. Adams raises, and discusses by concrete examples, the most dangerous and alarming aspects of the Israeli-South African relationship. He discusses reports, which have since been confirmed by independent sources, that in the October 1973 war in the Middle East, when at one point defeat for Israel seemed imminent, Israel prepared to launch a nuclear attack; only a turn in the tide of battle four hours later prevented it. He ends with a truly ominous observation: "The Israeli government currently feels that a further full-scale war with the Arabs within the next decade is inevitable, and the world may not be so lucky next time" (p. 164). □

Dr. Moleah is a South African exile, now teaching at Temple University in Philadelphia.

YEAR OF PALESTINE. . . IN GREECE

The Greek Committee for International Democratic Solidarity has formed a "Greek Committee for the Year of Palestine, 1987" to observe the 40th anniversary of the partition of Palestine and to inform the Greek people about the Palestinian people's struggle for national rights. The committee includes prominent Greek personalities representing the spectrum of Greek society and political groups.

The Geneva-based International Coordinating Committee for Non-Governmental Organizations on the Question of Palestine (ICCP) had designated 1987 as the "Year of the Palestinian People" to commemorate a series of fateful events in Palestine's modern history. The year 1987 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 West Bank and Gaza, and the 5th anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The ICCP urged its member organizations around the world to further popular support for Palestinian rights and to work for their governments' support for a just peace in the Middle East. "We call upon all organizations and peoples," the ICCP statement said, "to join this global effort to resolve this protracted 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." □

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World View

WORLD PARLIAMENTARIANS CALL FOR PEACE CONFERENCE

Israeli Withdrawal and Palestinian Independence

The 77th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union was held in Managua from 27 April to 2 May 1987. Participants included 957 delegates from 69 countries, including the United States. The conference approved by a large majority (832 for, 46 against, and 79 abstained) a resolution calling for the convening of an international peace conference in which all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict—including the PLO—should participate. Only the delegations of Israel and the U.S. voted in toto against the resolution. Following is the text of the resolution on the peace conference:

Resolution

With regards to convening a conference on the Middle East, the 77th Interparliamentary Conference:

1. Calls on the parliaments and governments of all countries to do everything they can to make possible the speedy convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, under the auspices of the United Nations, involving all the parties concerned, including Israel, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the USSR and the United States of America, as well as the other permanent members of the UN Security Council;

2. Supports the call by the UN General Assembly in Resolution 41/43D for the immediate convening of an international peace conference on the Middle East, and endorses the call for the establishment of a preparatory committee under the Security Council's auspices, with the participation of all permanent UN Security Council members, to take the steps necessary for its convening;

3. Reaffirms its belief that a just and comprehensive settlement of the conflict in the Middle East should envisage Israel's full and unconditional withdrawal from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967; the ensuring of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their rights to self-determination and the establishment of their own state, and the guaranteeing of a peaceful and secure existence and independent development for all states and peoples of this area, including Israel;

4. Calls on parliamentarians and governments effectively to help in defusing the conflict situation in the Middle East by promoting the early establishment of the preparatory committee, since this would allow progress to be made towards undoing the dangerous knot of tension in the Middle East;

5. Requests the Interparliamentary Council to establish a parliamentary support committee actively to contribute to the world campaign for the successful holding of the international peace conference on the Middle East. □

THE ISRAEL LOBBY SPEAKS...WITH BIG BUCKS

Study Shows Campaign Funds Yield Political Influence

A recent study of political contributions by political action committees (PACs) concludes that pro-Israel PACs "have quietly become the dominant ideological force financing U.S. congressional elections." The study, by freelance journalist Edward Roeder, says that the more than 100 PACs which support pro-Israel policies and candidates have poured over $4.1 million into House and Senate races in the 1986 elections.

The *City Paper* (Washington), which summarized the lengthy Roeder study in its issue of 10 July 1987, says that the study reveals that the pro-Israel PACs contributions to the 1986 congressional elections included $280,000 given to members of the select committees investigating the Iran-Contra affair, including the two chairmen: Senator Daniel Inouye and Representative Lee Hamilton. It says that the two chairmen "negotiated secret agreements in closed-door meetings with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir that essentially allow the government of Israel to conduct Congress' investigation into Israel's role. Under the agreements, which have never been made public, the select committees cannot subpoena any Israeli documents or citizens, nor interview any of the Israeli officials involved."

According to the study, Inouye received $48,825 in pro-Israel PAC money, or "more than 16 times as much as he got from all other ideological PACs." Hamilton got $14,050 and none from other ideological PACs.

The Roeder study, described by the *City Paper* as "a complex computer analysis of all campaign spending by some 4,000 PACs in the 1986 elections," says that "These [pro-Israel] PACs showed their power and influence in 1985-86 by pouring money into congressional campaigns at a rate far exceeding that of the 'New Right' PACs which became powerful in the late 1970s and early 1980s." It reveals that "Pro-Israel PACs gave more campaign cash to members of the 100th Congress in 1985-86 than PACs of all other American ideological interests."

This money pays political dividends, the study shows. It compares PAC donations to voting behavior on legislation affecting foreign aid and other policies of interest to Israel. "Roeder found that unwavering support for Israel can be very beneficial financially to incumbents. Those senators who voted with Israel's interests right down the line received an average of $54,223 from pro-Israel PACs." On the other hand, "senators who differed with Israel's position on just one vote averaged only one-third as much, or just $18,025 in support from pro-Israel PACs. Those senators who cast no votes in support of Israel's position on key issues averaged only $166 in pro-Israel PAC donations." As the report put it, pro-Israel PACs "demand strict loyalty from the candidates they support financially."

The Roeder study shows also that in addition to the chairmen of the Iran-Contra select committees, three other members received more than $40,000 each from pro-Israel PACs, which "may be responsible for the absence of any congressional investigations into Israel's role in the sale of arms to Iran and the diversion of profits from these sales to the U.S.-backed Contra rebels seeking to overthrow the Sandanista government in Nicaragua."

Edward Roeder, the author of the study, is the founder and editor of Sunshine News Services, which specializes in reporting on the influence of money in politics. In 1982, he published *PACs Americana,* a directory on PACs and their political and financial activities, and he plans to publish a second edition this fall. □

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