

Palestine Focus

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Editorial:

Israel and the Movement Against Apartheid

Israel's tight relationship with South Africa has become a significant issue in the anti-Apartheid movement in the United States. This development is entirely appropriate and understandable. Israel is South Africa's closest ally, and South Africa is Israel's best friend after the United States. And Israel's relationship with South Africa is inextricably intertwined with each country's relationship with the United States.

What is equally understandable is that Israel's supporters in the United States are extremely upset that Israel has become an Apartheid issue. They have mounted a counter-campaign which tries to minimize the significance of Israel/South Africa ties with phony statistics and spurious arguments. *The Northern California Jewish Bulletin* headlined a 1985 article: "Anti-Zionism Contaminates Anti-Apartheid Movement."

The *Jewish Press*, the largest circulation English-language Jewish newspaper in the United States, published an article with the headline, "No Sanctions Against South Africa." The author, Julius Lieb, explained: "In the event of a political upheaval in South Africa, Jewish interests are bound to suffer. . . Should South Africa fall, the next target of the Council of Churches, the radical black militants, the ultraliberals, and the college demonstrators will be Israel."

Others pass out flyers full of out-of-date and incomplete trade statistics which grossly underestimate Israel/South African trade by omitting South Africa's diamond sales to Israel and Israel's arms sales to South Africa. (See the accompanying chart for updated and corrected figures on South Africa's trading partners.) More importantly, they ignore the military relationship which is the most striking aspect of Israel's collaboration with South Africa.

Israel's supporters complain of "singling out" Israel for criticism. They cite a few well-publicized official Israeli government statements as proof of Israeli abhorrence of Apartheid but ignore the many official Israeli government statements expressing admiration and friendship for their South African allies. One sign of how upset Israel's defenders are at any criticism of Israel is a glossy pamphlet is-

sued by the National Student Secretariat of B'nai B'rith in September 1985 entitled "Jews, Zionism, and South Africa."

The title makes no mention of Israel, though two of the booklet's five chapters concern Israel's trade and policy toward South Africa. It is particularly revealing that chapter 1, in fact, is entitled, "The Meaning of Zionism." It does not address Israel's ties with South Africa at all; instead it tries—unsuccessfully—to refute the internationally accepted condemnation of Zionism as a form of racial discrimination.

On the whole, American Zionists have also been unsuccessful in defusing anger at Israel's links with South Africa. And on the whole, the anti-Apartheid movement has honestly examined the case against Israel and found it to be a strong one.

In fact, it was not Palestinians or their supporters who first noted Israel's relations with South Africa and made it an issue. In 1970, for example, the African National Con-

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gress of South Africa published two articles on Israel's then rapidly growing ties with South Africa in its journal, *Sechaba*. Israel and South Africa, however, became particularly close after South African Prime Minister John Vorster's visit to Israel in 1976.

Israel's defenders have another reason to be upset. Israel's links with South African Apartheid have awakened many people to the existence of Apartheid inside Israel and in areas under its control in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. A recent delegation from the National Conference of Black Lawyers returned with a slideshow entitled "Bantustans in the Promised Land." And Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr., from Detroit, who spent a week in the Middle East in September 1985 said he was convinced that "a system of Apartheid exists on the West Bank and Gaza under the Israeli military occupation."

It is no surprise, then, that American Zionists would like to sweep Israel under the South African rug with the pretext that Israel is a democratic country, free of racism. But Israeli "democracy" is only for Israeli Jews. West Bank and Gaza Strip Palestinians, like South African Blacks, are denied any and all democratic rights. More than anything, Israel's friends want to prevent the broad anti-Apartheid movement from protesting Israel's links with South Africa.

The rapid growth of the American movement against Apartheid is an historic phenomenon initiated by a dramatic display of civil disobedience at the South African Embassy in Washington in November 1984 and sustained by tens of thousands willing to be arrested—at the Embassy, in campus sit-ins, or in other protests around the country. Longshoremen refused to unload South African cargo. Cities and states banned the Kruggerand and speeded up disinvestment. Even President Ronald Reagan, the author of the policy of "constructive engagement," was forced to announce token sanctions against South Africa.

Considering its rapid growth, the anti-Apartheid movement has demonstrated considerable political sophistication and maturity. Its objectives have remained clear, and it has not been taken in by the Reagan administration's



ANC member Fred Dube addressing anti-Apartheid rally at U.C. Berkeley.

numerous attempts to make windowdressing appear to have substance.

And the opposition against Apartheid has shown itself to be a movement of high moral integrity by refusing to apply a double standard. The movement for Palestinian rights can certainly testify that mobilizing criticism against the Israeli government is a steeply uphill battle in the United States, regardless of the facts and arguments one can marshal. Yet the anti-Apartheid movement has begun to address Israeli involvement with South Africa.

Israel's supporters raise one final argument after all the others have been refuted. They say that it is divisive to discuss Israel's ties with South Africa. Thinly disguised in that argument is the familiar tactic of political blackmail: "raise the issue of Israel in the anti-Apartheid movement and forfeit our support."

We believe the anti-Apartheid movement should be broad and all should be welcome to participate actively. But there can be no strings attached. No one's participation can be conditional on the exclusion of other people. And no one's participation can be conditional on the censorship of central political issues.

If the anti-Apartheid movement is to be effective in supporting South Africans to attain freedom from Apartheid, the issue of Israel's relationship with South Africa must be raised in the context of both countries' relationships with the United States. To do so is to strengthen the anti-Apartheid movement, to sharpen its edge. And that after all is our goal: to cut out the cancer of Apartheid in South Africa, Israel, or anywhere else we find it destroying people's lives. □

This issue of *Palestine Focus* contains a special four-page section focusing on Israel's "Iron Fist" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Starting on page 3, the section includes an overview of the occupation, a comparison between conditions for Blacks in South Africa and Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, a survey of the situation for Palestinian prisoners, and an editorial on Palestinian resistance.

SOUTH AFRICA'S 1984 INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Imports (from South Africa, 1984)

Country	\$million	% Imports
United States	1744	9.6
Japan	1335	7.4
Switzerland	1170	6.4
United Kingdom	932	5.1
ISRAEL*	929	5.1
West Germany	675	3.7
Independent Africa	616	3.4
Italy	442	2.4
France	385	2.1
Oil Exporting Countries†	14	0.0008
Soviet Bloc	12	0.0007

Exports (to South Africa, 1984)

Country	\$million	% Exports
United States	2375	15.5
West Germany	2339	15.3
Japan	1934	12.6
United Kingdom	1660	10.8
France	568	3.7
Italy	524	3.4
ISRAEL††	432	2.8
Independent Africa	284	1.9
Switzerland	265	1.7
Soviet Bloc	19	0.1
Oil Exporting Countries	0	0.0

Source: International Monetary Fund, *Direction of Trade Statistics*, October 1984 (first quarter 1984 data), March 1985 (second quarter 1984 data), and July 1985 (third and fourth quarters 1984 data).

* Israel's IMF-reported imports from South Africa are augmented by \$800 million in diamond sales. *Economist*, July 20, 1985.

† Primarily Venezuela.

†† Israel's exports to South Africa are augmented by \$350 million in arms sales. *Washington Post*, March 22, 1985.

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Interview with Lebanese Musician Marcel Khalife

"We struggle to save humanity and to prove the unity of humanity."

Marcel Khalife is one of Lebanon's most popular composers and performers and a member of the musical ensemble al-Mayadeen. Khalife is a virtuoso of the oud (similar to the lute) and is strongly associated with Lebanon's democratic opposition. He was interviewed by Palestine Focus while on a highly successful, fourteen-city national tour of the United States in December 1985.

PF: Are you part of a particular movement among young Lebanese musicians?

MK: Experiences are not born in a vacuum. We cannot say that we just simply came into being. We should mention that there is a very important experience in the Arab world, that of Sayyed Darwish.

Sayyed Darwish was the first Arab artist, an Egyptian, who freed art and gave it a human dimension. Art in the Arab world had been confined to palaces and the ruling class. Sayyed Darwish was able to expand the circle of the audience. Sayyed lived in the twenties and thirties. He was an artist of the past who died thirty years ago.

Sayyed Darwish was not only an artist, he was also a combatant. He participated in the 1917 Egyptian revolution against the British. He sang against British colonialism, which dominated Egypt at that time. He wrote songs for the poor and the workers. Sayyed Darwish was able to grasp the sentiment of the people and translate it into music and songs. We can say that we have a heritage: this ingenious artist that all regimes fought against. Our young generation felt that we have an obligation to give this artist his true dimension. We also include a song by Sayyed Darwish in our performances to remind the audience of his legacy.

So, this form of music has roots. We have a history and a legacy by which we are influenced, and we try to present a contemporary song movement in Lebanon. This new form of music was born out of the Sayyed Darwish experience; a new and young experience emerged in Lebanon, burning to present different music and songs from those existing. And this urge was not only musical, it was also in theater, film, and the arts as a whole.

PF: Is this new kind of music a broad and

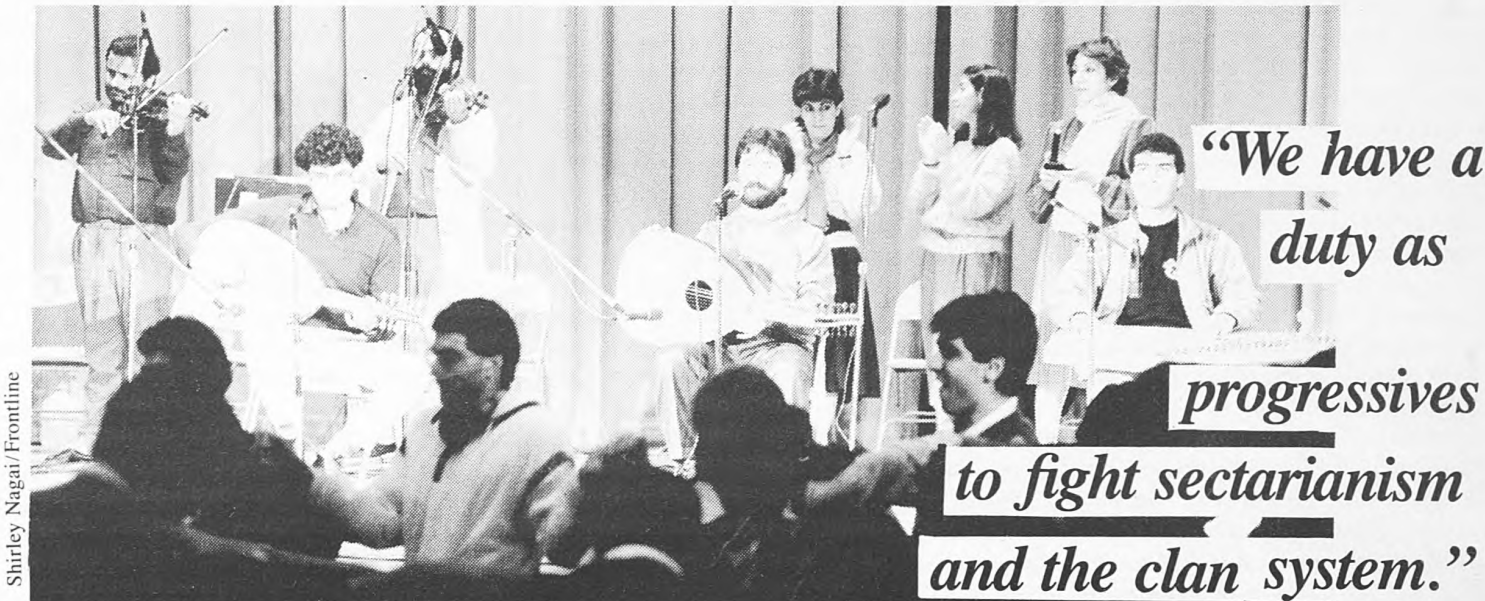
substantial Arab movement or is it just a few musicians like you?

MK: At the start of the Lebanese civil war in 1975, the launching of this new song movement became public. There had been previous attempts, but in 1975 we were able to control the media in the sense that we were able to deliver our songs to the people. Prior to 1975, there was a siege by the government.

Our movement is not confined only to

there are particularities in each country based on the regimes and their hold on freedom.

Our work has been distinguished as one that attracts large audiences because through our song we have been able to present not only political slogans, but also art. The song has a musical and poetic language as well as a political content. It cannot contain only a slogan.



San Francisco audience dances to Marcel Khalife and al-Mayadeen Ensemble.

Lebanon but also has spread to the rest of the Arab world and is very popular. Our most recent performance in Lebanon was attended by forty thousand people. This is an impressive turnout taking into consideration the difficult conditions in Lebanon.

There have been several attempts by youth in the Arab world which started through expressing people's worries and problems. But these attempts have been scattered and shaped by the country in which these artists live and by the extent to which they are able to express themselves. For example, in Morocco there is the group Nass al-Ghiwane. In Egypt, Sheikh Imam. In Jerusalem, the Sabirin group and others in the occupied land, such as the Land group. I could name many more. There are groups today that have begun to forge a new direction, different from previous ones. But

The problem some of the young Arab artists face is a reliance solely on slogans without the artistic dimension.

From the beginning, we have a different approach. If we want to create a new song movement, we cannot just present a political statement, which is addressed by politicians. Our role is to present art. This is what we have been working on, and this type of song has attracted a following.

PF: You have been credited with reawakening interest in the oud, a very traditional instrument, and at the same time introducing western instruments into Arabic music. How has your musical style developed, particularly as a composer?

MK: There is no such thing as eastern and western music or eastern and western instruments. It is true that there are special characteristics to each country and region. But we

benefit from all the contributions from the entire world. We are seeking to break frontiers and barriers so that all of this planet can become a single region.

We apply that idea even to our musical logic. So, even when we use "western" instruments, such as the trombone or the trumpet, we do not use them in the style of American jazz. On the contrary, the trombone and the trumpet are used to express a musical language particular to our heritage and needs. These instruments have served our music.

PF: Who has influenced your style in playing the oud?

MK: The oud is my instrument. I studied at the Conservatory of Music in Lebanon under one of the most prominent professors of oud in the Arab world: Farid al-Ghosn. He died recently. Farid Ghosn introduced me to a new method of playing the oud.

PF: How did al-Mayadeen come together as a group? What is the significance of the name?

MK: Al-Mayadeen is a group of people who share both an artistic and social goal and vision through which we present an art form close to people. The name, "al-Mayadeen," is the plural of the Arabic word which means village plazas where joyous occasions are celebrated and where public gatherings are held.

PF: How do you function as musicians in the war situation in Lebanon?

MK: During the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, it was hard to present our songs directly because of real persecution. But people had cassettes or listened to the nationalist radio stations that played our songs on the air.

But when we had the opportunity to perform in liberated villages or cities, we never hesitated and the public came in droves to

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FOCUS On Action

By Steve Goldfield

The murder of American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) activist Alex Odeh in Santa Ana, California in October provoked nationwide and virtually universal condemnation, though some of the major national media such as the *New York Times* were extremely slow to react. But the volume of coverage was relatively miniscule measured against coverage of the killing of hostage Leon Klinghoffer aboard the cruise ship *Achille Lauro*.

Arab-American organizations and groups working for Palestinian rights viewed the Odeh assassination as a direct attack on our movement. In some cities, such as New York and San Francisco, meetings were immediately called to help defend the ADC, including already planned events which were converted into memorials for Alex Odeh.

The fire which destroyed part of the ADC's national headquarters in Washington in December marked a continuation of the attacks. The intent of those responsible clearly is to intimidate Arab-Americans and their allies from raising the issues of racism and terrorism directed at us both abroad and in the United States and from working to build support for Palestinian rights. We must defend

ourselves from these attacks, but we must not allow them to divert us from our work.

Once again, November 29th Committee for Palestine chapters celebrated the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People from which they take their name. In New York, a major cultural and political event was held on November 29. Speakers included Zehdi Terzi, Representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization Observer Mission at the United Nations; Mohammed Milhem, deposed and deported mayor of the West Bank city of Halhoul; Dr. Gabi Baramki, acting president of Bir Zeit University; Oscar Oramas-Oliva, Cuban Ambassador to the United Nations; Nyugen Dan Quang, First Secretary of the Mission of the People's Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations; Fred Dube of the African National Congress of South Africa; and Wilhelm Joseph, cochair of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. A message was read from the FMLN-FDR of El Salvador. Delegations also attended from the UN missions of the People's Republic of China, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. Cultural groups performing included al-Watan, Palestinian songs and dances; Roy Brown, a well-known Puerto Rican singer; and Lactacame from Honduras. Palestinian poets Yasmin Adeeb and Nidal Ghanem read their poetry.

In Chicago, speakers included such noted poets and writers as Mohammad Batrawi, head of the Palestinian

Writers Union in the West Bank; Jan Carew, head of African-American Studies at Northwestern University; and Sterling Plump of the Black Studies Department at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle campus. In Sacramento, the program included Professor Norton Mezvinsky of American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism; Rachel Flynn of the Sacramento Peace Center; Kaki Rusmore of the Central America Action Committee; Dawna Keels, chairperson of the African American Political Task Force of the African Students United, University of California, Davis; Andre Africa, a South African student; Sonny Alforque, coordinator of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Network; Pat Peralta, who sang songs of Latin American liberation; and the Kalayaan singers, who sang songs from the Philippines.

On November 10, 1985, supporters of Israel launched a campaign to overturn the United Nations resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism on the tenth anniversary of the passage of the resolution. Postcards attacking the resolution were sent to the Secretary-General's office. And a meeting was held in the basement of the U.N.'s New York headquarters to mobilize opposition. The meeting had been given U.N. permission to use the facilities only because its purpose had been misrepresented. We can expect this campaign to continue and to grow in ferocity,

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Palestine Focus

NATIONAL NEWSPAPER OF THE NOVEMBER 29th COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

Special Feature

Israel's "Iron Fist": the Stranglehold of Occupation

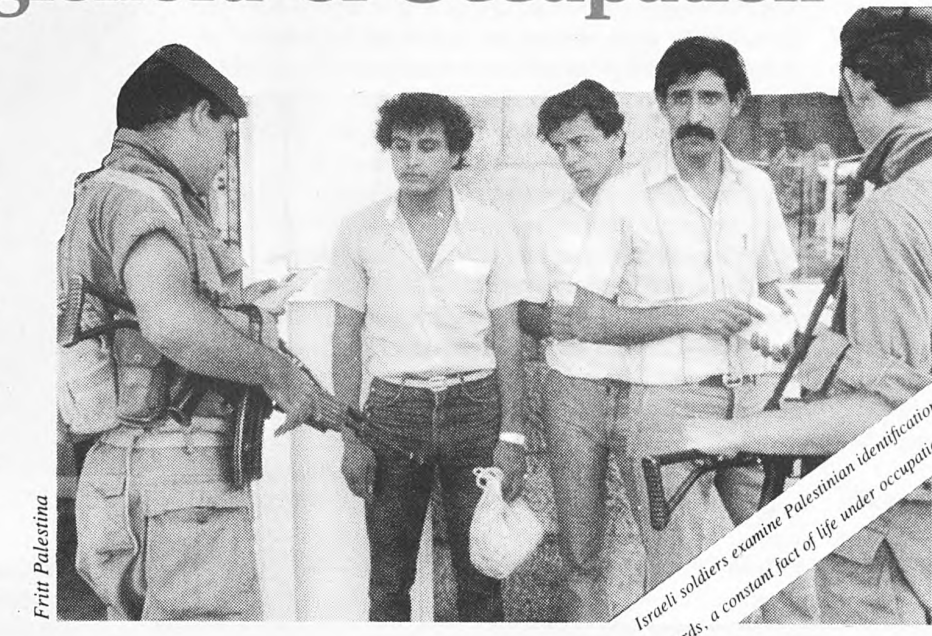
By John Masterson

Several months before we had sat in the courtyard of Ziad Abu Eain's home in Ramallah, eating knafi and sipping dark coffee with him and his gracious family. The optimism of youth shone in the face of this young man released by the Israelis in the recent prisoner exchange. He had served two years of a life sentence for a crime he did not commit. Indeed, ample evidence placed him far from the scene of the crime; a recanted confession in Hebrew was the only evidence at his trial.

It was a shock, then, in mid-August to read of his rearrest without specific charge in the recent "crackdown" in the West Bank, the extension to the occupied territories of the "iron fist" policy which Peres, Shamir, and Sharon initiated in Lebanon as an attempt to salvage some advantage from the forced evacuation there.

"I still believe that Jews, Christians, and Muslims can live in this land as one people," this gentle soul had previously written from prison. "I welcome all Jews to come and live with me in my home," he continued, "but not to live without me in my home." What kind of policy, I asked myself, puts young men with these thoughts in prison when they have committed no crime? Two weeks of talking with people in the occupied territories and Israel had given me a better picture than I had previously had.

The "iron fist" is perhaps the best-known



Fritt Palestina

Israeli soldiers examine Palestinian identification cards, a constant fact of life under occupation.

of the methods which Israel is using to effect its policy in the occupied territories, but it is not the only one. The "iron fist" might be thought of as the *right hand* of Israeli policy. It moves with varying degrees of force and speed depending on the exigencies of the time. The settler "tail" wagging the Israeli "dog" seems to be the principal motivation for its use at this time.

But it is the *left hand* of Israeli policy that I saw uniformly and relentlessly applied during the two weeks I traveled last summer through the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel. Seldom reaching even the back pages of American newspapers, the continuous squeezing operations reach into each Palestinian home, school, garden, and work-

place, slowly strangling every aspect of daily human existence. The left hand is the heavy restriction of Palestinian life by more than one thousand military orders which require—but rarely grant—permits for the simplest of activities.

As if this were not enough, there are at least two other methods. They are important because their activities are more frequently reported in the press and paint a picture which distracts from the real nature of the oppression. The third method is the armed, brutal, and virtually lawless forays of the militant settler groups. The best-known are the organizations of the Gush movement with its leaders Rabbis Kahane, Levinger, and Druckman. The fourth method is the Is-

Palestine Focus devotes these pages to the increasingly repressive Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, termed the "Iron Fist" by the Israeli government. Deportation of community leaders, administrative detentions, collective punishments, torture of prisoners, and other repressive measures represent an extended emergency for the Palestinians. Every day brings news of fresh outrages from the Israeli military authorities. Yet the western news media hardly covers events in the West Bank and Gaza. We have prepared this section to provide both information and analysis of Israel's "Iron Fist." We do so with the idea that understanding brings the responsibility to act.

raeli legal and police system, supposedly controlling these fanatical elements and guaranteeing the rule of law. Together they present a puppet show in which the Israeli government appears to be vigilantly protecting the territories against the forays of "illegal" settler activity. The history of the settlements, however, tells a different story, one of more cooperation between the settlers and the government than conflict.

The Iron Fist

The recent internationally forced release of Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners by the Israelis has increased the pressure on the coalition government to "get tough," especially in light of increased settler militancy in general. The first week of August saw the following actions taken by the military occupation authorities and the government itself:

- Closing of the Austrian Hospice Hospital, the only hospital serving the Armenian and Palestinian poor in the Old City of Jerusalem.
- Closing al-Najah University in Nablus for a two-month period with no reason given.
- Rearrest of Ziad Abu Eain and 34 other prisoners who had been released in the recent prisoner exchange. The six-month detention of Ziad for "violating the terms of his release" gave no specific reasons and is a violation of the exchange agreement with the Red Cross.

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South African and Israeli Apartheid: A Comparison

By Steve Goldfield

Both Israel and South Africa are settler states in which immigrants have seized land from indigenous peoples. There is an important historical difference in settlement strategy, however: South African policy is to drive Africans into tiny, barren enclaves from which they "emigrate" to work in white enterprises. Israeli policy is to drive most Palestinians out of Palestine altogether, though since 1967 Palestinian labor has become a significant factor in the Israeli economy.

The basic system: Neither Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza nor Black South Africans are considered citizens. Both must carry passes. Palestinians living inside the pre-1967 borders of Israel have some rights as do those classified as Asian or Colored in South Africa. Palestinians who have Israeli citizenship may vote, although only for parties approved by the courts, which means that they may not question the Zionist nature of Israel. Asians and Coloreds can also vote, but not for representatives in the ruling parliament.

Land

Massive amounts of land have been confiscated. In pre-1967 Israel 92 percent of the land is controlled by the state and reserved for Jews. In South Africa 87 percent of the land is reserved for whites. In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, estimates vary from slightly less than half to slightly more than half of the land taken by the Israelis. Israel has formally annexed the Golan Heights from Syria and East Jerusalem from the West Bank, though these annexations are not recognized even by the U.S. government.

Contrast these data with historic land ownership and use patterns. Africans, of course, owned and cultivated all the arable land in South Africa before the arrival of European settlers. And Palestine was the most economically dynamic sector of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, its wealth based on agriculture.

Over two hundred years, European settlers pushed Africans off their land. The Zionist movement moved faster. In 1947, Jews—primarily settlers—made up approximately one-third of the population of Palestine and owned less than 7 percent of its land. In that year the United Nations allotted 54 percent of Palestine for a "Jewish" state and in the next six months the Zionist armies took an additional 24 percent of the territory. In 1967 the Israelis took the rest of Palestine and show no indication of willingness to give any of it up.

Economy

Conditions strongly discourage African development; the policy is to have a cheap labor force. Palestinian development is prevented because harsh conditions are intended to drive Palestinians out. Palestinian access to land and water is sharply circumscribed and shrink-

ing. Neither industrial nor agricultural development are permitted; nothing which would produce jobs for Palestinians is allowed.

Human Rights

In South Africa, Blacks can be imprisoned without charge (commonly referred to as "administrative detention") for up to fourteen days; they can be immediately rearrested for extended periods. In the West Bank and Gaza, Palestinians can be imprisoned without charge for up to eighteen days; they can be immediately rearrested and thus held continuously. More than three-quarters of South African Black men and more than half of Palestinian men in the West Bank and Gaza have been imprisoned, in each case many for pass violations.

South African prisoners are routinely tortured; many have died from torture. Palestinian prisoners are also routinely tortured, particularly to extract false confessions, and many have died including many held in Ansar Prison in Lebanon. Two commandos were beaten to death after their capture. Many Palestinians and South Africans have, of course, been massacred by soldiers and police. A growing phenomenon for Palestinians, better-known in Latin America, is that of the disappeared.

The Israeli conquest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip has created an overt Apartheid system.

Both Palestinians and South Africans suffer town arrest: restriction to a particular locality. South Africans can also be banned, which means they cannot go to public meetings, must check in with the police regularly, and cannot even receive more than a few people at a time in their homes. They cannot be quoted and their photographs cannot be publicly displayed. Palestinians are also banned—though the terminology is a little different, restrictions are essentially the same. Palestinians are not permitted to identify themselves as "Palestinian," only as Arab. The colors of the African National Congress of South Africa, founded in 1912—green, black, and yellow—are banned in South Africa. The colors of the Palestinian flag—red, green, white, and black—are banned in Israel and areas under its control.

In summary, while there are differences—legal, cultural, etc.—between Zionism and Apartheid in practice, the similarities are even greater. The Israeli conquest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has led to the construction of an overt Apartheid system in Israel, and that is what honest Israelis and others increasingly call it. □

"One Million Subversives"

By Michael Harris

The first crime every Palestinian commits is to be born. An estimated 25 percent of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories have been arrested since 1967 and 60 percent of the adult male population has spent at least one night in an Israeli prison, usually without being charged with a specific offense. It is hard to think of any crime prosecuted so vigorously in the United States.

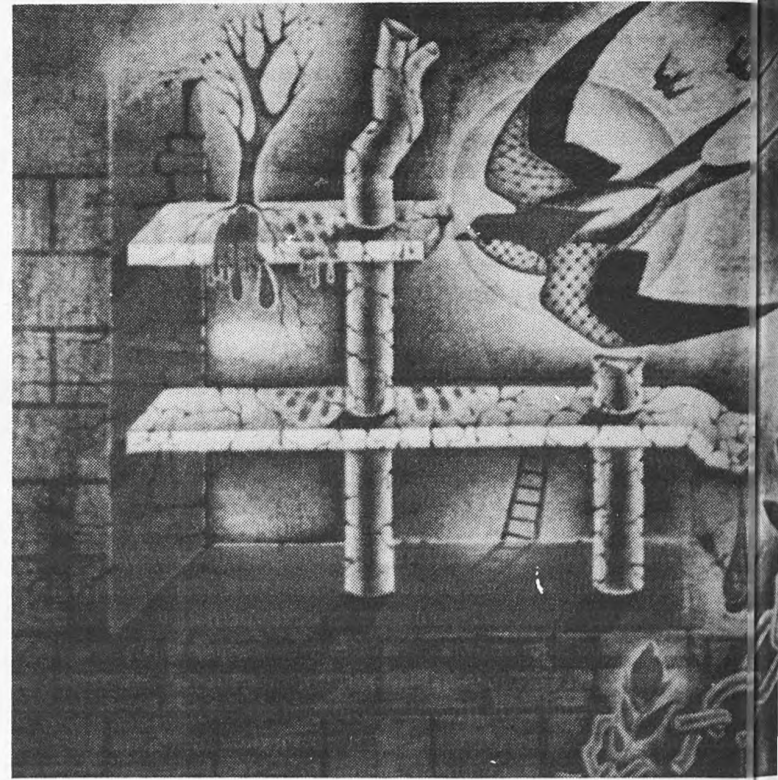
The Israeli prisons are as familiar to Palestinians as our sports arenas are to us. Each name conjures a different image: Nablus Prison was cited as a torture center by the International Committee of the Red Cross as early as 1968. Fara'a detention center, bitterly known as the "institute for the development of the voice," is where young Palestinian men are brought to confess. The new Jnaid prison near Nablus was equipped with the most modern surveillance equipment in the Middle East in 1984 and already packed to twice its capacity within a few weeks of opening. Neva Tertza's women prisoners waged a successful year-long strike against the requirement that they cook for their guards. These names have of necessity become symbols of Palestinian resistance and steadfastness as well as of violence and repression.

Palestinians most commonly experience Israeli prisons through temporary detentions. Military Order 378 permits the occupation authorities to detain any resident of

means they are exposed to torture. Methods of torture currently popular in Israel run the gamut from simple beatings, immersion in water, and application of electrodes to sensitive parts of the body to relatively sophisticated psychological techniques (hooding, isolation, threats against family members). Sexual humiliation seems to be a particular favorite of Israeli interrogators. Reports of torture under Israeli detention have been amply and depressingly documented since the beginning of the occupation and by now fill several good-sized books. These reports have just as routinely been denied by Israeli spokespersons, although it is hard to take these denials seriously in light of the recent "iron fist" campaign, when many of these same forms of torture were practiced in broad daylight on random passers-by in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In most cases, interrogation does not produce a confession, and the detainee is released without ever having been charged with a crime. (Exact figures are not available for the occupied territories, but the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights notes that in the first half of 1984, only 2.8 percent of arrests in Israel itself led to charges being pressed.) Only a small proportion of those detained and charged are ever convicted.

The formal right of "security defendants"—the Israeli euphemism for those charged with political crimes—to due process of law in the occupied territories is largely vitiated by holding their trials in



Prisoner's artwork. Produced by Mohamed S. El Rakou'e while in Ashkelon prison.

for belonging to "illegal organizations," it almost doesn't matter whether or not the courts in which these offenses are tried conform to the Geneva conventions.

The administrative detainees occupy a position somewhere between the temporary detainees and the "security prisoners." The laws governing administrative detention date back to the British Mandate Defense (Emergency) Regulations of 1945 and were applied to the West Bank and Gaza Strip immediately following the 1967 occupation. The practice was discontinued in 1981 by Likud and reinstated in August 1985 under Yitzhak Rabin's tenure as minister of defense. Administrative detainees serve six-month renewable terms on such nebulous charges as "incitement," "instigation to rebellion," "organization," and "recruitment." One Bir Zeit University professor was imprisoned in this way for 46 months without charge in the mid-1970s. According to the university's president, the military governor explained that "it is not what he has done, but what he is thinking of doing."

The list of those condemned to town arrest since 1980 reads like a Who's Who in Palestine.

the West Bank and Gaza Strip for up to eighteen days without charge: the eighteen-day detention can, in principle, be renewed indefinitely. Such detentions are primarily intended to prevent the emergence of an articulate political leadership in the occupied territories. Young Palestinians who dare to assert leadership or who take political stands in public can expect to be detained whenever acts of resistance take place in the vicinity of their homes.

Sooner or later, most detainees are interrogated, which

military courts in which "security concerns" invariably take precedence over the rights of the accused. Thus suspects are denied interviews with their lawyers during interrogation, the public and the press are excluded from ostensibly public trials, and charges against suspects are often not revealed until the day of the trial, all for reasons of security. Still, considering that Palestinians are imprisoned for possession of copies of speeches of PLO leaders, for dressing in the colors of the national flag, or

Editorial:

Terrorism or Resistance? Palestinian Resistance in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza



Carnage resulting from Israel's bombing of Tunis.

How is it that French violence against the Nazi occupation during World War II was called resistance but Palestinian violence against the much-longer and continuing Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip is called terrorism? If the French underground attacked targets in Germany or on the high seas, were they then terrorist? The moralizing on this subject by the U.S.

government and the media is hypocritical not only because of such a blatant double standard, but also because the U.S. government is itself overtly financing terrorist mercenaries committing daily massacres against the Nicaraguan people.

International law and common sense provide valuable guidance in sorting out reality from demagoguery. Under international law, embodied in the United Nations Charter among other places, a people under occupation has the right to use violence against the occupying power. The common sense point behind the legal argument is that victims must not be denied a means of self-defense.

It matters, therefore, who is the aggressor and who is the victim. We often read in our newspapers or hear speakers say that it does not, that what is important is to stop the cycle of violence in the Middle East and forget how it started. Those who present such an argument are either themselves confused or are trying to confuse others.

To examine the resistance of the Palestinians without examining the much, much greater violence perpetrated against them—past and present—is to portray self-defense as aggression. Only those who examine, condemn, and act to end U.S.-backed Israeli state terrorism against the Palestinian people can presume to criticize the forms of Palestinian resistance.

Where, for example, is outrage against

the terrorism of Israeli settlers against Palestinians? Settlements themselves are an act of violence against Palestinians, but even some settlers convicted of grievously violent acts have recently been released and there is strong Israeli sentiment for the release of settlers who have murdered and

Under international law, a people under occupation has the right to use violence against the occupying power.

maimed mayors, students, and others. Israeli settlers have surrounded and attacked refugee camps, rounded up Palestinians from their homes at night and murdered them, planted bombs in religious buildings and in busses, and assassinated Palestinian leaders. The Israeli government has treated the settler terrorists mildly, and the U.S. government has essentially ignored their activities.

The examination need not be limited only to motivation. Both the quantity and the brutality of the violence meted out by Israel and the United States are orders of magnitude greater than anything done by Palesti-

nians, Lebanese, and all Arabs together for that matter. No Arab has ever massacred every child, woman, and man in an Israeli village. No Arab has ever used saturation bombing against an Israeli city. Nor has an Arab ship like the New Jersey lobbed two-ton bombs into residential areas in either Israel or the United States.

While a small number of hijackings and assassinations have drawn a barrage of media attention, in the first six months of 1985 there were hundreds of acts of armed resistance against occupation in Palestine, mostly directed against Israeli occupying soldiers. Between January and June of 1985, Israeli authorities

reported 37 commando operations inside the state of Israel, 137 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and 119 additional incidents of rock and molotov cocktail throwing.

By October the total of attacks had reached 660, compared to 343 in 1984. In October, for instance, army vehicles were attacked with molotov cocktails in Gaza and Bethlehem and a military transport station was bombed in Jerusalem. The military governor's headquarters in Gaza was attacked with fire bombs on October 21. These attacks on the military occupation authorities are clearly justifiable acts of national resis-

': Palestinians in Prison

Fara'a detention center, where young Palestinian men are tortured to confess, is bitterly known as the "Institute for the Development of the Voice."

met with severe repression, including at times the tear gassing of prisoners in their poorly ventilated cells. Frequently, prisoners have no choice but to resort to hunger strikes. While such actions often serve as a rallying point for Palestinian protest beyond the prison walls and occasionally result in limited victories, even hunger strikes have been repressed: three striking Palestinian prisoners at Nafha Prison in Israel died in 1980 following force feeding by prison authorities.

The most prominent community leaders usually manage to avoid incarceration and are instead condemned to "town arrest"—confinement to the town of residence, which all too frequently is not the town in which the confinee makes a living or is politically active. Town arrest corresponds roughly to the "banning" practiced in South Africa. The list of those condemned to town arrest since 1980 reads like a *Who's Who in Palestine*: mayors, members of municipal councils, newspaper editors and journalists, university professors, leaders of trade and professional unions, and the founder of the largest women's self-help organization on the West Bank. As with administrative detentions, town arrest is imposed for a six-month term which can be renewed at the discretion of the military authorities; no concrete charges need be presented.

Along with his restoration of administrative detention, Defense Minister Rabin has reintroduced the deportation of dissidents, universally regarded as the cruelest form of Israeli repression in the occupied territories. Deportation is the repetition in miniature of the catastrophe of 1948, when over eight hundred thousand Palestinians lost their homes. Between 1967 and 1980 more than fifteen hundred leaders were expelled, including Sheikh Abdul Hamid Sayih, a leading nationalist figure; President Hanna Nasir of Bir Zeit University; Dr. Ahmed Hamze Natshe, candidate for mayor of Hebron (eventually permitted to return following an international campaign in his behalf); and the elected mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, Fahd Qawasmeh and Mohammed Milhem. Almost none of the deportees has been allowed to return to Palestine. The revival of deportation in 1985 was justified by Israeli officials as a response to the increasing number of attacks on Israeli targets in the occupied territories. Within a few months, however, political leaders obviously unconnected with the armed resistance began to be served deportation notices, making it

clear that the practice was merely an extreme version of the policy of political decapitation of the Palestinian opposition.

Israeli officials, meanwhile, are surprised that anyone should object to this policy. "Out of one million subversives, we've only arrested a few dozen," complained the prosecutor in a recent administrative detention hearing. One million is the approximate population of the West Bank. □

Michael Harris is an associate professor of Mathematics at Brandeis University. In the Fall of 1984 he taught mathematics at Bethlehem University.

Yusef Abdullah Adwan describes his deportation in the early 1970s:

We were on the road and around us extended the desert. An Israeli officer came and ordered us in a threatening voice: "Now you walk toward the east," and he pointed at the dunes of the endless desert. "Anyone coming back will be shot. Anyone coming back in a month, a year, or any other time must know that only death awaits him here." To the east the burning sands of the desert were waiting for us. It was midday in July. Our heads had no cover. Our shoes were plastic slippers. We each had a water bottle with lukewarm water and a bag with sand-covered food. We started walking in the terrible heat of noon without knowing where our steps would take us. We were afraid of getting lost in the Sinai sands after suffering hunger, thirst, and sunstroke. We walked for more than two hours until suddenly we met a first-line post of the Jordanian army. They thought we were spies and started shooting at us. By a real miracle, none of us were wounded, and finally we succeeded in convincing them and we were taken to Amman. As you know, the Jordanian authorities refused to accept people deported across the bridge. So the Israeli authorities wanted to confront them with facts. I think they expected the Jordanians to kill us. We were told later that we had been banished near the al-Dahl region, in Wadi Araba. Our feet were inflamed when we arrived in Amman. The skin of my shaved head had peeled off because of the sun. The desert was a nightmare.

From With My Own Eyes by Felicia Langer.

The number of administrative detainees peaked at over one thousand in the early 1970s; by late 1985 there were close to 100. These represent a kind of elite among Palestinian political prisoners: journalists, students, trade union activists, and others who have committed nothing resembling a crime but whose influence is regarded by Israeli authorities as too dangerous to be permitted to continue unchecked. Legal procedure is so far from being respected in the military courts which process these cases that even the charges against the defendant are generally treated as classified information, which the defendant's lawyer has no right to know.

With such a system of justice, it is hardly surprising that Israeli prisons are among the most crowded in the world. In the prisons in Hebron and Gaza, the inmates have to make do on the average with fifteen square feet apiece, about three-fifths the size of a double bed. Inmates remain in these cramped conditions for up to 22 hours a day. Protests against overcrowding, poor sanitation, lack of medical care, and other harsh conditions are

tance against an illegal and brutal occupation. In German-occupied France during World War II, precisely such acts were justly considered heroic.

Certainly, groups engaged in armed resistance sometimes make mistakes. Not all violence is appropriate or aimed at the right target. But mistakes made in defending oneself are not terrorism.

Palestinians are referred to as "terrorists" to dismiss rather than to answer the case for Palestinian national and human rights. To paraphrase U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, if they are not human beings, they are not entitled to any rights. Before the PLO was formed and thus before the beginning of organized Palestinian resistance, Palestinians were referred to as "infiltrators" because they wanted to return to their homes.

The real and highly dangerous terrorists operate out of government offices in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, who are directly supported by Washington. Part of their technique is to dehumanize the image of their victims, ironically, in this case, by portraying the victims as "terrorists." Some human-rights organizations defend only those victimized because of their beliefs or because of nonviolent political activity. But self-defense is also a human right, and it must be defended from mislabeling as terrorism. Without the right to fight for survival, other human rights are meaningless. □

IRON FIST...

Continued from page 3

The passing by the Knesset on August 4th of a new series of laws rooting Apartheid-like policies more deeply in the occupied territories. These laws include:

(1) the deportation of any Palestinian

whom Israel decides is a "security risk" without due process of law;

- (2) the use of administrative detention (imprisonment without charge, in other words) for indefinite periods without due process;
- (3) blowing up entire rows of homes as a form of collective punishment.

In addition, a Knesset committee is considering the reinstatement of the death penalty for Palestinians convicted of murder or "brutality." (All but three of the Jewish terrorist underground convicted of murder received light sentences. There is strong sentiment in the government for early release of all of them. Some have already been released.)

Operation of the Day-to-Day Occupation

While the pounding of the iron fist is more dramatic and brutal, the gradual and relentless squeezing of the military orders is perhaps more serious and certainly more insidious. With its intent defined by its actions, it becomes each day more and more difficult for the Palestinians to maintain even a subsistence existence on the land. The conclusion one draws watching this happen day by day is that these policies intend to provide what history did not: a land without a people.

The strangulation of the economy and the taking of Palestinian land are perhaps its most serious characteristics. Hisham Awartani, professor of Agricultural Economics at al-Najah University described the state of the economy for us over lunch in Nablus on a very sunny July 17th—a gruesome contrast to the magnificent meal we were enjoying in this beautiful city.

"Agriculture is on the brink of total collapse," he told us, noting that "it had declined 50 percent in the last ten years." That part of it not destroyed by the simple process of confiscation of land and uprooting of the

crops, he said, has been brought to a standstill by military orders. Military Order 1015, for example, has been applied ruthlessly, allowing the military governor to stop Palestinian production and sale of any crop the occupation authority so chooses.

Even the subsistence economy so critical to survival in the camps, he noted, has been destroyed by the simple step taken by the military authorities of closing permanently almost all entrances to the camps. The "security" reason given is the throwing of stones by children. Twenty of the twenty-one entrances of Dheisheh camp have been bricked up or closed with barbed wire and cement-filled cans. A butcher near one of these entrances, for example, has a shop full of rotting meat since he cannot reach his customers.

He also mentioned the water policy of the Israelis as one of the more vicious forms of strangling the Palestinian economy. In violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, 75 percent of the water reserves of the West Bank is now used by the Israelis. While massive irrigation of crops is routine in Israel and the settlements, no Palestinian has been allowed to dig a well for irrigation purposes since 1967. "Even the wells used for human consumption," he noted, "are being dried up by the Israeli wells."

Six days prior to our visit with Dr. Awartani, Raja Shehadeh described for us the most extreme and obvious violation of the Geneva Conventions: the removal of what is estimated as between 40 and 60 percent of the land of the West Bank and Gaza Strip for use by present or future Israeli settlers. Standing in a small room of the cramped quarters of Law in the Service of Man (LSM), he discussed the process of land takeover.

"The Zionists," he stated, "have been concerned with projecting an image of a

community ruled by principles of justice and the rule of law." The Byzantine nature of the actual use of law, however, is something else. As an example, he noted how Military Order 58, Article 10 was used to remove the land of a client of his. The land had been given to settlers as "absentee," when it was discovered that the owner was not absent. This law allowed the transfer of land to the Israeli settlers to stand since it had been done "in good faith."

The Settlers: A Charade of Law

For an entire day we traveled with Ibrahim Mattar from settlement to settlement covering the area only barely beyond the environs of East Jerusalem. Expanded by the Israeli government to accommodate the eighty thousand new Jewish inhabitants, they hope to make the annexation of East Jerusalem a de facto reality. French Hill, Neve Yacov, Pisgat Zeev, Givat Zeev, Ramat, Gilo: they arise from the ground with a relatively uniform fortress-like quality as if they sensed the tentativeness of their own creation by the fiat of force against the rule of law. Mattar has written extensively on the settlements, their origin, legality, and the implications for peaceful solutions of the problem.

We saw an occasional Palestinian house whose deed papers were so secure and owners so tenacious that even the government felt the need to move slowly. We stopped at the only remaining Palestinian structure adjacent to the Resettlement Center near Gilo. Within a week of my return to the United States, I read of the eviction of the 65-year-old couple and the bulldozing of their house.

Referring to the \$4 billion-plus projected in U.S. aid to Israel for next year—without

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Getting It All In FOCUS

How can fifty thousand Palestinians who live in the Jabalia refugee camp in Israeli-occupied Gaza survive day to day? The new film, "Gaza Ghetto," give us the chance to feel what it's like to live with huge guard towers looming overhead and with military occupation intruding into every aspect of daily life. The film follows the normal daily events of the el-Dimrawi family over several months. Abu el-Adel commutes to Tel Aviv for work from the "slave markets" on the streets in Gaza. The children wake to get ready for school, and a daughter complains that she can't find anything about Palestinians in her textbook. Curfews, Israeli soldiers who seem to have no idea why school-children would throw rocks at them. A six-year-old boy is shot dead playing outside in the sand when the soldiers shoot after a street demonstration.

The film opens and closes with the family on an outing, walking beside the fence of a kibbutz which now sits on the land of their ancestral village. The older men point out their favorite oak, still standing, when irate members of the kibbutz try to chase them away. It is an outing to a past they refuse to forget—despite the continuing aggression.

We can listen to interviews with Ariel Sharon at his personal farm on the ruined site of a Palestinian village nearby, along with other officials, such as the director of Gaza settlements, and understand how the daily lives of the el-Dimrawi family are brought into the context of Israeli plans—continued annexation of land to build settlements joined with severe repression.

The results of such plans are graphically and poignantly displayed: an old farmer walks through his uprooted orchard, pulling up the stumps of the work of generations destroyed by an Israeli bulldozer. A family has to find a place to live, their home suddenly demolished because their son was arrested. Indeed, the occupation unrelentingly intrudes on every aspect of daily life.

"Gaza Ghetto," produced by Joan Mandell, Pea Homquist, and Pierre Bjorklund, is truly a remarkable film. Viewers, invited to live with a typical Palestinian family, gain insights into suffering that statistics alone can't convey. Yet major reviewers, such as the *New York Times* and



Making the daily bread: Scene from "Gaza Ghetto."

Courtesy Joan Mandell

The Village Voice, panned the film. Too biased, the *Times* reviewer crowed, slinging smears about poor cinematic techniques and the el-Dimrawi family mugging before the cameras. The fact that the filmmakers had to shoot such a film in the midst of Israel's ongoing "Iron Fist" repression without endangering the family or themselves didn't seem

to impress such a reviewer much. Sadly, at this late date, so much of the press is still incapable of accepting the reality of the Palestinians even when it's presented with directness and candor—and courage. Sadder yet, several movie theaters have refused to show "Gaza Ghetto," citing that the film is too controversial. Everyone who is concerned about discovering the truth of Israeli occupation should see this film—even if it means renting it yourself! For rental or sales of "Gaza Ghetto," write to Joan Mandell, P.O. Box 445, Cambridge, MA 02140 or call (617) 491-0385.

* * * * *

Raja Shehadeh is an attorney in Ramallah in the Palestinian West Bank and codirector with Jonathan Kuttub of Law in the Service of Man (LSM), the Palestinian affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists. Shehadeh has an active practice defending Palestinians from Israeli land seizure and other attacks and representing institutions such as Bir Zeit University and the YWCA. LSM documents and publishes information about human-rights violations. In 1980, Shehadeh coauthored *The West Bank and the Rule of Law*.

Raja Shehadeh thus has extremely good credentials to write his latest book, *Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank*, published by the Institute for Palestine Studies in Washington. Shehadeh believes that the Israelis have largely completed constructing the legal apparatus of repression they want for the West Bank and that it can now be seen in its totality. *Occupier's Law* is a thorough and revealing study of land alienation, de facto annexation, and the effects of the legal system on Palestinian human rights.

The facts, statistics, and case histories of *Occupier's Law* are well complemented by another Shehadeh book, *Samed: Journal of a West Bank Palestinian*, published by Adama Books in New York. *Samed* is a more impressionistic diary of what it is like to live as a Palestinian in the West Bank, the thoughts that go through an individual's mind when he is humiliated by Israeli soldiers and police. Shehadeh also records provocative discussions with Israeli friends and his personal reactions, along with his hopes for the future. □

IRON FIST...

Continued from page 5

which the failing Israeli economy could not support this colonization policy—Ibrahim Mattar shared with us a bit of local, though dark, humor. "A settlement," he said, "is composed of Palestinian land, Palestinian stone, Palestinian workers, American money, and Israeli settlers."

It is the settlers that wield another hand of Israeli policy in the occupied territories, although the government would have us believe otherwise. As a militant and armed vigilante force in the midst of the most populated Arab sections of the occupied territories, they are both preventing a negotiated settlement and sponsoring civil strife. While many in Israel do not support their activities, the settlers play a major role in bringing to birth policies which the government favors but cannot initiate. Many of the most militant settlers—like Meir Kahane—are recent immigrants from the United States. One of the surprises of our two weeks of travel was the frequency with which the word "Brooklyn" came up in conversation with Palestinians.

While several of us sat in an outdoor cafe on the edge of the Sea of Galilee in Tiberias, I heard over my shoulder the familiar ring of English spoken in the pleasant accent of my native city: New York. Turning around, I saw two couples—all four my the age of own children, all in civilian clothes. Over the shoulders of the two young men were slung Uzi rifles.

While, as Raja Shehadeh had told us, the Israeli government at least projects an image of supporting the "rule of law," the militant settlers make no pretense to follow any law beyond their interpretations of scripture.

And so another feature of Israeli policy, a self-righteous and well-advertised campaign against the "illegal" activities of the militant settlers redirects the eyes of the world away from the central reality of the settlements. *They are all illegal, one of the most obvious violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which proscribes the resettlement of people from the land of the*

occupier in an occupied territory. As Ibrahim Mattar discussed the international legal status of the settlements, I saw the campaign of Israeli authority against the settlers in mathematical terms: "illegal" versus "illegal squared."

How all this becomes muddled is reflected in the following news story. On August 21, 1985 the *New York Times* carried a prominently placed article headlined "Jews in Hebron Apartment Are Evicted by Israeli Army." Reporting that this is a "test of Mr. Rabin's and Mr. Peres' resolve to halt illegal expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank," the article quotes Mr. Rabin's reaffirmation that "only the government, not Jewish settlers or parliament members, would decide on expanding settlements in the West Bank."

The recent book *Israeli Settler Violence in the Occupied Territories* (published by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign), however, tells a different story of the relation between the Israeli government and "illegal" settler activity. Two major points emerge:

- (1) Many of the settlements now sanctioned by the Israeli government began with the illegal squatting of militants. After a charade of arrests and removals and the passage of a period of time, the government would declare the land a "legal" settlement.
- (2) The vast majority of violent acts by settlers against Palestinians, including mur-

der, go unpunished by the government even where massive amounts of evidence of guilt exist.

The "good guys—bad guys" projection of government activities against the "illegal" acts of the militant settlers is supported by the presence of genuine religious fanatics. The activities of Rabbi Meir Kahane of New York and Rabbi Levinger, for example, are genuinely abhorred by

coalition of Labor and Likud, and they have not the slightest interest in religion. But they are interested in having American support for rule over the occupied territories.... All efforts should be directed toward organizing a radical opposition to the politics of conquest and occupation.... It is a political problem, a brutal political problem."

On July 18, one of the last days we would stay in the West Bank, we sat in the office of

"I welcome all Jews to come and live with me in my home, but not to live without me in my home."—Ziad Abu Eain, Palestinian prisoner

many we spoke to in Israel.

They are not, however, the principal problem according to Professor Emeritus Yeshayaha Leibowitz of Hebrew University. "The decisive factor is not religion," he states. "The decisive factor is the government of Israel. What is important is not Levinger and Druckman and these people.... They are simply reactionary imperial fascists. What is important is Mr. Peres and Mr. Shamir. The state of Israel is ruled by a

Tawfiq Zayyad, mayor of the beautiful city of Nazareth in the Galilee and a famous poet. His position on the militant settler problem, in essential agreement with that of Professor Leibowitz, was stated more simply. "Kahane is a symptom of the problem," he said. "If you have a swamp, you have frogs. Kahane is only a frog. If you drain the swamp, you have no more frogs." □

John Masterson is professor of Mathematics at Michigan State University in East Lansing and a member of the November 29th Committee for Palestine. He visited the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1985 with a delegation from the Palestine Human Rights Campaign.

PALESTINE FOCUS

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Palestine Focus is the national newspaper of the November 29th Committee for Palestine (formerly November 29th Coalition). The newspaper is an activist vehicle tied to an activist movement, yet aimed at a general audience with little background knowledge. We report on activities, not only of our committee, but of other groups; and we provide consistent commentary and analysis of events in the Middle East.

The November 29th Committee for Palestine takes its name from the date declared by the United Nations as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Our task is to spark and support consistent, far-reaching, and effective activity which brings the issue of Palestine before the American people and builds a growing and deepening base of understanding. Our committee organizes to stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East and to cut off U.S. aid to Israel. We educate Americans on the need to support the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to oppose Israeli policies of discrimination which deny the Palestinian people their rights.

Signed articles are not necessarily the opinion of the November 29th Committee for Palestine. Letters, opinions, and other contributions are welcome.

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Marcel Khalife ...

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attend such performances. But let us be objective: during an invasion you cannot express yourself freely. As a matter of fact, one of the members of the ensemble was abducted and taken to Ansar prison camp where he was held for almost seven months and only released under the exchange of prisoners.

PF: Have progressive artists been targeted by the government or the occupation forces?
MK: We were not only sought after; our tapes were removed from the market during the Israeli invasion in Beirut and southern Lebanon. The Israelis also knew when Basam (the member of al-Mayadeen who was imprisoned) was in Ansar. He formed a small group, also calling it al-Mayadeen, which used to perform on pots and pans because of the absence of musical instruments inside Ansar. They used, for example, to gather the prisoners and sing "Ya Bahria Hela, Hela." [A sailor's song which is one of al-Mayadeen's best-known compositions—ed.] The invading army was frightened, thinking that the prisoners were getting ready for an uprising. The Israeli soldiers began to recognize the song and become apprehensive. They knew the prisoners had demands and would prepare for an offensive.

PF: Are your cassettes readily available in Beirut under the Phalangist government?

MK: The cassettes are found in East Beirut, but they are not permitted officially. Even I cannot return to my village. I have been away for ten years. Even in occupied Palestine the cassettes are found. It takes only one person to enter with a copy which can be duplicated thousands of times.

PF: Most Americans believe—because they read American newspapers—that the Israelis have entirely withdrawn from Lebanon. What are the conditions in southern Lebanon under the continuing Israeli occupation?

MK: Israeli soldiers are still present in the border strip. Let's be objective and truthful. Israel withdrew, to the extent that they did, because of the attacks by the Lebanese na-

tional resistance fighters. Israel did not withdraw to please the Lebanese, the Americans, or Israel itself. It withdrew because it was very hard hit by the Lebanese National Resistance Front.

They try to confuse the issue by saying that the resistance is composed of "Shi'ites" or other sects. But in reality this resistance front is composed of Lebanese from all sectors of the country to resist the occupation in the south. They came from the mountains and from Akkar [the north]. Israel still occupies the border strip, the zone where Lahad's forces (Lahad is an Israeli agent) are based. The resistance is continuing its military operations and will do so until the last Israeli soldier leaves Lebanon.

Southern Lebanon is a region which has suffered historically and still suffers. It is necessary to provide assistance to the steadfastness of those citizens, to create the conditions to support resistance. An important element is to have hospitals. The hospital built in Nabatiyeh (financed partly by al-Mayadeen's 1982 U.S. tour) does take patients. The one we will build in Tyre (financed partly by the 1985 tour) is a hospital for mothers and children. This is very important. Now people who need treatment will be able to go to Tyre instead of having to travel all the way to Beirut as before. Tyre is a central location, accessible to surrounding regions in the south. Nabatiyeh occupies a similar location. We chose these sites in the south because they were able to absorb such large projects.

PF: Part of the funds you are raising on this tour go toward rebuilding Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. What is the relationship between the Lebanese and Palestinian movements?

MK: Even aside from the fact that we want to help rebuild the destroyed camps, when we build a hospital in southern Lebanon, Palestinians as well as Lebanese make use of the facility. The Palestinian refugee camps in the south also need help. It is not only important to rebuild rooms that have been destroyed. Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon under tents can also benefit from hospitals in Tyre and Nabatiyeh instead of

being forced to go to Beirut for treatment.

From my perspective, I say there is unity in blood and destiny between the Lebanese and Palestinian people. You cannot separate the issue and say this is for the Palestinians and that for the Lebanese. They are one and the same, indivisible. Even in the refugee camps, there are Lebanese living. Lebanese were also victims of the Sabra and Shatila massacres, not only Palestinians. In Tal al-

"Through our songs we present not political slogans, but political art."

Za'atar, there were also Lebanese. There is a unity between the two peoples.

PF: In concert, you sang a song about the passing of control over Lebanon from the Turks to the French to everybody but the Lebanese. In that song, you also sang about the battleship New Jersey. What does the New Jersey and the U.S. intervention in Lebanon mean to you and to the Lebanese people?

MK: Anyone who lived in Lebanon during the period when the New Jersey was bombing the peaceful villages felt that peace must come in a democratic manner. But bringing peace with war is not what we mean.

The media here has reported the type of bombs carried by the New Jersey: the bombs launched formed craters deeper than the height of a building. They dropped these bombs on villages with relatively small houses. Such an action does not bring about peace. We do not see that the New Jersey carried peace as the Americans claimed. On the contrary, the New Jersey brought destruction and demolition to Lebanon to an even greater extent than ten years of civil war. In fact, the destruction wrought by the New Jersey remains. That is why we have incorporated it into our song.

PF: Do you deal with the political problem of Lebanon's confessional system of government—in which political power is divided according to religious affiliation—in your music?

MK: We have a duty as progressives to fight

sectarianism and the clan system. For example, I was born a Christian. But why should I reserve privileges for this sect? No, there should be privileges for all citizens, for all the people. That is why in my songs I fight against the sects that are attacking each other, trying to rob one another to form a nation of their own. This is also why our songs are against such sects and against people working to benefit only themselves.

We are going to build a nation, one vast and unified nation that will not be based on confessionalism but built on the principle of the human being. When we give a concert in Lebanon, people leave their confessional affiliations aside and come to hear the concert with a different logic and language. We unite with them in a language different than that of the sects. This is a very important occurrence and one way we exercise our role through art.

PF: This is your second tour of the United States. Have you seen another side of America different from the New Jersey?

MK: We don't want you to misinterpret what we are saying. We are not against the American people, especially not the people who are sympathetic with us and our cause. On the contrary, we see that our criticism is directed toward the individuals, regime, or government that is truly not interested in the suffering of our people, that cannot hear the cries of our children, that has no interest in the situation that has lasted now for ten years.

We are united with progressive Americans and we extend a salute to them from our hearts to theirs. I know that their struggle is difficult as is ours and is not easier than ours. So we wish them perseverance in their determination and challenge because in the end we are all struggling to save humanity and to prove the unity of humanity. □

ISRAEL SHAHAK...

Continued from page 8

course, when I say it is very high probability, I don't mean that it is a certainty. It can be averted by external war, by many other developments. But what I want to impress on you very seriously is that on the question of Jewish interests, a good half of Israeli Jewish society is first of all prepared to fight. Secondly, on this issue they are united or better I'll say will be united. Indeed, a person like me has become almost respectable, and almost quoted as an authority at least on questions of religious fanaticism, because this is something very serious that unites us. And this without my changing my opinions on other things.

Here are two quotations from articles from Summer 1985, from the Labor Party paper *Davar*. The first is from an article entitled "On the Verge of Civil War."

One does not have to be a fanatical supporter of historical determinism in order to discover a continuous line in the economic, social, political, and

cultural development of Israel since 1967. Israel is like a train moving on its tracks with almost no end destination. She began the trip eighteen years ago and has been since then on the same course on the way to its destina-

own language. Iron should be answered by iron. If Shimon Peres will not understand the challenge he is facing, he might find himself the last prime minister of Israeli democracy, but many other people on the street

Talk about a possible civil war among Jews is now given very serious consideration inside Israel.

tion. What will that destination be like? As with beauty, it depends on the viewer. But it does have several common aspects that can be discovered already. They are all connected to the tendency that has been dominant within a great part of Israeli society since 1967: power, hatred of the Arabs, racism, breach of the law, and the undermining of the basis of democracy.

A world view that worships power and the myth of blood and iron, even Jewish blood and iron, always appreciates those who speak in their

understand this challenge. And he and we shouldn't be deterred by the fear of civil war. The might of the extreme right and religious nationalism should not frighten the public. If they are willing to threaten civil war in order to obtain their ideological aims, so be it.

For the first time in the social history of Israeli Jewish settler society—formed much before the state of Israel—part of society or two parts of society are preparing for a high probability—I am not saying the certainty—of civil war. Not only people like me but many other people would rather

have a civil war than Kahanism. For example, Germany, I am not speaking about Jews in Europe, but Germans themselves would have been better off if they had fought a civil war against Hitler in terms of their own interests. Such lessons are drawn.

In this process there will necessarily be a radicalization and understanding of the rights of Palestinians, but this process has not yet begun really in the proper sense. This process is still at this stage fought in terms of Jewish lifestyle and basic democracy, or shaking the hand of Israeli Palestinians. Nevertheless, if you take the French example—I mean Algeria and other processes—this is a very important thing and should be understood especially in those terms that the American media omit.

I don't know how this polarization is going to end. My stock description is that I am torn between great fear and great hope. I think it is the duty of anyone interested in the Middle East at least to know what is happening. And even in cases now in which people who are opposed to Kahane or to Jewish theocracy don't yet take correct or even any positions about Palestinians, against Jewish Naziism they should be supported, in view of the historical experience and in view of the potentiality for evil for all human beings. □

FOCUS ON ACTION...

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a reminder that those who support Palestinian rights must also take a clear stand on the official ideology of the state which serves as the instrument of their denial.

Six members of the Congressional Black Caucus wrote a letter to President Reagan to "express our outrage at the Israeli bombing of Tunisian territory on Tuesday, October

1, and at the position the U.S. has taken in response to that bombing." The letter called for a full investigation of whether Israel had violated any U.S. laws in the raid. It was signed by Mervyn Dymally, Ronald V. Dellums, Walter E. Fauntroy, George W. Crockett, Jr., John Conyers, Jr., and Parren J. Mitchell.

An international movement has quickly grown to oppose the deportation of four Palestinian activists from the West Bank and Gaza Strip: Ali Abdullah Mohammad Abu-Halal, Hassan Mahmoud Abed Al-Jawad, Dr. Azmi

al-Shuaibi, and Zaki Mohammad Steiteh. A delegation of American attorneys, including National Lawyers Guild President Mark van der Hout and National Conference of Black Lawyers Cochair Wilhelm Joseph, went on an emergency visit to oppose the deportations. On his return, Joseph commented, "I find the parallels between Israeli treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories and South Africa's treatment of the Blacks to be absolutely frightening."

The November 29th Committee for Palestine organized a candlelight vigil to protest the deportations at the United Nations in New York on December 17. □

The Israeli Right Wing and Palestinian Rights

By Israel Shahak

Israel Shahak is the Chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and Professor of Organic Chemistry at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Professor Shahak was born in Warsaw in 1933, survived the Warsaw Ghetto and the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, and arrived in Palestine in 1945. He is the author of Non-Jew in the Jewish State, Israel's Global Role, and other books. He gave the speech which follows at the University of California in Berkeley in October 1985. Part I, "The Danger of Israeli Extremism," was published in Palestine Focus, no. 15, November-December 1985.



"Most Israeli citizens understand that rights and democracy are apparently divisible. We have got them; the Palestinians haven't."—Danny Rubinstein, Davar

I would like to make a very important point in order to combat a superstition which is, I am afraid, very prevalent especially outside Israel. And this is a superstition that Oriental Jews or the Sephardim are especially prone to extremism because of their supposed nature. It is a fact that the greatest single factor which makes people go to extremism is their adherence, total or partial, to the Jewish religion. Among European Jews—let's say Polish Jews, I am myself from Poland so I know my community as well as everybody else—if they came from little towns in Poland which used to be dominated by religion, the tendency—whether to Kahane or to this party, Agudat Israel, which denies among many other things rights for women—is equally strong.

This is not a case of European or Oriental Jews. You can see a parallel in your own country in the appeal of many fundamentalist sects. The people who desire—whether in connection with Palestinians or not—a return to Jewish orthodoxy as it existed, are saying—I am now quoting them more or less—remember when you were a small child that your grandfather brought to a festival and everything was so quiet and everything was so happy. There were no drugs, because even if there were it was another problem (this is my own remark) which you will not associate with your own grandfather. By abolishing what they call modern, Western, and non-Jewish influences, including women's liberation, everything will be all right, happiness will descend. And this is of course the same message that you can hear in your own country and in many other countries as well.

Many times I have participated in discussions with Kahane supporters, male, who said that if we will support Kahane, the women will not be included; they will know their place. And in this country, too, you will find that this argument is effective. Therefore, the second most important argument to draw people from Likud to Kahane is the general global tendency to return to religious fanaticism as something that promises to bring happiness to people, to get rid of problems, and especially to get rid of the problems that they wrongly associate with modernity, with Western influence and so on. Indeed, it is not in vain that opponents of those tendencies call the supporters Khomeinists. Because Khomeini preaches exactly the same message, of course in Muslim terms.

How is all this really connected in Israeli Jewish opinion with occupation and with the absence of all Palestinian rights in the territories? Those who were born in 1967, whether Jews or Palestinians, are now 18 years old. And even those who were born in 1960, all their adult lives—all their lives that they really thought about anything—were spent in a situation in which enormous numbers—enormous of course correspond-

ing to the population of Israel—of Palestinians were without any rights whatsoever.

The following is from an article by Danny Rubinstein, a correspondent for *Davar*, the newspaper of the Labor Party. I am purposely quoting from the Labor Party to show you their opinions, or part of them. He tried to explain on June 30, 1985—when the first real scare about the increase of Kahanism broke out—why, under conditions of occupation in a section of Israeli society, Kahanism and extremism will of necessity increase.

Education toward democracy is useless at a time when Israel's reality and experience in the last year are influenced by antidemocratic components. Over 1½–2 million Arabs in the territories and Jerusalem have lived for eighteen years under Israeli rule without rights alongside settlers and Israelis who have all rights. This is the reality of a national struggle of violent terror and discrimination by law. So how is it possible to educate for democracy. Especially, how is it possible to educate for democracy within the Israeli working class. Some years ago the leader of the Ashdod Jewish port workers, Jehoshua Peretz, appeared on television and shouted loudly at the border guard policemen opposing him on the screen: 'How do you treat me? What am I? Am I a Palestinian worker from the territories?' Peretz understood what most Israeli citizens understand: that rights and democracy are apparently divisible. We have got them; they haven't.

Put yourself in the situation of a boy, let us say from the same city of Ashdod, which is a city overwhelmingly of the working class, much more so than Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, or Haifa. After years of hardship and very bad and chauvinistic schools, at the age of eighteen he serves on the West Bank. He suddenly becomes a lord over all Palestinians, including people who are richer than him, which is an important psychological factor. When he returns to Ashdod, the question facing him is why the same rules that he implemented in the West Bank should not be implemented in Israel, not only against Palestinians who are Israeli citizens—against all Palestinians—but against Jews.

So first of all one has to understand that a

combination of occupation, especially a long occupation, and reactionary tendencies by necessity creates among many people Kahanism even without Kahane himself. Other factors in occupation policy which create Kahane are things like collective punishment, meaning that in Israel, people are only sentenced by courts, while in the territories for Palestinians you have destruction of houses, deportation, administrative imprisonment, constant humiliations, constant beatings—which everybody sees.

Consider aspects of deeper policy, say the situation of the land. Everybody knows that in Israel, because everybody publishes these figures, that by now Israel has confiscated 52 percent of the land of the West Bank, legally only for Jewish benefit. The number of settlers in the West Bank is fifty thousand. The number of Palestinians in the West Bank is more than 850 thousand. You cannot, if you are honest, call this by any other name than Apartheid.

How is this Apartheid going to be justified? It can be justified only by invoking absolute Jewish superiority or really better by invoking that God willed it so, commanded it so. All the people who are trying to invoke any secular explanation are now being faced by the question raised by extremists which is that democracy and a Jewish state are really not compatible together. And when this question is raised, many people are now saying quite openly that we are against democracy because we don't practice democracy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

All this is what I call the second part or half of Israeli society. Another part of Israeli society, even if they would be prepared—and some of them are prepared—to oppress Palestinians, to practice Apartheid, to make another war like the Lebanese war, they are not prepared to give up their lifestyle based on a modern lifestyle. And for this half of the society, which is again drawn very much from oriental Jews of the younger generation, the simple question of discotheques in Tel Aviv on Friday night is more important in terms of their self-interest than Palestinians in the West Bank. They want to drive their cars to dance—and of course boys with girls—on Friday to the latest hits from the United States.

Let me give you, therefore, two recent examples on which such a battle was being

waged very deep inside Israeli society in the last half year. Most of the details, almost everything, were omitted from the Israeli press. The first example will sound funny to you, but it is not funny in Israel. The question is whether bread will be eaten and beer drunk during the Passover festival in the Spring when Jewish law forbids those sorts of food to be consumed.

In the very center of Tel Aviv, among part of the population, all those laws were flouted publicly. Therefore, this year at Passover, religious fanatics organized a demonstration in this district and literally tried to beat up Jews who have eaten bread or drunk beer publicly in cafes. As a reaction to this, many thousands of people, I think quite spontaneously, had the idea to take their sandwiches and to go to eat bread publicly in front of the doors of the synagogues.

I had an occasion to speak about this with a visiting French friend, non-Jewish, and he told me that the French radicals and socialists in the nineteenth century used to do the same thing. As a sign of their opposition to the Catholic Church, which then embodied reaction, they used to make public banquets on Good Friday in the center of the village square of the town. And I am told that the socialist Bund movement in Eastern Europe used to do the same. Especially conspicuous among those bread-eating demonstrators were women, and some of them were shown on Israeli radio and television and shouted, "If the rabbis persecute us so much in their rabbinical courts in cases of marriage, then we will do everything that is painful to them as much as we may."

The second important question, which is now tearing Israel apart—again between those two communities, first and second Israel—is the question of Ethiopian Jews. Another form of conversion is demanded from them. To my knowledge, no American paper or American radio station has taken up the issue that is well-known to every Israeli that Ethiopian Jews have rebelled against the rabbis because the form of conversion demanded of their women is that each woman will take her bath of purification naked in the presence of three rabbis. Actually there was first a form of compromise in the town of Netanya. It was promised to them that the rabbis would not look, and then they actually discovered them peeping through the cracks of the door. In a question like this I very well understand your laughter, but believe me I am not laughing. Because this immediately created a polarization along the same lines as Apartheid of Palestinians.

The one crucial thing which you must understand and is both dangerous and hopeful, which I will immediately explain, is that exactly the same people who will support the Ethiopian Jews on this question of what we call the peeping rabbis are those people who at least in cases of extreme brutality will be prepared to support Palestinians. And exactly the same people who will support conversion of Ethiopians for the sake of national unity or because God commanded it or for any other reasons, especially religious reasons, are also the people who would be prepared to expel Palestinians or at least to deny them all rights.

This leads me to my conclusion in which I will try to present arguments for the future which are I think very important. Big changes have taken place. Nobody knows whether it will increase, nobody knows whether it will stop, nobody knows whether it will retard. But many people in Israel, the first Israel, some of them are not concerned about Palestinians or other Arabs, but they are very much concerned about their Saturday picnic. Or if they are more intellectual types, not necessarily more moral, they are concerned about their concerts, their theater, are prepared to fight Kahanism or religious extremism or fanaticism to the extreme not in most cases because they have a moral feeling about Palestinians, but because they don't want to live in a theocratic state.

For this reason, talk about a possible civil war among Jews on this issue is now given very serious consideration inside Israel. Of

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