Palestine Perspectives

Number 44 *The Magazine of Contemporary Palestinian Affairs* Nov./Dec. 1989


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THE ROAD TO FREEDOM

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The Intifada Begins Another Year

The Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation is about to begin its third year. When it first began, on 9 December 1987, few people expected it to be still raging two years later. Fewer people expected it to unleash the profound changes it has brought about in the relations between the occupier and the occupied in Palestine, or the perception of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the world.

At a time like this, it becomes fashionable to "assess" the intifada. Soon the media would probably release a barrage of reports on what the intifada has achieved...or failed to achieve. Supporters of the Palestinians will speak of the dissension it has intensified in Israel and between Israel and its supporters abroad; of the loosening of Israel's grip on Palestinian life; of the reversal of the "irreversible" occupation; of increased self-reliance and solidarity in the Palestinian community; and of the intifada's impact on world public opinion.

The foes of the Palestinians will mock its achievements. It has not brought the Palestinians the independence they seek, they will say, and it has not freed an inch of their territory of Israel's control. The less charitable among such critics will charge that the intifada has increased Israel's refusal to budge and has given new impetus to the Israeli right.

A case can be made for both views, of course, because there is truth in both views. But the most important points to be made in an argument about the intifada's impact two years later are these:

One, the intifada is a phase in a continuing Palestinian struggle for national rights. The struggle is a process with cumulative impact, not a trick intended to produce startling results. The ultimate outcome of the struggle—Palestinian independence—has been without doubt advanced, though not yet achieved, by the intifada. The declaration of Palestine's independence on 15 November 1988, the formal recognition of the state of Palestine by more than a hundred nations, and Israel's loss of de facto control over much of what happens in Palestine attest to how much Palestinian independence has been advanced by the intifada.

The Palestinian "habit of obedience" to Israeli rule and its control mechanisms have been replaced by the habit and mechanisms of self-rule. Israel's futile efforts to reconstruct "the wall of fear" and to reimpose its presence have become reminiscent of dying colonialism of the past. Its occupation has been reduced to a skeleton of its arrogant former self, and has become to a large degree spasmodic, taking the form of violent outbursts and piratical raids to arrest, kill and loot.

When a patient's health deteriorates beyond restoration, it is said that the patient has entered the "death cycle." Israel's occupation is still there, but in the second year of the intifada, it has entered the death cycle. In the third year of the intifada, the Israeli occupation will hopefully expire. Very few people will lament its passing.

The question is no longer whether or not the Palestinians will be freed of Israel's occupation; the question is how much more suffering and bitterness it will take. The answer is very much up to Israel. Everyone, particularly the Palestinians, have contributed something to facilitate peacemaking. Everyone, that is, except Israel. It seems to think that its obligations consist of making more and more demands on others. This is the way to evade peace.

Israel wants to end the intifada. It can do so by deciding to live with the Palestinians, but it cannot end it by insisting on living instead of the Palestinians. The sooner Israel learns this simple fact, the better it will be for everyone. □

M. Hallaj

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The Ordeal of the Palestinian Child

*By Abdeen M. Jabara**

For the past 21 months the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza has been engaged in a protracted uprising against continued Israeli occupation.

Israeli attempts to crush this uprising has had a significant damaging impact on all aspects of life for the Palestinians including 64,000 injuries, 30,000 arrests and 3,600 days of curfew.

While all age groups and both sexes have been adversely impacted by Israeli policies and practices since the beginning of the intifada perhaps no group has been more affected than Palestinian children.

Between December 9, 1987 and June 12, 1989, according to statistics compiled by UNRWA and covering only cases brought or reported to UNRWA health centers, the intifada has resulted in at least 504 Palestinians killed and 29,468 injured. Of these, 15% of those killed in the West Bank and 19% of those killed in Gaza were under 15. The percentages of children injured were significantly higher with 18% in the West Bank and 33% in Gaza, or 7,451 injuries to children in Gaza alone during that period. In total, to date the number of Palestinians 16 years of age or under who have been killed through the end of July, 1989 is 180 or 26% of the total of 698.

And the situation is getting much worse. Of the 1,374 injuries in the Gaza strip during July, 1989, 577 were to children, 42% of the total. Of the 618 injuries in July, 1989 in the West Bank 152 or 24% were of children. Of the 32 Palestinians who died from bullet wounds in July, the sixth highest monthly toll since the beginning of the uprising, twelve or 37% of the total for that month were 16 years or younger.

In addition, it is estimated that hundreds (some estimates are as high as 2,000) of spontaneous abortions or interuterine fetal deaths have resulted from effects of tear gas on pregnant women.

The range and extent of the danger faced by Palestinian children in the area is illustrated in the statistics provided by the 1988 UNRWA health director's annual report. For children between the ages of 1 and 5, 15 had injuries in the West Bank from gunshot wounds, 29 had injuries from being beaten, 18 had rubber bullet wounds and 89 were injured through gas intoxication. As we review the numbers for children as they got older, the figures increase. Between the ages of 6-10, 41 had gunshot wounds, 71 had injuries from beatings, 37 from rubber bullets and 43 from gas intoxication. Between the ages of 11-15, 217 were wounded by gunfire, 236 by beatings, 73 from rubber bullets and 55 from gas intoxication.

Health care for injury has been greatly affected by the Israeli military order compelling payment for hospitalization prior to admission into government hospitals. Also, immunization campaigns have been greatly hampered by power cuts by Israeli authorities (which ruin vaccines) and the curfews and restrictions placed on movement.

The health care systems of the West Bank and Gaza have been forced by events to dealing with large-scale casualties needing emergency care, thus very adversely affecting primary health care. New born infants, children and pregnant women are being deprived of health care



"Israeli policy has been to increase the price to be paid for rejection of the occupation, and while all segments of the population have had to pay that price, one segment has been particularly vulnerable: the children."

supervision, immunization and nutritional support simply because the system is being overloaded by the emergency cases of injuries.

Ever since 1948 Palestinians throughout the world have stressed heavily the education of children as a means of alleviating the burdens of their status as refugees or occupied populations. In the Gaza strip elementary and primary grade students numbered 166,000 in 1988 and 290,000 for the West Bank for a total of 456,000 students.

From the early days of the intifada in December, 1987 the Israeli authorities resorted to closing schools, when they thought that school children were involved in or were planning anti-occupation demonstrations. All universities and colleges in the West Bank and Gaza have been closed by military order since the start of the intifada.

As a result of international criticism including some in the U.S. Congress, the first six primary grades and the 12th grade classes were resumed in July, 1989. Schools in Gaza and Jerusalem are selectively closed for periods of time ranging from one or two days to several months.

A now 21 month break in the education of a 6-12 year old child who has not fully grasped the basics of reading and writing could have grave consequences, particularly in an environment of such great uncertainty as exists in the occupied territories today. The fear of illiteracy developing in a whole generation of young Palestinians is being voiced more and more. While local community groups and neighborhood committees have established a number of alternative schools to meet the needs of the children, such schools can only fill part of the vacuum caused by the closure of schools by the authorities....

Israeli policy has been to increase the price to be paid

(continued on page 4)

The Land of Boaz

*By G. Kogan**

Tax collection in the territories has become a means of fighting the intifada. Shops and businesses fail or close down because of arbitrary tax collection, carried out without appraisals, without warning and without the right of appeal, and accompanied by considerable violence. Another chapter in the chain of hatred in the territories. The civil administration refuses to comment....

Palestinian sources in Ramallah speak of an officer called Boaz who is apparently the chief tax collector. They call the area "the land of Boaz," because he is the undisputed ruler. "When he drives through the industrial area, shops begin to close," a Ramallah merchant told me. "Not long ago, two shopkeepers fled and he shot them." One was hit in the chest, but Boaz later said that he "didn't mean to kill."

People call him the vampire. The attack begins when he arrives in his jeep. He enters the shop and collects income tax, along with unexpected levies like the "stone tax," as he calls it, a sort of revenge for the intifada. These taxes can amount to several thousand shekels. Within minutes, the rumor spreads and all the shops close down; a general strike begins.

Boaz's major target is car owners. He demands a tax of 800 shekels [$400] from them. A driver who doesn't have this amount in his pocket has his vehicle impounded and taken to the parking lot adjacent to the central prison. When a road block is set up, drivers seek alternative routes, but find that these too are blocked at the main entrances to the city. According to local residents, 300 cars were impounded in one day in August, either because the drivers didn't have the required sum in their pockets or because the Tax Department hadn't registered previous payments.

In order to obtain any kind of document from the military government, even a death certificate, one must first bring confirmation of payment from the Tax Department. If the person has no debts, he still has to pay between 150 and 200 shekels, the minimum for any kind of paper. No one, even students or the unemployed, are exempt from payment. Nimer, a student at Najah University, went to the authorities to obtain a document he needed. When the clerk discovered that he was a student, he simply threw him out of the building.... □

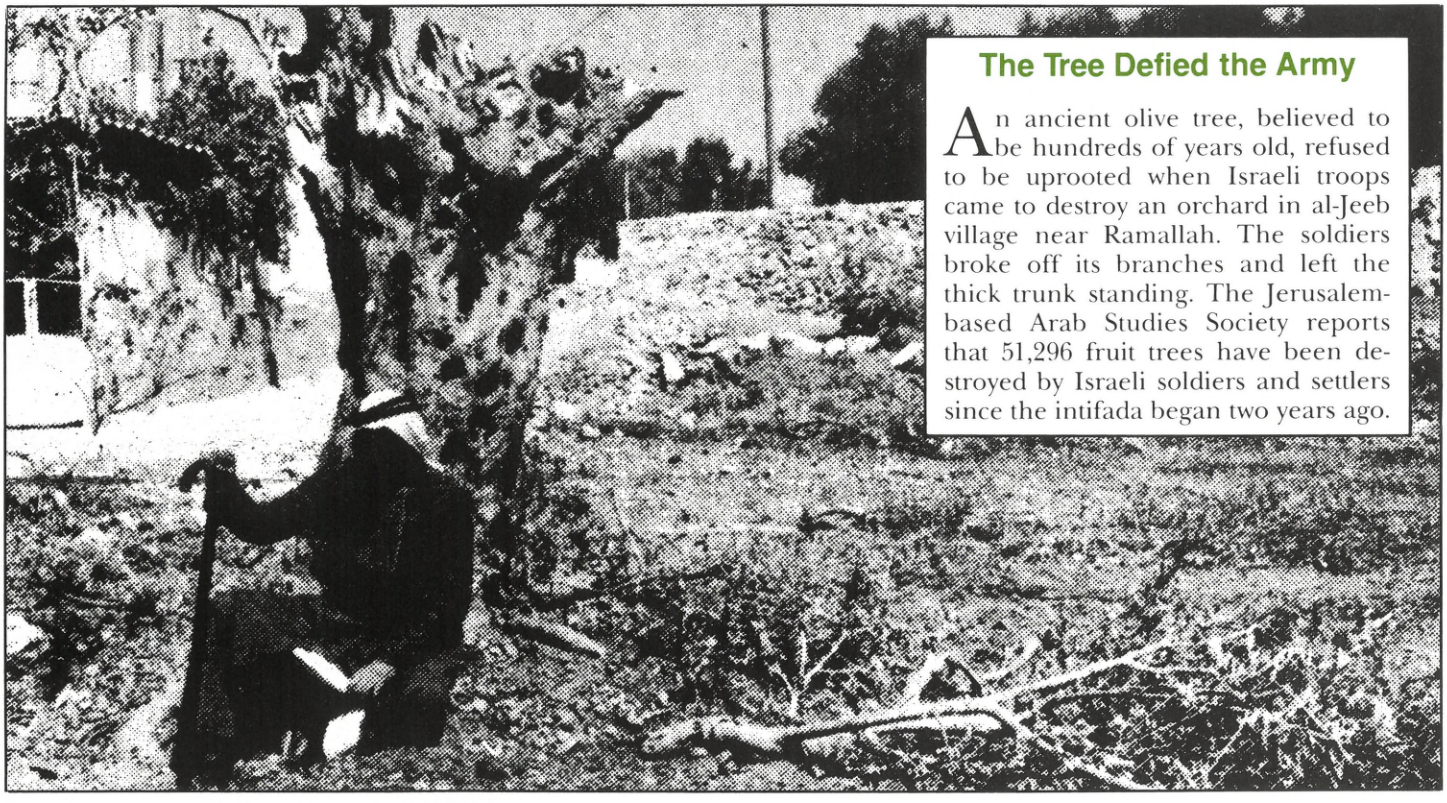
Excerpted from ***Hotam*** *(Israel), 25 August 1989.*

ORDEAL *(continued from page 3)*

for rejection of the occupation, and while all segments of the population have had to pay that price, one segment has been particularly vulnerable: the children. Teenagers are the troops of the uprising with their stones, their barricades, their burning tires and their burning desire for freedom. It is not surprising that it would be children who would be specially targeted to have their limbs shattered, who would be killed and wounded from live ammunition and rubber and plastic bullets and who would suffer from the respiratory injuries resulting from gas intoxication. But this is only the tip of the iceberg of the real costs to the Palestinians of this freedom fight. Loss of educational facilities, basic life necessities, and psychological trauma, loss of detained brothers, fathers and sisters are also part of that cost.

And While it is a cost that they have clearly indicated that they are willing to pay, it doesn't mean that we shouldn't be doing everything here that we are able to do to help alleviate the suffering that they experience. □

Mr. Jabara is president of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). The above report was presented by him to the 14 September 1989 Congressional Black Caucus in Washington.



The Tree Defied the Army

An ancient olive tree, believed to be hundreds of years old, refused to be uprooted when Israeli troops came to destroy an orchard in al-Jeeb village near Ramallah. The soldiers broke off its branches and left the thick trunk standing. The Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Society reports that 51,296 fruit trees have been destroyed by Israeli soldiers and settlers since the intifada began two years ago.

From the Israeli Press...

The Precipice

One does not need great historical-philosophical understanding to discover the central lesson of the history of the twentieth century, particularly of the second half: The rule of one nation over another has come to an end. Over the past 40 years, more than 100 peoples and lands have liberated themselves from foreign domination. States, including superpowers, that tried to stop the wheels of history through wars of conquest and oppressive regimes paid a heavy military, economic and social price before they were finally defeated and withdrew....

The use of terms like cockroaches, insects, two-legged animals; sadistic treatment of defenseless prisoners; the murder of children and old people; torture—all these are not coincidental, but rather inevitable consequences of an occupation regime. And these phenomena are not restricted to the territories. Concentration camps, in which tens of thousands of persons are detained without trial, lose their names and become mere numbers; apartheid regulations for workers with transit stations and identification tags, lynchings and riots—none of these are Israeli inventions, but horrible replications of a regime of which we were the main victims in the not-so-distant past. Israeli society's sacred taboo tries to prevent the revelation of this terrible truth: "How dare you compare?" These words are groundless. Not only is it permissible to compare, it is our obligation, as a last resort to deter, to halt before going over the precipice....

Arieh Yaari, *Al Hamishmar,* 30 July 1989

Mr. Irreversible

I like Meron Benvenisti very much. Everybody likes him. Maybe it's not possible not to like him. But the affection needn't obscure the fact that he's never been right about anything.

Maybe that's the secret of his success. He's an international media star, a darling of the Israeli media. Apparently to achieve such standing you have to be absolutely wrong on all counts. Nothing succeeds like failure. The man who is always right had better watch out.

How can one set such a record for false predictions? It's quite simple: in every situation, just tell people what they're ready to hear. And since the people never want to hear true predictions—they're unpleasant—this system leads to an unending series of false predictions.

At first Meron was the prophet of coexistence. Perfect coexistence was said to have been achieved in Jerusalem, and Teddy Kollek was the symbol, a bright monument standing on a pedestal of lies. For Jerusalem was never unified, and it never experienced coexistence. It never had anything but brutal occupation, for which Teddy Kollek served as a fig leaf. (Teddy admitted as much for a brief moment, then immediately recanted and continued as if nothing had happened.)

Later Meron developed that wonderful theory associated throughout the world with his name: "irreversibility." The occupation is irreversible...

For years I haven't been able to confer with any important person in the world—not in the United States, England or Germany—without hearing the name of Meron Benvenisti. I'm not exaggerating; everyone mentions him. He made a career of irreversibility.

And then the Intifada came along, something Meron never dreamed of, and the irreversible was reversed overnight. The irreversible sank in the biggest disaster since the Titanic. Meron and Teddy were its first victims. Everything he's been saying for a generation turned into a sick joke.

Now Meron has a new slogan. "Irreversible" has become "insolvable." Stop. There's no solution. Like Belfast. Nothing can be done. We can go home, publish studies and organize photogenically.

Once again, it's convenient. It's convenient for the right, and it's convenient for leftists, who can sigh and sink into nice, warm fashionable despair. If there's no solution, there's no need to do anything, no need to fight or to take risks....

Uri Avneri, *Haolam Hazeh,* 9 August 1989

Living A Lie

Is it possible to be at one and the same time both for and against Israeli peace initiative? As we have seen, it is indeed. Ministers vote this time for it, next time against it, and think they're deceiving everyone. We've set a new record for contradicting ourselves. We manage to convince ourselves that the things right in front of our noses don't exist. In short, we're living a lie....

The leaders have begun to sell us another illusion. Morning and night they repeat that the local Palestinian leadership, the Unified Leadership of the uprising, really wants to make a "deal" without the PLO, to disengage themselves from the PLO so as to enjoy the autonomy offered by Israel. If we only free them from the Palestinian leadership outside the country, they'll grasp at this opportunity. It is leaked to us that this or that Palestinian whispered this information to the prime minister, the defense minister, the minister of foreign affairs or the minister of finance. Afterwards they began to sell us the story that the Palestinians are about to choose their own representatives, and that they want to negotiate with Israel about elections....

The Prime Minister tells the Israeli public that we want negotiations without prior conditions, but he tells Hussein that he doesn't accept the demand that negotiations be based on exchange of territory for peace. Isn't this a prior condition? And why should Hussein come, under such a condition? To the Palestinians he says "yes" to negotiations, on the condition they don't choose their own representatives, and if they dare to demand a Palestinian state, negotiations will cease immediately. Aren't those conditions?

Living with lies did not start when the Likud came into power. Many Alignment leaders did the same. But people are becoming more sophisticated and will wake up one of these days. The greater the lies, the greater the shock that awaits them.

Ze'ev Schiff, *Ha'aretz,* 25 July 1989

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.

The Politics of the Conflict Lag Behind Events

Two years ago, on 9 December 1987 the inevitable which was said to be impossible happened: a sustained popular insurrection exploded in Israel's face in occupied Palestine. The intifada is about to enter its third year.

When it first began, the uprising triggered a series of questions about what caused it, how long it would go on, whether it was spontaneous or organized, what role the PLO had, how Israel would respond, and how it would affect the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Now, two years later, such questions no longer puzzle people. The main question still to be answered is how to get Israel to remove its blindfolds and see what everyone else sees: that the occupation is over. The intifada has already dismantled it morally, psychologically, economically ...and all that remains of it is naked power, and even that is losing much of its grip.

Everyone it seems is trying to save Israel from the folly of trying to maintain colonial possessions at a time when colonial powers greater than Israel have either crumbled or are crumbling. Everyone is trying to make it easier for Israel to find its way back from the swamp. The PLO has offered it a chance for peaceful coexistence, and the entire world is offering its good offices to resolve the conflict. But Israel seems to be unable to agree with itself or with anyone else on anything. The two halves of the Israeli ruling coalition pull in different directions. They disagree on how to cope with the Palestinians, the Americans, the Egyptians, the Jordanians, the Europeans. And they cannot cope with each other.

In the meantime, the cycle of rebellion and repression in Palestine continues. Israel continues to kill, to round up people and to rob them of their possessions, to deport, to blow up homes, to shut down universities. The intifada has dismantled the *authority* of the occupation, but Israel continues with the *policies* of the occupation.

The intifada and the political situation it has created demonstrate that making peace is very low on Israel's list of priorities. They also demonstrate Washington's shortcomings as a peacemaker, as long as it continues with the self-defeating policy of avoiding putting pressure on Israel.

The Palestinians see no choice but to continue with their rebellion. The intifada is no longer seen by them as an "uprising," an exceptional circumstance, but as a natural response to intolerable conditions. Eventually they will get their independence because Israel lacks the resources and support it needs to subdue them indefinitely, and because this is the age of self-government. And history gives no exemptions.

This is the age of democracy and freedom, not the age of "iron fist" policies; the human experience all around us attests to that. It is in everyone's interest, including Israel's, that the Palestinians be freed through a process of conciliation before they are freed through confrontation. If Israel is unable to comprehend this fact on its own, someone should help it understand. □

Analysis...

Israel's Third Army in Palestine

Two armies are not enough, so Israel is setting up a third army to bolster its shaky rule of occupied Palestine. Until recently, the Israeli occupation army has used armed Jewish settlers as a second army of occupation. In recent months, it has been arming Palestinian collaborators to be a mercenary militia, a variation on its SLA in the south of Lebanon.

Collaborators have always been used by Israel as an integral part of its system of intimidation and control. They have always been part of the machinery of occupation and repression. For this reason, collaborators have become a target for Palestinian resistance, and many collaborators have been found guilty of treason and executed.

The intifada had tried from the beginning to be and remain a non-lethal form of resistance. That is why collaborators are repeatedly warned before they are punished. Some of them behave and are left alone. Those who persist in their treason are punished the way traitors have always been punished in all societies.

Israel has tried to use the punishment of collaborators to distort the image of the intifada. It has used it to justify its opposition to Palestinian freedom, claiming that an independent Palestinian state would be at war with itself.

Nonsense. The Palestinians have one of the most homogeneous and cohesive of all societies. This social solidarity in occupied Palestine has been further strengthened by the struggle and repression experienced during the past two years. It has been one of the principal causes of the intifada's endurance and Israel's failure to crush it.

Now, Israel is trying a new tactic. The informers and collaborators are being armed. They are being encouraged to go on the offensive. They have attacked and kidnaped people. They are being organized and armed to be a mercenary militia in the hope that they will succeed where Israel itself had failed: creating enough internal strife to split the Palestinians and to distract them from their struggle against Israel. Above all, Israel hopes that the intifada will be seen by the world as a Palestinian civil war rather than a Palestinian struggle for liberation from Israeli rule.

The people of occupied Palestine have the right to protect themselves from all of Israel's mechanisms of coercion and control, including the traitors in their midst. But they must also safeguard the nobility of their struggle. The leadership of the intifada was wise in alerting the people to potential pitfalls when it urged them to exercise all possible caution and restraint in dealing with collaborators.

The PLO had lent its voice and influence to this wise counsel. The intifada—given the dangers and provocations that it faces—cannot totally avoid the use of force, no matter how much one wishes that it could. But if the use of force is inescapable, it should make sure that it be kept at the lowest level necessary rather than the highest level possible. □

Satire...

What's the Point?

By Matt Nesvisky

Jerusalem Post humor columnist Matt Nesvisky gazed at his crystal ball (or, as he put it, "processed the peace process" through his computer) and came up with the following prognosis of future moves regarding Arab-Israeli peace:

In September 1989 Mubarak presents his 10-point plan to the Americans. While the White House and the State Department study the 10 points, the secretary of the spokesman for the media adviser to Yasser Arafat's public affairs representative says eight points are acceptable to him, on condition that Israel first accepts the five points promulgated by the last meeting of the Palestine National Council.

Even without these conditions, Shamir maintains that Mubarak's 10 points are irrelevant, and rejects them out of hand. Energy Minister Moshe Shahal, however, says that the even-numbered points are readily acceptable to his wing of the Labour Party, as long as the PLO renounces terrorism.

The intifada continues, but so does the peace process.

In October, the U.S. responds to Mubarak's 10-point peace plan by raising 15 points of clarification. Margaret Thatcher of Britain says she'll see those 15 points and raise them another three. Mubarak says he's willing to respond to those 18 points, on the condition that the Palestinians both inside and outside of the territories may be consulted.

In November, Shamir rejects this out of hand. Rather than lose heart, however, President Bush insists that with more points now on the table, the peace process is obviously gaining momentum.

The intifada continues, but so does the peace process.

Responding to pressure from Palestinians both inside and outside of the territories, Jordan's King Hussein in December 1989 accepts nine of Mubarak's 10 points and 12 of the Americans' 15 points.

With Jordan suddenly stepping into the picture, Deputy Premier Peres now helpfully suggests that an international conference be held on the 32 points (Shamir's four-point plan, Mubarak's 10-point response, the 15 points of clarification raised by the U.S., and the three raised by Thatcher).

Boris Becker meanwhile whips Ivan Lendl by two points, while North bids three no trump. Shahal says that's acceptable to him, but Agudat Yisrael threatens to quit the coalition.

The intifada continues, but so does the peace process.

Before it will agree to participate in an international conference on the 32 points, the Soviet union in January 1990 lists 44 conditions that it insists all of the other parties must meet. Shamir's initial reaction is to reject this out of hand, but Bush urges Israel to consider them point by point.

After a stormy cabinet meeting in which Agudat Yisrael threatens to rejoin the government, the majority of the ministers present agree to let the inner cabinet weigh and respond to 30 of the 44 Soviet conditions.

Although Shahal maintains that the left wing of the Labor doves has no problem with any of the Soviet conditions, as long as the Soviets renounce communism, the inner cabinet in February 1990 votes to inform the U.S. that it has serious reservations about 19 of the 30 of the 44 Soviet points, and would like the Soviets to respond to 57 varieties of Israeli clarifications.

The Dow-Jones average at the end of the day's trading meanwhile is up two points.

The intifada continues, but so does the peace process.

In March 1990 the U.S. says it has no problem with Israel's 57 points, if, say, four or five can be "fudged" a little, and seeks Mubarak's agreement. Mubarak, however, prefers to withhold his view on the 57 points, saying he must first consult with the PLO. Surprisingly, Transportation Minister Moshe Katsav endorses this move.

In April the PLO lists 68 objections to the 57 points, all of which Shamir in turn rejects out of hand, which Shahal in his turn rejects by a foot.

The Soviet Union then says in May it may consider retracting one or more of its original 44 conditions, if the U.S. agrees to retract 150,000 troops from Western Europe. To this President Bush warily raises a number of points, one of which is how the Soviets define "troops."

Israel loses the Eurovision Song Contest to Yugoslavia by trois points.

The intifada continues, but so does the peace process.

In June 1990 the Soviets propose that an international panel of lexicographers be seconded to the arms talks to define "troops." President Bush does not oppose this, although the Hebrew Language Academy rejects the notion out of hand.

Stung by this rebuff, the U.S. in July 1990 presses Israel to provide some momentum to the peace process.

After due consultation in August 1990, with ministers both inside and outside of the inner cabinet, Shamir presents a four-point peace plan, the main feature of which is elections in the territories. President Bush is very pleased, and promptly leaves for a three-week vacation in Maine.

The intifada continues, but so does the peace process. □

From ***The Jerusalem Post*** *(international edition, week ending 30 September 1989*



The System Shutdown Enters Third Year

Palestinian Higher Education is Still Forbidden

This is the third academic year that the Palestinians have been denied the right to university education in the Israeli-occupied territories. Right after the intifada began, the Israeli occupation authorities closed down all Palestinian institutions of higher learning—including universities, teachers colleges, nursing schools and polytechnic institutes—and they remain closed today. The 1987-88 and 1988-89 academic years have been lost, and the new 1989-90 academic year has not been allowed to begin.

It is a severe blow to Palestinian society which values education greatly and had made in recent decades unparalleled advances in education. The Palestinians who have lost their primary means of livelihood when they lost their land, have turned to education as a means of survival, and they have become one of the most highly educated societies in the world.

The closure of the Palestinian post-secondary education system is seen by the Palestinians as a form of collective punishment to crush the uprising against Israel's occupation as well as a weapon to weaken Palestinian society and undermine its viability.

Until December 1988, all Palestinian schools were shut down by the Israeli authority. Mounting international indignation finally compelled the Israeli government to reopen most of the pre-university system, although schools are still closed down on a more selective basis. Universities, however, continue to be totally shut down.

Palestinian educators have been calling on world opinion, particularly academic communities, to protest this violation of a basic human right, the right to education. Only sustained and vigorous international protest, they believe, can make Israel reconsider its policy of denying education to the people of occupied Palestine. □

Tax Collection Or Robbery?

The Palestinian town of Beit Sahour, a primarily Christian town of 12,000 residents located just east of Bethlehem, has been a favored target of Israeli repression. Raids of Israeli tax collectors guarded by army troops have been systematically robbing the town.

Beit Sahour residents, and Palestinians in other localities, have been refusing to pay taxes to the Israeli authorities, denying the legitimacy of taxation without representation. The Israelis have repeatedly placed army check points at the entrances to the town, declared it a "closed military zone," brought in convoys of army trucks and hauled away furniture, appliances, machinery and supplies from homes, stores and workshops. In one raid, a pharmacy's contents were taken away.

News from the occupied West Bank reported on 20 October, as the tax crackdown on Beit Sahour entered its second month, that the Israeli army was distributing leaflets threatening the town's residents of selling off their homes and businesses if they continued to defy Israel's authority. Israel is trying to make a lesson of Beit Sahour, fearing that its resistance would catch on and become widespread civil disobedience.

The raids are obviously intended as punitive measures to intimidate and to subdue. The town's mayor, Hanna Atrash, was also abducted by local collaborators on 18 September. The town's people rushed to his rescue and took him to a hospital in occupied Jerusalem for treatment.

The "no taxation without representation" campaign in Beit Sahour has attracted the attention of foreign diplomats in Jerusalem, and seven of them representing West European countries tried to visit the beleaguered town on the 6th of October. They were turned back by Israeli troops.

It would have been in the American tradition for the U.S. consul to have joined the European diplomats. After all, Beit Sahour is raising the banner of the American freedom fighters who established this republic.

Another Detention Center Is Planned

The Israeli military authorities have reportedly chosen the site for a new detention camp in occupied Palestine, already dubbed "Ansar IV" by the Palestinians. The prison, planned for 1,000 detainees, is to be built near the Jewish settlement of Tekoah in the Bethlehem area.

Reports from occupied Palestine also say that the Israelis plan to enlarge the notorious Ansar III detention center in the Negev, where about 5,000 Palestinian political prisoners—many of whom have not been charged or tried—are currently incarcerated. It is estimated that 19,200 political prisoners have been detained in Ansar III at various times since the beginning of the intifada. □

Medical Help Needed

Dr. Fathi Arafat, president of the Palestine Red Crescent Society, appealed to the international community to contribute urgently needed medical assistance to the people of occupied Palestine. Addressing a gathering of international health groups in The Hague, The Netherlands, Dr. Arafat asked for volunteer medical teams and for medical supplies, and for pressure on Israel to permit the entry of such humanitarian assistance.

The Palestine News Agency (WAFA) quoted a Palestinian official saying that the Israeli occupation authorities have shut down six Palestinian hospitals since the start of the intifada two years ago. That and the large number of casualties necessitate international assistance.

More recently, the availability of drugs in occupied Palestine has been further limited when Israeli tax collectors, assisted by troops, raided and confiscated pharmacy supplies in several cases.

Arafat also called on the international medical community to participate in the establishment of programs of first aid, physical therapy and rehabilitation, and psychotherapy for children. □

■ *Support our work and subscribe to Palestine Perspectives. Use the subscription order in this issue. Thank you.* ■

Pork Barrel International

Some members of the U.S. Congress, particularly "friends of Israel," use foreign policy to advance their own careers, according to internal State Department reports. They do so by using their influence to fund foreign projects favored by their political supporters.

The program in question, called the "American Schools and Hospitals Abroad," spends $35 million of grants administered by the Agency for International Development (AID). It is intended to assist institutions abroad on the basis of merit, judged by independent experts. But the recommendations of experts are frequently ignored in favor of requests by members of Congress who lobby on behalf of projects supported by financial and political backers. Particularly favored are Jewish religious institutions in Israel.

"It's become a kind of foreign affairs pork barrel," said Indiana Democrat Lee Hamilton, who is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on the Middle East.

An example of this type of favoritism is Sha'Alvim Teachers College in Israel which was selected to get $1.5 million grant this year, although it was judged to be ineligible but was put on the "approved" list after intervention by Senator Robert Kasten, (WI-R). The school trains rabbis to teach in Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank.

Another Israeli school was ranked near the bottom of the list by the independent project reviewers, but was given a $500,000 grant after Senator Alfonse D'Amato (NY-R) intervened in its behalf.

Other members of Congress who have used their influence to get grants to such institutions, according to *The Washington Times* (29 September 1989), include Rudy Boschwitz (MN-R), Jesse Helms (NC-R), Albert Gore (TN-D), James Stasser (TN-D), Daniel Inouye (HI-D), and Frank Annunzio (IL-D).

Last year, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a suit against the program, on the grounds that it violated the constitutional separation of church and state by giving public money to foreign religious institutions.



The Intifada Goes "Underground"

Two posters advocating Palestinian statehood and urging people to write their representatives in Congress about the Palestinian people's right to independence are on display throughout the Washington area Metrorail (subway) system. The campaign is organized by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), and runs for a month, from 16 October to the middle of November 1989.

One Poster portrays a Palestinian youth carrying the Palestinian flag superimposed over an American eagle with the caption "Americans fought for freedom and independence in 1776, Palestinians are fighting for these same rights today."

The other poster shows the Palestinian and Israeli flags with the caption "Palestine -Israel, Two Peoples - Two States."

This marks the third time that ADC has organized an advertising campaign in the Washington D.C. Metro system on issues having to do with the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The first campaign in 1987 was against the accreditation in Washington of Israeli military attache Major General Amos Yaron who had, in 1982, been stripped of his command for three years after a finding by the Israeli Kahane Commission of culpability in the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

The second campaign in August 1988 focused on aid to Israel and Israeli human rights violations. It featured two posters centered around a graphic photo by photo journalist George Azar showing an Israeli soldier about to bring a rifle butt down on three cowering Palestinian women. One poster carried the caption "Israel putting your tax dollars to work!!," the other depicted a yardstick with "Soviet Union—South Africa—Israel, 1 Yardstick for Human Rights."

Previous efforts have generated "intense efforts by foes of Palestinian rights against any such ads in the [Washington] metro system," said ADC president Abdeen Jabara in a press conference inaugurating the new campaign. "To the credit of the Metro Authority Board," he added, "it has successfully withstood these efforts, thereby reaffirming the importance of free speech and the First Amendment in our country."

In a written statement distributed at the 12 October press conference, Jabara explained the reasons for the new ADC campaign:

"ADC has taken out space for the placement of these political advertisements for several reasons. First, we are creatively attempting to respond to the sharp decline in TV coverage of the uprising. Because of this decline many

(continued on page 10)

American Police Departments Penetrated by Israeli Agents

"The Israelis are trying to get into our pants"

Israeli operatives "are penetrating the sensitive security sections of a growing number of American Police forces," according to *New American View,* a newsletter published in Washington twice a month to monitor the "special relationship between the United States and Israel." This penetration of American police forces by "former" Israeli intelligence and military officers, according to the newsletter, is facilitated by "friends of Israel" in high positions in the U.S. government.

It is done through a network of Israeli companies operating in the U.S. as "security" consultants. The firms are described by *New American View* as "extensions of the Mossad," Israel's foreign intelligence service. They operate in many countries such as Panama where they supply Manuel Noriega with body guards, and in Colombia where they have trained armed goon squads for its drug lords.

In the U.S., *New American View* says, the most potentially dangerous activity of these groups is the ongoing attempt by Atlas Security Ltd, "an Israeli intelligence front organization," to take over security at New York Port Authority. The president of Atlas, I. Weisler, and most of the company's staff, have been identified by *New American View* as members of the Israeli armed forces with close connections to the Mossad and the Shin Bet (Israel's secret police).

New York Port Authority sources were quoted be *New American View* saying that Atlas has been trying to "worm its way" into the Authority's security division. The attempt is being resisted by the personnel of the division on the grounds that security training is available to them from the FBI and certain Defense Department sections, and that it is dangerous to allow a company with ties to foreign intelligence to penetrate the system. Concerned Port Authority officials have reportedly sought protection from U.S. intelligence, but they have not been willing to interfere because of the "sensitive" politics of New York. "They understand that the Israelis are trying to get into our pants," a Port Authority source told *New American View,* "but they're afraid to go against them and the people behind them."

Israeli security "consultants," according to *New American View,* approach prospective clients armed with recommendations sometimes given by "Israel's friends" holding senior positions in the U.S. government. Atlas Security, for example, has a recommendation from Dr. David Epstein, Chief of the State Department's Anti-Terrorism Assistance Division. □

State Department Issues Gag Rule

NY Organizations Told Not to Hear PLO Officials

Two New York organizations were told by the State Department not to hear PLO representatives who were attending the UN General Assembly session. Yasser Abed Rabbo, chief PLO representative in the U.S.-PLO dialogue, was prevented from addressing a meeting of the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations, and Taysir Qubb'a was prevented from speaking at the United National Church Center in New York.

Arab-American groups condemned the State Department's gag order. ADC president Abdeen Jabara said that it stifles the right of American citizens to know and conflicts with U.S. policy to engage in dialogue with the PLO.

NAAA president Alfred Shehab wrote Secretary of States James Baker protesting that the prohibition against PLO delegates to the U.N. to address American groups which express interest in hearing them is denial of the freedom of expression. He said the State Department's actions were an unnecessary infringement on the right of Palestinian representatives at the United Nations to explain their position, and prevent key American foreign policy experts from hearing and questioning PLO spokesmen. Such actions, he added, "deny the American people the chance to hear all sides of this complex issue." □

POSTER *(continued from page 9)*

people do not feel any sense of urgency to end the suffering of 1.6 million Palestinians living under occupation. Second, the central issue of Palestinian self-determination and freedom is being lost in the diplomatic morass of plan and counterplan.

"These two posters are both designed to promote a peaceful resolution to the conflict by advocating Palestinian independence. One reflects a positive formula for the resolution to the 41-year-old conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. It is based on the historic political compromise enunciated by the leadership of the Palestinians—the PLO—in accepting and recognizing the State of Israel last fall.

"The second poster is designed to remind Americans that the Palestinian uprising has much in common with the American struggle against British rule. The Palestinians—who struggle to throw off the yoke of occupation so that they may govern themselves through their own freely elected representatives—are motivated by the same principles that motivated the American revolutionaries more than two hundred years ago.

"For instance, for the past two weeks the Palestinian village of Beit Sahour has been under siege by the Israeli army, which has broken into homes and shops, carting off machinery and personal effects to punish Palestinian civilians whose only crime is to refuse to pay taxes to a foreign occupation force. Let us recall that it was precisely the notion of 'no taxation without representation' that sparked our forefathers' struggle, and led to the drafting of our Bill of Rights."

Jabara said it was time for the U.S. Congress to reflect public opinion, which now supports the Palestinian right to independence. He said:

"Numerous American public opinion polls since the beginning of the uprising have indicated a pronounced shift of opinion in support of Palestinian rights. Unfortunately, Congress seems to be out of tune with the American public on this issue.

"It is high time that members of Congress—whose sworn duty is to reflect and represent their constituents' interests and views—begin to do so with respect to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The American public wants justice for the Palestinians. Congress should stand in the same corner." □

Prisoners In Zion

Arab League envoy in Washington, Ambassador Clovis Maksoud, warned of the consequences of recent moves to force Soviet Jews who leave their country to settle in Israel against their will. Until now, about 90 percent of them chose not to go to Israel, but recent restrictions on their entry into the United States in compliance with Israeli wishes would deprive them of the freedom to choose.

Ambassador Maksoud, in a press conference in Washington, explained Arab apprehensions about the expected influx of Jewish immigrants. First, he said, what rights do Soviet citizens have to live in Palestine when Palestinian refugees are denied that right? Second, what guarantees are there that Soviet immigrants would not be settled in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, when such settlement is deemed by the whole world community to be illegal and detrimental to peace in the Middle East? This is particularly serious, he said, because such settlements have become "breeding grounds for reckless and extremist vigilantes."

[An Israeli organization, Soviet Jewry Zionist Forum, said that Soviet Jews who fear immigration to Israel do so for a variety of reasons, among them are the cumbersome Israeli bureaucracy, universal military service, and the power of religious parties in Israel. These findings came out of a survey of activist Soviet Jews during a recent conference]. □

Drugs and Assassins

Jane Hunter has compiled a report on Israel's involvement with the Colombian drug cartels. *The Israeli Connection: Israeli Involvement in Paramilitary Training in Colombia* is a 17-page report which brings together available information on the recently revealed Israeli role in the Colombian drug war.

Hunter surveys published evidence and concludes that "the Israelis training the narcotics traffickers' armies in Colombia have close ties to the Israeli government." She also says that in spite of its rhetoric about the war on drugs, the Bush administration has shown little interest in this Israeli connection.

The report is available from the Arab American Institute, 918 Sixteenth Street, NW, Suite 501, Washington DC 20006.

Middle East Children's Alliance

Palestinian children have been the main victim of Israel's "iron fist" policy in occupied Palestine. The California-based Middle East Children's Alliance has done much to acquaint the American public with the plight of Palestinian children and to ameliorate their suffering. It has done so by facilitating visits by American delegations, and by collecting donations which it has used to build clinics and schools in refugee camps. The following is part of an appeal by the organization's Executive Director, Barbara Lubin, who wants the children of Palestine to know "that we care about them, that Americans are more than makers of tear gas canisters that explode in their hospitals and schools."

MECA Appeal

Like you, I began 1989 thinking this could be the year peace came to the Middle East. Bold diplomatic efforts made headlines every day, giving us hope that peace was just around the corner.

We now know that it may take years before the decades-old conflict is resolved. And during this time, we must not forget those for whom violence and deprivation are a daily fact of life—the children.

I have just returned from a visit to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and I can tell you this—while our eyes have been on the politicians, the situation of the children in the occupied territories has grown even worse. In fact, it is appalling.

On the West Bank, I saw children living in tents with inadequate sanitation because their homes have been destroyed.

In Gaza, I saw children suffering from malnutrition due to poverty and restrictions on food delivery.

In every home I visited, at least one child had either been wounded, killed, or was being held in prison without charge.

I found that the children are the real victims of the occupation.

Since the Intifada, or uprising, began in December 1987, at least 176 Palestinian children between the ages of four and eighteen have been killed by bullets or beatings. That means about 25 percent of all the Palestinians killed have been children.

Thousands of other Palestinian children have been wounded or maimed in the last year by bullets and clubs paid for by our tax dollars. Fully 75 percent of the Palestinians in prison are children. Many are being tortured.

More than 93 other children and infants have died or have been born with birth defects as a result of exposure to tear gas— tear gas manufactured in the United States. In all of the clinics I visited, there were children suffering from outbreaks of dysentery and diarrhea.

As a mother and grandmother, I find this situation grossly unacceptable. I am asking you to join me in helping as many of these children as we can, by supporting the Middle East Children's Alliance.

Barbara Lubin
Executive Director

Yes! **I want to help** the Middle East Children's Alliance work for peace and stop the suffering of the children living under occupation. Please put my donation to work right away to sow the seeds of a peaceful tomorrow. Here is my special contribution of:

❑$25 ❑$35 ❑$50 ❑$100 ❑$250 ❑$500 ❑$_____

Name:_____
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City:_____State:_____Zip:_____
Phone:_____

Please make your tax-deductible checks to the MIDDLE EAST CHILDREN'S ALLIANCE, 2140 Shattuck Ave. #207, Berkeley, CA 94704

Your help can make a difference

Council for the National Interest

Findley Continues to Speak Out

Former Illinois Congressman Paul Findley has inaugurated the Council for the National Interest, a new Washington-based organization "to inspire and organize at the community level nationwide support for Middle East policies that serve the American national interest." Announcing the formation of the new Council in an article in the November 1989 issue of *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs,* Congressman Findley explained the need for the Council: "Because of political pressure effectively applied by a special interest group," he said, "the US government has been subordinating the interests of the American people to the demands of another nation, Israel."

The Council, said Congressman Findley, will bring together "like-minded citizens who wish to help create public understanding and support for policies in the Middle East helpful to our country." The Council will not be "pro-Arab" or "pro-PLO" or "anti-Israel," but "pro-America," says the author of the best-selling book on the influence of the Israeli lobby, *They Dare to Speak Out: People and Institutions Confront Israel's Lobby.*

Although the Council for the National Interest will have its main offices in Washington, Congressman Findley says that its work will focus on grass roots work "in the countryside, not in the nation's capital." He says: "A few well-informed, committed citizens in each congressional district can do wonders." □

The Council's address in Washington is 1900 18th Street, NW, (P. O. Box 53048), Washington, DC 20009; Telephone (202)265-4530.

Polls Show Little Public Support for Israel

During the past two years, there has been a significant shift in American opinion on the Palestinian-Israeli issue. Numerous public opinion polls have shown an erosion of support for Israel and a corresponding increase in American support for Palestinian rights. [A study of this phenomenon by Dr. Fouad Moughrabi was published by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) as "Issue Paper No. 22"].

Even though, due to Israeli censorship and "media fatigue," news of the Palestinian uprising are now receiving little attention in this country, the shift in public opinion seems to endure. Recently, Congressman Ted Weiss (NY-D) polled more than 10,000 of his constituents in the 17th Congressional District on a range of policy issues. The poll, which included five questions on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, showed very little support for Israeli policy. Following are the questions and responses of the congressman's constituents:

"Are you for or against including the following proposals in U.S. policy toward the Middle East?

	For	*Against*	*Not Sure*
■ A Freeze on new Israeli settlements on the West Bank	59%	16%	25%
■ Permanent annexation by Israel of all occupied territories	13	56	31
■ U.S. recognition of the self-proclaimed Palestinian state	44	27	29
■ An International peace conference, as proposed by Israeli Labor Party leader Shimon Peres [rejected by Israeli Cabinet].	67	7	26

Happy Holidays from Palestine Perspectives

Petition for Peace

The North American Coordinating Committee (NACC) of Non-Governmental Organizations on the Question of Palestine has initiated a petition for "Peace for Palestine and Israel in 1989." Following is the text of the petition:

"Peace for Palestine and Israel in 1989"

The special relationship between the government of the United States and Israel means that we, as Americans, have a special responsibility, indeed a moral obligation, to support a just solution to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has stated its readiness to negotiate with Israel and has offered a peace program as a basis for negotiation. Growing numbers of Israelis are calling on Israel to negotiate with the PLO (bilaterally and in multilateral contexts). The recent U.S. decision to enter dialogue/discussion with representatives of the PLO has drawn broad support of the American people.

Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza continues at high human cost to the Palestinian people and with high financial cost to, and growing internal division in, Israeli society. The price in human suffering is unacceptably high. We need to act for peace in Palestine and Israel in 1989.

Therefore, as Americans we call upon the United States administration to take the following action/steps, and request the United States Congress to support these actions as appropriate:

■ To recognize the independent Palestinian state, and its right to exist alongside Israel, with peace and security for both states;

■ To recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the chosen representative of the Palestinian people;

■ To call for and support the convening of an international peace conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, to include the permanent members of the Security Council, the PLO, Israel, and each of the Arab countries involved in the conflict;

■ To call for an immediate end to the occupation and the resulting human rights violations committed by Israel against the Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza. □

Book Review

A Compassionate Peace

A Compassionate Peace: A Future for Israel, Palestine, and the Middle East. A Report Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee by Everett Mendelsohn. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1989.

The American Friends Service Committee was perhaps the first American group to recognize the importance of the Palestinians in the Arab-Israeli conflict and that peace in the Middle East requires not only responding to Israel's needs but also the fulfillment of Palestinian national rights. For twenty years, the AFSC has advocated a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict that has now become universally recognized as the most viable option: the two-state solution.

The 1989 report, a revised and updated version of the earlier 1982 report, takes into account more recent developments such as the Palestinian uprising, the end of the Gulf War, and Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core issue that the report deals with, the author traces the evolution of Israeli and Palestinian policy on the peace process and shows increasing Palestinian flexibility opposed by increasing Israeli rejectionism. He suggests that taking advantage of existing opportunities, made possible by Arab and Palestinian accommodation, requires a more active U.S. participation in influencing Israel. "The U.S. government," he writes, "must express its opposition to land expropriation, the creation of new settlements, seizure of water resources, deportation of civic leaders, and those other moves aimed to ensure long-term Israeli control of the West Bank and the Gaza strip." He suggests that the U.S. must cease funding Israeli annexationist policy by requiring prior approval and accountability of the use of American aid to Israel, and proposes that the U.S. "reduce aid in proportion to Israeli expenditures for West Bank and Gaza occupation and settlements as a concrete if limited expression of disagreement with Israel's claim to full sovereignty in the West Bank and Gaza."

The author reviews various options for resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict including maintaining the status quo, autonomy within the context of Israeli rule, the "Jordanian option," unilateral withdrawal from some of the occupied territories, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza alongside Israel in its 1967 borders. Only the last option, the report says, serves as a viable framework for a "compassionate peace" because it fulfills the requirements of "mutual recognition, mutual security, and self-determination for Israelis and Palestinians."

One can find fault with the report; for example it gives too much prominence to the Israeli argument that Israel's policy is dictated largely by "security" considerations, although to the author's credit it should be said that he also presents a counter-argument. Nevertheless, *A Compassionate Peace* remains one of the most honest expositions of the nature of the conflict and one of the most rational prescriptions for it. □

UHLF Convention

The United Holy Land Fund plans to hold its 21st annual convention 1-3 December 1989 in Washington, DC. The convention will feature speakers and panelists on the role of humanitarian organizations in assisting the Palestinian people. Several speakers from occupied Palestine have been invited.

The United Holy Land Fund is an organization which offers humanitarian assistance to the Palestinians in Lebanon and occupied Palestine. It also administers "Project Loving Care" which finds sponsors for needy Palestinian children. □

For making reservations for the conference, call UHLF at (312)332-3131 (Chicago) or (202)332-7797 (Washington, DC).

Publish and Perish

AIPAC Attacks University of California Press

The organ of the Israeli lobby in Washington, *Near East Report,* is up in arms against the University of California Press for publishing the *Journal of Palestine Studies,* a scholarly journal on Palestinian affairs. The journal, according to the AIPAC newsletter, is "propaganda," and the intellectual voice of the PLO. The journal has been published since 1971 by the Institute For Palestine Studies and has no relation with the PLO.

The AIPAC organ quoted an unidentified "professor" saying that some of the work published in the highly-regarded journal is "pure garbage." It quoted another professor, "who asked to remain anonymous," saying that he was "appalled" by the University of California Press decision to publish the journal.

To show the type of "propaganda" published by *JPS,* the AIPAC newsletter wrote that "ignoring a massive body of evidence that Arab leaders encouraged Palestinians to flee their homes during Israel's War of Independence, the Autumn 1988 edition contains a 171-page special section devoted to placing the entire blame [for the refugee problem] on Israel."

People who work for AIPAC and its newsletter obviously do not read scholarly research; otherwise they would have known of Israeli research which documents responsibility for the 1948 Palestinian exodus. AIPAC's real problem is that it cannot stand a voice other than its own in this country. It wants the University of California to have its approval for what it publishes. Hopefully, the University of California has more self-respect. □

New Books

- M. Cherif Bassiouni and Louise Cainkar, eds., ***The Palestinian Intifada, December 9, 1987-December 8, 1988: A Record of Israeli Repression.*** Chicago: Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights, 1989.

- Everett Mendelsohn, A ***Compassionate Peace: A Future for Israel, Palestine, and the Middle East.*** (A report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee). New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1989.

Europe Demands Reopening Palestinian Universities

The European Community (EC), troubled by the extended closure of Palestinian universities and the consequent harm to the Palestinian people's right to education, has issued the following appeal for the reopening of the Palestinian universities on 6 October 1989:

"The European Community and its member states consider that the normal functioning of schools and universities in the occupied territories is of the very highest importance for the population of these territories. They recall the obligations concerning the normal functioning of schools and universities that devolve on the occupying power under the Fourth Geneva Convention and customary international law.

High priority should therefore be given to ensuring that schools and universities function normally, all the more so as this is a major factor in establishing the climate of confidence that is indispensable for the development of the peace process.

For this reason, the European Community and its member states, while they note with satisfaction the reopening of primary and secondary schools, are bound to make clear once again their concern at the continued closure of the universities, in particular considering that in December the holders of secondary school leaving certificates are due to begin their studies. The community and its member states therefore request the Israeli government in the strongest terms to end without delay the closure of the universities and other higher-level educational institutions in the occupied territories. They address to the Israeli government a solemn appeal to refrain in future from any measure such as to compromise the functioning of the educational system. □

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"[South Africa's president] De Klerk's initiatives have to them a lift that leaves Shamir in the glum and invidious position of trailing far behind supposedly benighted, unadaptable South Africa in the crucial category of public peace-seeking."

Stephen S. Rosenfeld
The Washington Post
13 October 1989

"The drift in the American-Israeli relationship must be reversed. It is time for the American people and the U.S. government to recognize that the Israelis and the Mossad, along with their vast army of collaborators and sympathizers within our nation, present a clear and present danger to our national security."

Editorial
New American View
1 October 1989

In Brief

■ **Intifada Vests**—Israelis are wearing "intifada vests," garments said to be "resistant to knives, stones, metal bars and other sorts of paraphernalia used as weapons against soldiers" by Palestinian protesters. The item was described by the Israeli media as "one of the hottest products" displayed at a recent Israel exhibition of "security products."

■ **Refuseniks Jailed**—Six Israeli soldiers were given prison terms in September for refusing to serve in the occupation army. A spokesman for Yesh Gvul (There is a limit), an Israeli group established during the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 to support Israeli conscientious objectors, said that 90 Israeli soldiers had been imprisoned for refusing to serve in the occupied territories since the intifada began two years ago.

■ **Rabbi Interrogated**—A leader of the anti-Zionist Orthodox Jewish group Neturei Karta, Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, was detained and interrogated by the Israeli police on 18 September then released on bail. Rabbi Hirsch had sent a letter to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak outlining a proposal for establishing a Palestinian state in place of Israel. Neturei Karta, which has a following in Israel and the U.S., does not recognize Israel and believes that the establishment of a Jewish state by force violates Judaism.

■ **Gas Masks**—The Israeli General Staff are reported to be considering a recommendation to the government that gas masks be distributed to the entire Israeli population. Israel has been conducting localized tests of gas masks.

■ **Professor Arrested**—Birzeit University engineering professor Dr. Riad Malki was arrested by Israeli occupation forces on 3 October for unknown reasons.

■ **Press Office Closed**—The offices of the Jerusalem-based Palestine Press Service have been ordered closed for the third time by the Israeli occupation army. PPS was first closed for six months on 29 March 1988, then the closure order was renewed for one more year on 30 September 1988. The present order closes the Service until 27 March 1990.

■ **Intifada Deaths**—According to fatality figures compiled by the Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights, 714 Palestinians have died from 9 December 1987 to 20 August 1989. These include 507 deaths caused by gunfire, and 207 deaths by other means of violence such as beating and gas inhalation.

■ **Settler Dogs**—More than 26 Palestinians, including a number of children, were hospitalized in October, suffering from dog bites. Palestinians believe that the dogs were trained to attack people and then let loose from the settlement of Shilat in the West Bank.

■ **Murderers Pardoned**—Three Israeli soldiers, originally sentenced to nine months for the beating death of a Palestinian protester, Hani al-Shami from Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, have been pardoned and released from prison. The Israeli Hebrew-language daily Ha'aretz said that their early release "is likely to encourage other soldiers to commit cruel acts, including murder."

Canadian Council of Churches Speaks Out on Palestine

The General Board of the Canadian Council of Churches approved a "position paper on the Middle East" on 13 October 1989. The position paper strongly endorses the two-state solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict in Palestine, and the convening of a UN-sponsored international peace conference to serve as a framework for negotiating such a settlement.

In the introductory section to its position paper, the Council affirms a Christian duty of "concern for justice for all," and says that "In our awareness of the human suffering caused by the conflicts of the Middle East we cannot, in conscience, be silent." It called its position paper "this statement of our concern."

The position paper deals with a number of regional Middle East issues, but it pays particular attention to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The statement on that issue, adopted by the Council, is reprinted below.

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

A major conflict in the region is that between Israel and the Arab states, which has at its core the painful struggle between Israelis and Palestinians over one land. This is a conflict between two rights: on the one hand, the rights of the Jewish people to a recognized homeland with safe and secure borders, and on the other, the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the right of establishing a sovereign Palestinian homeland. Neither people can claim its human and political rights at the expense of the other. Forty years of war and reprisals have surely shown that the only real and lasting solution will come, not from military strength, but from a negotiated solution based on justice and a shared recognition of the rights and aspirations of both parties.

Since December 1987, the intifada of the Palestinians living under Israeli occupation has altered the shape of the conflict. Young Palestinians have illustrated the depth of their despair in the present tragic situation, and given irrefutable proof of the sacrifices they are willing to make for their cause.

We are grieved both by the suffering of the Palestinian people whose human rights are being daily violated by the Israeli authorities, and by the dilemma in which the Israeli people now find themselves. The policy the present government of Israel believes essential for the security of the country stands in sharp contradiction to its founding principles. We applaud the efforts of peace groups in the area, particularly among Jews and Palestinians in Israel who have struggled, against great odds, to build bridges of understanding in the interest of reconciliation, justice and peace for both communities.

We affirm that a comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must recognize the rights and concerns of both parties. A resolution of this core issue is a key to resolving the wider conflict between Israel and the Arab states.

We therefore affirm that the basis for a peaceful settlement is found in UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, with revisions which would take into account changes which have occurred since 1967. The principles found in these resolutions would ensure:

1. The withdrawal of Israel's armed forces from territories occupied in 1967, and the recognition by all the states in the region of Israel's right to exist.

2. The right of all states, including Israel and the Arab states, to live in peace with secure and recognized borders.

3. The implementation of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, including the right of establishing a sovereign Palestinian state.

While the second principle explicitly requires all the states in the region to recognize Israel's right to a secure existence, the third affirms that the Palestinians have the right to determine their own future, including the establishment of a sovereign state.

We affirm that this conflict cannot be resolved through force, but only through peaceful means. We strongly support the call for a UN-sponsored peace conference as envisioned by UN General Assembly Resolutions 38/58C and 43/176. Negotiations within this framework should include all those parties most intimately involved: Israel, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the neighboring Arab states. Any negotiations to resolve this conflict must involve the superpowers: the active support of the United States and the Soviet Union is vital if such negotiations are to succeed. In this light, we welcome indications of improving relationships between the Soviet Union and Israel. □

Palestine Perspectives

The Magazine of Contemporary Palestinian Affairs

"It is not what you don't know that hurts you; it's what you know that ain't so."

The Palestinians have been victimized by disinformation more than any other people. They have been dispossessed and displaced; they have suffered repeated massacres; their human rights have been systematically and ruthlessly violated. Yet, they have risen above their pain and made more conciliatory moves to resolve the conflict with Israel than any other party to that conflict. But they are still portrayed as villains and obstacles to peace.

Don't be a victim of disinformation.
Read *Palestine Perspectives.*

✂

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Israel's Orwellian Doublespeak: "Merciful Deportation"

Israeli officials have become the undisputed masters of Orwellian "doublespeak." One of the examples of this peculiar talent is how they have been explaining their policy of expelling Palestinians. Deporting people, they have been saying, is the humanitarian alternative to executing them.

This "explanation" leaves the listener with the impression that Palestinian deportees are people guilty of horrendous (though never specified) crimes. The fact of the matter is that no deportee has ever been tried, let alone found guilty of anything. People who are deported are usually political activists who are guilty of holding the "wrong" opinions and against whom no case can be made to warrant taking them to court.

One of the most recent deportees, Birzeit University physics instructor Taysir Aruri, spent about four years in "administrative detention" in the mid-1970s. Again, he was not charged, tried, or convicted of any crime. Birzeit University officials were told that he was "guilty of thinking of doing something." He was eventually released when his extended detention attracted worldwide attention leading to his designation as "prisoner of conscience"—imprisoned for his beliefs—by Amnesty International.

Aruri, and four other Palestinians, were expelled from their country at the end of August, bringing the number of deportees to 61 since the beginning of the Intifada. Their expulsion, Israeli officials again explained, was more merciful than their execution.

Execution for what? A day after the Israeli High Court refused Aruri's appeal against expulsion, the Israeli English-language *Jerusalem Post* of 25 August 1989 published an article that Aruri had written while awaiting expulsion. The article explains his view of what it takes to bring about peaceful co-existence between Palestinians and Israelis. Perhaps that was his crime.

Aruri's Article (Excerpts)

"It is reasonable to assume that a lasting solution must be based, even in broad terms, on international consensus and legitimacy as expressed by resolutions concerning Palestine and the Israeli-Arab conflict adopted by the United Nations and its various bodies, particularly the General Assembly and the Security Council, specifically General Assembly Resolutions 181 and 194 and Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The main elements of a serious, realistic peace plan addressing the minimum requirements of the two peoples must include the following:

- The end of the occupation and the withdrawal of the Israeli army from all lands occupied as a result of the Six-Day war, and vacating all Israeli settlements, without exception, built beyond the Green Line;
- Granting the Palestinian people the right to self-determination, including the right to establish an independent and democratic state on lands from which the Israeli army withdraws, i.e., the West Bank including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip.
- The implementation of full political, diplomatic, economic and other relations between the two states, Israel and Palestine, with firm guarantees of true security for each state and the right of each to live in peace and security within internationally recognized boundaries. It may also be necessary for each state to pass legislation limiting the activity of parties or political groups advocating the destruction of the other state or encroachment upon its territory.
- Resolution of the Palestine refugee problem in accordance with relevant UN resolutions.
- Guaranteeing the right of both peoples and of Jews, Moslems and Christians the world over to have access to the holy places in Jerusalem.

An important lesson may be learned from the experience of European states. The peace now prevailing among them is so strong that it seems unimaginable that war is an option that could be exercised to settle disputes that may arise between, say, Germany and France, Britain and Spain, or the Balkan states. The main reason for the stability of peace that exists in Europe today is the strength and extensiveness of common interests, especially in the economic sphere. As a result, any conflict that may arise between any two states remains small relative to the interests that bind them. The balance of common interests alone determines the nature of the relations between states and creates the basis for a durable peace...." □

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