

Palestine Focus

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End 20 Years of Israeli Occupation!

By Jeanne Butterfield

In one day of occupation, another Palestinian student was shot to death while peacefully demonstrating in support of striking prisoners. More than one hundred prominent Palestinian journalists, trade unionists and activists were arrested and imprisoned without charge in the West Bank. More than one hundred activists were imprisoned in Gaza a few days later. Some of those imprisoned, for example, Mohammed Odeh and Haseeb Nashashibi, were brutally tortured for days on end.

In one day of occupation, a Palestinian university, Bir Zeit, was once again ordered closed for four months.

In one day of occupation, four thousand Palestinian political prisoners called off their three-week long hunger strike as Israeli officials promised to improve prison conditions.

One day of occupation is not qualitatively different from another, except that 7,300 days of occupation now total twenty years.

In twenty years of occupation, more than one thousand Israeli military orders have been enacted which give the military nearly complete control over the 1.5 million Palestinians who live under Israeli rule.

In twenty years of occupation, 60 percent of the land of the West Bank and Gaza has been expropriated. One third of the West Bank water supply has been diverted to Israeli fields. The Golan Heights has been annexed outright. The Arab city of East Jerusalem has been annexed and "Judaized" by 90,000 Israeli settlers who now nearly outnumber Palestinian residents, filling huge fortress-like



Palestinian women have played a key role in resisting Israel's occupation. Here women stage a sit-in at the Nablus city hall after the arrest of Mayor Bassam Shakaa in 1979.

settlements on the outskirts of the old city. (In the West Bank and Gaza as a whole, there are approximately 150,000 Israeli settlers.)

In twenty years of occupation, it has become illegal for Palestinian farmers to plant orange trees or olive trees without a permit. Even the picking of wild thyme, known as zattar, has become illegal according to military order.

Even the word "Palestine" has become illegal.

In twenty years of occupation, more than three hundred thousand Palestinian men, women and youth have been imprisoned for daring to resist. More than two thousand Palestinian leaders have been expelled from their homeland by military "deportation" orders, while hundreds

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Editorial

Iran-Israel-Contragate Expose Israel's Role

The broad outlines and many of the details of the unfolding Reagan administration scandal are well-known, though more is sure to come. From cocaine dealing to assassination plots to the alleged use of funds derived from the sale

to Iran in U.S. political campaigns, evidence of disregard of law and democratic process seems incontrovertible. But to date the effects of the scandal have been extremely limited.

That the scandal has been so far contained

is troubling not only because the Reagan administration deserves the maximum possible political damage it can receive but because part of what protects Reagan now that he has lost his "teflon" coating is Israel's own teflon, the willingness of hundreds of national elected officials to look the other way at serious violations of federal laws. Because of Israel's involvement, because of its public-relations campaign to project a moral and honorable Israel, we never seem to get to the heart of the matter. The Tower Commission report, for example, seems intent on absolving Israel from any ultimate

responsibility in the affair.

To be sure, knowledge of Israel's misdeeds is hardly new. Israeli arms sales to South Africa have violated the laws governing U.S. military aid for many years: those laws call for a total cutoff of aid to the guilty party. For example, Israel has illegally transferred American-made components and weapons to the Pretoria regime and to Ian Smith's Rhodesia. Israel helped South Africa illegally smuggle out the 155-mm howitzer from the United States and the technology to refine and produce it for export. What

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PLO Reunites in Algiers

Five years after Israel attempted to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization and eliminate the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, a new Palestinian national unity is emerging in the Palestinian movement. After four years of fragmentation, the unity achieved is fundamental for the survival of the Palestinian people for the achievement of their aspirations for self-determination and independence. The announcement of unity was received with relief and optimism by Palestinians all over the world and by their friends and allies.

The historic meeting of reunification of the Palestine National Council in Algiers in April has not only raised the morale of the Palestinian people, it has profoundly influ-

enced the equations of peace and war in the Middle East. Now that the largest Palestinian organizations—which together command overwhelming popular Palestinian support—have reaffirmed a common program to achieve Palestinian national rights and objectives, the adversaries of the Palestinians, principally the Israeli, Jordanian, and U.S. governments, are scurrying about trying to bypass the PLO. But the significance of renewed Palestinian unity within the PLO is precisely that no one but the PLO can speak or make peace in the name of the Palestinian people. The Algiers meeting confirms what the Palestinian people have long asserted: the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

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Lebanon

Five Years After the Israeli Invasion

By Salim Madi

Five years have passed since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon on June 6, 1982. To most people in the United States, the invasion is remembered as a valiant and possibly misguided attempt by the Israelis to protect their northern border from the "terrorist" threat of the PLO. The occupation of Beirut by U.S.-led NATO forces and the support given by the Reagan administration to the unpopular Gemayel regime which was installed by the Israelis is often regarded as another example of well-meaning U.S. efforts to promote democracy and development in a country destroyed by years of civil war. To most Americans, the bombing of the Marine headquarters at the Beirut airport and the hijacking of TWA flight 841 are the last images in popular memory of a land where "terrorism" and "religious fanaticism" overwhelmed the West's well-intentioned but eventually futile efforts to make order of the "terrorist" jungle.

Contrary to these myths, Israel had two related goals in invading Lebanon. The goal was to annihilate the PLO in order to permit the annexation of the West Bank. According to then Israeli Defense Minister Sharon, "quiet on the West Bank" required "the destruction of the PLO in Lebanon." Israel's second goal was to remake Lebanon into a client sectarian state by occupying the country, destroying the opposition of the Lebanese National Movement (LNM), and installing an Israeli-allied Christian Phalangist government in power.

Initially, following the expulsion of the PLO from Beirut and the "election" of one and then another Phalangist president, Israel seemed to have reached its goal of installing a quisling regime in the land of the Cedar. The Gemayel regime consolidated its power on West Beirut while the "new" Lebanese army was being trained, expanded, rearmed, and ideologically remolded by hundreds of U.S. advisors. This very army, which had not fired a single bullet in defense of the national territory when the Israelis marched in, undertook large scale sweeps throughout West Beirut and arrested scores

of people. Over two thousand persons disappeared in the very areas which were supposedly under the control of the U.S.-led NATO peace-keeping forces which had come to Beirut to protect the civilian population!

The installation of a Phalangist regime at the helm of the Lebanese state was only possible through increased intervention by the United States and Israel. Israel had forced the relocation of the PLO outside Lebanon and took on the role of ferociously suppressing the political and civilian expression of progressive politics in the areas under its occupation. The United States took on the tasks of providing an international political cover for the new regime and of reorganizing its institutions.

The Israeli occupation rapidly faced opposition from the local population. A new organization called the Lebanese National Resistance Front (LNRF) engaged in a growing military campaign against the Israeli occupation. Resistance operations, which soon exceeded an average of three per day, intensified the popular resistance among the civilian population which was suffering under the occupation.

The imposition of an American-"brokered" peace agreement on Lebanon on May 17, 1983 marked the zenith of Israeli ascendancy in the country. The May 17 agreement clearly undermined Lebanese sovereignty. It stipulated that the Israeli army would have the right to patrol and intervene in the south, that the Israeli-controlled SLA would be integrated into the Lebanese army and positioned in the south, and that the Lebanese press would be censored regarding materials offensive toward the Zionist state.

The May 17 agreement was opposed by the newly formed Lebanese National Salvation Front (NSF) which grouped a sizeable portion of the political spectrum in opposition to the Gemayel regime. This alliance benefited from Syrian political backing because Damascus saw the agreement as the consecration of an Israeli military and political hegemony over Lebanon.



The U.S. peace movement was not silent during Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Coldwell Taylor, United Nations Ambassador from Grenada, addresses a July 25, 1982 teach-in in New York. A year later Grenada became yet another victim of Reagan's militarist policies.

Workers World/Neville Edwards

By the summer of 1983, Israel came to the conclusion that the Gemayel regime was unable to implement the peace agreement. Gemayel was facing growing internal opposition and suffered from serious political isolation. The Israeli army still occupied a third of the country—all the way up to the Beirut suburbs and the Beirut-Damascus highway. It was increasingly the target of a very effective resistance campaign mounted by the Lebanese progressive elements under the umbrella of the LNRF. In order to limit its losses, to better control the population under occupation, and to shorten its lines of communication, the Israeli army redeployed to south Lebanon on September 1, 1983.

The struggle which erupted in the mountains east of Beirut as the Israeli army withdrew pitted the nationalist forces and the Druse inhabitants of the Shouf against the Phalangist militia and the Lebanese army. In less than a week of fighting, the nationalist forces liberated the area and were closing in on Beirut. They were stopped only through the intervention of the U.S. sixth fleet and the shelling of mountain villages by the U.S. battleship New Jersey.

The Reagan administration refused to abandon the isolated Gemayel regime and

announced that the United States had "vital interests" in Lebanon. Soon after, on October 23, 1983, the Marine headquarters at the Beirut airport was devastated by a suicide truck bomb. The United States still refused to accept the new situation and remained steadfast in its support of the increasingly unpopular Gemayel regime until Gemayel's army was driven out of West Beirut by the nationalist forces in February 1984.

By the beginning of 1985, the Israeli army was facing a situation of open rebellion in the south and was suffering heavily from daily attacks by resistance fighters. Israeli attempts to create a Shi'a mercenary army had failed, and Israel's agents were in hiding from popular anger. Wisely, Israel withdrew to a smaller less populated border strip.

While the Israeli army was being forced to withdraw, the period from 1984 onward saw the ascendancy of sectarianism within the nationalist areas. This rising sectarianism was a reaction to the sectarian Christian pro-

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Focus On Action

By Steve Goldfield

Massive public support and pressure have continued to accumulate for the eight Los Angeles defendants whom the Immigration and Naturalization Service wants to deport, trying to use their perfectly legal and legitimate political activities in the United States against them. "An urgent call to protect the First Amendment," calling on the government to drop the charges, was released by the American Civil Liberties Union on April 24. Among its signers were author Kurt Vonnegut, actor and trade unionist Ed Asner, United Church of Christ President Avery Post, and Jewish leader Philip M. Klutznick.

Since their release on bail, some defendants have spoken at Committee for Justice events in such cities as Chicago, Sacramento, Portland, New York, Cleveland, Houston, Austin, Boston, Washington, and at Rutgers University in New Jersey where lawyers representing World War II internees spoke. At a San Francisco event, Ron Wakabayashi, director of the Japanese-American Citizens League, gave a moving description of what it was like for Japanese-American citizens to be locked up in concentration camps during World War II.

Although the government dropped McCarran-Walter Act charges against six defendants in an attempt to deport them on technicalities, the witchhunt continues against

all eight. An April 25 *New York Times* editorial commented: "The original action arose from misguided principle. The new retreat seems unprincipled altogether." Contributions for legal expenses should be sent to the Committee for Justice, P. O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, CA 90051.

At presstime, events were in preparation in cities around the country to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in June. In Boston, a speakout against the occupation was scheduled for June 7; sponsors include the November 29th Committee for Palestine/Middle East Solidarity Committee, Mobilization for Survival, American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and New Jewish Agenda. In Chicago, a teach-in sponsored by AFSC and the November 29th Committee for Palestine is set for June 5. In San Francisco, events were being planned at presstime. An evening event is planned for Seattle. Other activities are planned for New York and Austin.

MERIP Reports and the *Guardian* planned special issues on the occupation. And the annual meeting of non-governmental organizations at United Nations headquarters in New York is also expected to address the anniversary of the occupation. Events are also in preparation for the Fall to mark the fortieth anniversary of the partition of Palestine and the seventieth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, in which the British government pledged to settle European Jews in Palestine.

Although the April 25th mobilization for peace and justice failed to address the Palestinian question in its political unity, issues of Middle East peace were prominent in both Washington and San Francisco events. In San Francisco, a large and visible Middle East peace contin-

gent marched and James Zogby of the Arab-American Institute spoke at the rally. In Washington, Abdeen Jabara, president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), and Jeanne Butterfield, national director of the November 29th Committee for Palestine, were invited to join the dignitaries who led the march. The Houston contingent at the Washington march followed a banner which read, "Free Central America, Free South Africa, Free Palestine."

A bill was introduced into the California State Senate in April to add Israel bonds to the list of approved investments for surplus state monies. Opponents, including the ADC, have pointed out that, aside from moral concerns about how the Israeli government spends its money, such bonds are a bad investment. Standard and Poor does not even give them a rating because they are a poor risk. Compare the willingness to overlook fiduciary responsibilities when it comes to Israel to the use of same to justify the earlier reluctance to divest from South Africa.

An "Evening in Solidarity with the Puerto Rican and Palestinian Peoples" was held in New York in April. The event was cosponsored by the Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression and the November 29th Committee for Palestine. The program featured the African National Congress of South Africa's Sechaba Singers, Lactamasi of the Latin American New Song movement, the Palestinian dance group Al-Watan, attorney Leonard Weinglass, Puerto Rican independence activists Juan Mari Bras, and Adrian Wing of the National Conference of Black Lawyers. The evening focused on the Hartford trial of Puerto Rican journalists and activists and the Los Angeles deportation of Palestinian activists. □

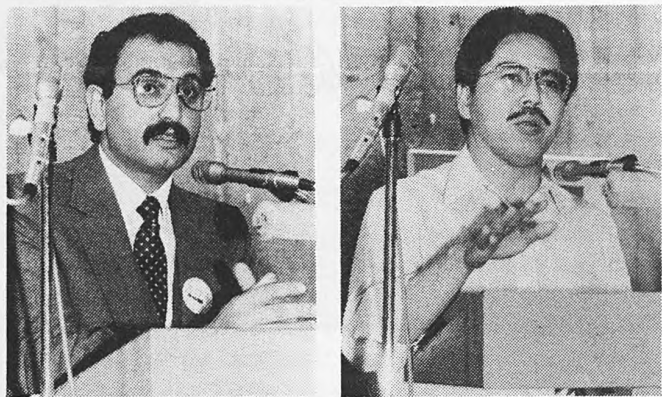
“First they came for the Palestinians ...”

By Jeanne Butterfield

On May 11, INS Judge Ingrid Hycenko dropped charges against all eight LA defendants when INS official Gilbert Reeves declined to appear in court to explain the arrests. At presstime, the government refiled identical charges against all the defendants.

If love of Palestine is a crime, I stand convicted.” With these words, Michel Shehadeh expressed the feelings of his co-respondents, awaiting the start of their deportation trial on April 28 in Los Angeles. On April 23, however, political charges were dropped against six. The government, citing “tactical” considerations, said it would seek to deport them for extremely minor, technical immigration violations, such as failing to report a change in employer. McCarran-Walter charges remain, however, against Shehadeh and Khader Hamide, both legal permanent residents of the United States. The charges were changed from membership in an organization which promotes international communism to belonging to an organization which advocates killing foreign government officials and overthrowing governments, in an apparent attempt to blunt massive support for the defendants. Prior to her May 11 decision, the judge was also considering dismissing all charges on the grounds of selective prosecution, since Nicaraguans, Cubans, and others who do exactly what is charged are not prosecuted or deported.

Since the January 26 arrests, the U.S. government has continued its aggressive stance of putting the question of Palestine on trial, both in court and in the press. The defense team and the national Committee for Justice have mounted an impressive counteroffensive which is making an impact on U.S. public opinion. At stake is not only the freedom of these individual activists, but the right of every immigrant community in the U.S. to debate crucial political issues, particularly the Palestine question, and the right of every U.S.-born activist and citizen to hear and learn from those debates.



L.A. defendant Michel Shehadeh and Ron Wakabayashi, National Director of the Japanese American Citizens League, addressing the April 12th Committee for Justice event in San Francisco. Mr. Wakabayashi gave a moving account of the Japanese-American internment experience during WW II.

The Los Angeles Eight, as they have come to be called, won an important victory in immigration court on February 17th, when Judge Roy Daniels refused to consider “evidence” that U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese had specifically instructed the prosecutor to reveal only in secret in the Judge’s private chambers. Ruling that the government had provided no compelling evidence to indicate that these individuals represented any threat to national security, Judge Daniels ordered them released pending their deportation trial.

The government did not take this decision kindly. In the weeks following the February 17 bond hearing, the INS mounted an aggressive campaign to return the “respondents” to jail and to convince the U.S. public that they were indeed part of an international terrorist organization that represented a threat to U.S. security at home and abroad — the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Meanwhile, the Los Angeles Eight finally were able to tell the story of their three week incarceration to friends and allies, and to members of the press who had initially headlined their arrests with the declaration “War on Terrorism Hits L.A.”

We were never read our rights at any point,” declared Julie Mungai, the Kenyan-born woman who is married to Khader Hamide, one of the Palestinians also arrested. “They put me and my husband in separate cars. There was an FBI man in every car and they continued questioning me all the way to the detention center.” After an initial appearance in court, Julie was taken to Sybil Brand Correctional Institute, a county jail for women.

“I was kept in isolation,” Julie related. “At that point, I had only been charged with a technical visa violation, an overstay on a visitor visa. Yet they locked me up in maximum security conditions. I wasn’t allowed to bathe,

to exercise, or even to comb my hair for the first seven days. I was under continual observation. Someone came to the cell and checked on me every half hour, 24 hours a day. They would record what I was doing—sitting, looking at the wall, sleeping. After one and a half weeks, I was moved to the maximum security wing. I had two guards escort me for every visit, after which I was subject to a strip search. It’s the most humiliating experience anyone could go through. My visitors, once I was allowed to have any, were subject to public searches in front of all the other visitors. When they took me to court for what was originally supposed to be my deportation hearing, a thirty-pound weight attached to my ankle, and was greeted by six armed guards. It was there that the INS added the political charge to the technical visa charge. I am convinced that the sole reason for my arrest is that I

The FBI spied on community cultural events and even on Palestinian folk dancers.

am married to a Palestinian.”

“We were sitting in jail, wondering what we had done to warrant such treatment,” said Khader Hamide. “What was the basis of these charges? Then our lawyers came to visit and brought a copy of the secret INS Contingency Plan. Suddenly everything became clear. We understood that we are the test case for the implementation of that plan.”

The INS Contingency Plan for “Alien Terrorists and Undesirables,” leaked to the press soon after the initial arrests in Los Angeles, outlines a series of recommendations for dealing with “alien activists” who the U.S. government deems are a threat to national security. The INS Investigations Division recommends in the plan that “aliens” who the government wants to “remove” be dealt with as follows: “Routinely hold any alien so charged without bond, as a danger to the national security and public safety; vigorously oppose granting of any bond by immigration judges on bond appeal proceedings on that same basis; introduce any material necessary to sustain the government’s position ... to the immigration judge ‘in camera’ (in secret) for inspection and use in arriving at a decision favorable to the government.”

The earlier addition of the political charge, affiliation with the PFLP, since withdrawn, to Julie Mungai’s technical visa violation charge also illustrates another aspect of the INS Contingency Plan. “In all cases where this charge [the political charge] is used, it should be used in conjunction with all other applicable charges; in this way, should the single charge fail, the government has a ‘fallback’ position on which to rest.”

The government’s attempt to introduce “evidence” in secret and to leak certain “evidence” to the press before trial also follows the logic of the INS Contingency Plan: “Where the charge cannot be established and a lesser charge is used (such as the overstay provisions), any evidence available of a derogatory nature which tends to support proof of the alien’s involvement in terrorism should be used by the government to oppose otherwise available relief, and sustain an outright order to deportation and expeditious removal.”

In the days following the February bond hearing, the government refused to make its “evidence” available to the defense team, yet several pieces of “evidence” began appearing in the pages of the *Los Angeles Times*. At first reporting the “FBI Didn’t Get Enough Data to Prosecute in Arab Case,” the *Times* later began to report on the data that the INS had gathered from the several-month FBI investigation which preceded the arrests. An article entitled “Deportation Bid Focuses on Middle East Magazines” revealed that supposed distribution by the Los Angeles activists of the publications *Democratic Palestine* and *Al Hadaf* were the basis of the political charges. Another article revealed that an FBI report on the history and international activities of the PFLP was supposedly part of the “evidence” the INS wanted to present in secret. Yet another article revealed that photographs of two Palestinians picking up boxes of magazines at Los Angeles International Airport were part of the INS “evidence.”

Finally, a March 23 article revealed that the FBI had done extensive surveillance of the Palestinian community in the United States in at least thirteen cities, spying on community cultural events, recording who spoke at such

events, who contributed money to humanitarian projects, and even who danced Palestinian folk dances. The FBI report based on this surveillance goes to great length to conclude that the PFLP was recruiting fighters from Arab-American communities in the United States. Its “evidence” for this assertion?—posters displayed at cultural events of Palestinian martyrs who had died while fighting in the Middle East and who had at one time or another lived in the United States.

FBI surveillance is only part of the harassment which has been experienced by these activists and by the Palestinian community overall. “I couldn’t believe that an FBI agent had lived right next door to us for several months,” related Julie Mungai. “That in itself was reason enough for me not to want to go back to our apartment after I got out of jail. But there was no way that any of us could

return to a seminormal life. Most of us lost our jobs; even some of our friends lost their jobs. Our address, our apartment building, was shown on TV. Some of us have gotten threats, even death threats, over the phone. We are followed all the time. The wife of one of the defendants was nearly run off the freeway by a van last week, on a highway that had very little traffic on it.”

This harassment, as well as break-ins at the offices of some who are working for the defense of the Los Angeles Eight, has had a chilling effect on many. “People are afraid to speak at events on the Middle East,” said Marc Van Der Hout, one of the defense attorneys for the eight. “Maybe, at such an event, someone will say something about the PFLP, or the PLO, or about Palestine. Maybe someone will have a literature table at such an event. On that literature table there may be something which talks about something the U.S. government considers ‘world communism.’ Is it grounds for deportation to speak at such an event? Can someone be deported for attending such an event? Can someone be deported for having literature in their possession which they obtained at such an event? The implications of this case are incredible for every immigrant community in the United States.”

It is exactly this chilling effect which the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is challenging in a lawsuit which it brought in federal district court in early April. The lawsuit challenges the constitutionality of the very section of the Immigration and Nationality Act under which the Los Angeles Eight are charged—Section 241 (a)(6)(D)—and requests a postponement of the deportation trial in this case until the courts can rule on the constitutionality question.

Incorporated into U.S. immigration law under the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, the political and ideological grounds for exclusion and deportation were added during the height of the anticommunist hysteria of the McCarthy period. Civil liberties activists nationwide believe that these provisions impose an unconstitutional restraint on the first amendment rights of free speech and association for immigrants. Calling the Los Angeles Eight case the civil liberties case of the eighties, civil liberties, church, immigrant, ethnic, and activist communities across the country have rallied to support the Los Angeles Eight. The national Committee for Justice has organized these efforts and has mounted mailgram, lobbying, and public education campaigns in order to increase pressure on the INS to drop the charges.

Already, these efforts have had an impact on public opinion. Editorials calling for the elimination of the McCarran-Walter Act provisions for deportation on ideological grounds have appeared in leading newspapers across the country, from the *New York Times* to the *Los Angeles Times*. Many newspapers have gone even further and have called on the government to drop charges against the Los Angeles Eight in the absence of any evidence of any planned or attempted criminal acts. As the *San Francisco Chronicle* asserted in a February 19th editorial, “But the government is not accusing the seven [now eight] of any terrorist activity. Instead it is seeking to deport them for simply belonging to a radical Marxist organization. This is not an adequate reason, unless we are prepared to

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have been confined to towns, villages and refugee camps under town arrest orders.

In twenty years of occupation, Israel has bent but not broken the Palestinian resistance. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian men, women and children have written, sung, marched, shouted, struck, sat in, demonstrated and fought for their freedom.

In twenty years of occupation, the U.S. government has poured billions of dollars into Israel, financing occupation at a rate of \$12 million dollars per day.

As the United States, Israel and Jordan announce their new billion dollar development plan for the West Bank and Gaza, the Palestinians under Israeli occupation are facing their twentieth year of harsh military repression which is no less an iron fist under the new velvet glove which attempts to disguise it. The Hussein-Peres plan for joint administration of the occupied territories, announced just over one year ago, has matured into a full-blown expansion of the Camp David process.

Under the new plan, the United States will pour millions of dollars of so-called development money into the West Bank and Gaza, while Israel will continue to control Palestinian land and Jordan will assume responsibility for policing Palestinian people. Water resources are to be jointly shared by Israel and Jordan, with each retaining veto power over the other's proposals. Palestinian residents are to be represented in the Jordanian parliament, while Israeli settlers will vote in the Knesset elections.

And even though new illegal settlements would supposedly not be allowed under the joint administrative plan, Shamir's Likud party just revealed that it plans to establish 41 new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Despite the fanfare with which it was announced, the Hussein-Peres scheme seems to be gathering little support in the West Bank and Gaza, where the harsh reality of occupation dominates day to day life.

"The Israeli policy is one of seizure and colonization," said Ibrahim Mattar, a Palestinian economist based in Jerusalem. "Under international law, land is to be held in trust by the occupying power for the occupants. But Israel is seizing land for so-called 'security' purposes, resulting in the displacement and impoverishment of the population. There is no difference between the apartheid regime in South Africa and Israeli rule over the Palestinians. The Israeli-Jordanian-U.S. 'autonomy' plan means only one thing: autonomy for the people, not for the land. And autonomy will not mean political rights or rights to property and land. It will only mean the right to use the roads, pay taxes, and collect our own garbage."

Mattar's opinions are echoed by other leading Palestinian figures in the West Bank and Gaza. Ibrahim Dakkak, Director of the Arab Thought Forum, called the new development plan an Israeli Marshall Plan. "It is a well-orchestrated effort to line up the Palestinian population with a certain scheme. Israeli and Jordanian measures have become more stringent in order to force individuals and institutions inside to act in accordance with their scheme of 'joint administration' of the occupied territories. Strategically, militarily, the Israelis already control the land. But they have another problem: what to do with the Palestinians? And there is a conflict about this question, although both sides have a pragmatic solution."

"Some Israelis, especially the Gush Emunim, say get rid of the population altogether, and expand into the territory outright. The director of Israeli Army Intelligence revealed publicly in 1980 that there is in fact a plan already drafted by which Israel could evict seven to nine hundred thousand Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza. But the upper strata of Israeli society is a strata of sophisticated businessmen. They argue, no, keep the Palestinians because they are a cheap labor source and because they are very good consumers. The tendency to use Israeli Jews in strategic areas of production, especially the arms industry, left a lower echelon of production which had to be filled by Arab labor. And of course the businessmen are more committed to markets than to national boundaries!"

Bassam Shaka'a, deposed mayor of Nablus, recalled some of the history of the current plans. Shaka'a's legs were blown off by a car bomb planted by the Jewish terrorist organization TNT. He has been refused permission to travel outside the West Bank since that time in 1980 and has been kept under virtual house arrest with an armed Israeli military patrol stationed outside his house. "They tried to deport me in 1979. Then they tried to kill me and the other mayors in 1980. They tried to give us security duty against our own people. When we refused the so-called civil administration, they dismissed us, and appointed Israeli military administrators. Then after three and a half years, they tried to appoint new Palestinian mayors, like Al-Masri. They have tried to stop us from building, from raising money, from developing our electricity and water resources. Now they talk about a new development plan. We are in a bad economic situation. But their plans are a further assault against our independent determination, our independent struggle. They speak against our freedom, against our facts. Their money is a tactic."

"The Iron Fist is getting worse and worse," Shaka'a continued. "There is a very hard aggressive Israeli policy

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The Palestinian Experience

By Edward Said

Edward Said is Parr Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University in New York and a member of the Palestine National Council. Professor Said is also author of The Question of Palestine, Orientalism, The Covering of Islam, and, most recently, After the Last Sky: Palestinian Lives. This article is excerpted and slightly edited from a speech Said delivered at a conference in New York in March 1987.

In the twentieth century, although "the question of Palestine"—which is a kind of U.N. phrase which has an official and formal and lifeless sound to it—in fact, has always been a question essentially of the Palestinian people. That there is a Palestinian Arab people numbering about 4½ million, no one, not even the greatest enemies of our people, has ever doubted. The challenge before us, therefore, in contemplating the last twenty years and what comes before them is to consider what is to become of the Palestinian people, who their representatives are, what kind of future they can have, what sort of people they are. It is around these issues that the question of Palestine and U.S. policy should be focused, especially now in the newly added context of the confusions and deceptions of Irangate, the Pollard case, and the role in all of these of Israel.

Now by choosing to begin and to focus primarily on the Palestinian people, I've made an obvious political choice. By speaking about the Palestinian people I'm saying principally that despite all the efforts to eliminate and marginalize them, to characterize them as terrorists, to describe them either as refugees or as nomadic and inconsequential inhabitants of an anti-Zion, the Palestinians exist today as a nation in exile. And, in addition, as a nation in exile, they represent the one key factor, the one central quantity in any consideration of the Middle East today and its ramifications in this country, Central America, and Iran.

The Palestinians represent the one key factor, the one central quantity in any consideration of the Middle East today.

The facts are incontrovertible, and yet they need to be restated very quickly. All through this century and earlier we can disengage a single, clear strand of Palestinian Arab history and settled existence on the land of Palestine, i.e., a territory supervised, promised to another people, and finally abandoned by Great Britain, which after World War I had been given authority over Palestine in the form of a mandate. This territory does not and never has included Transjordan. In Palestine right up to 1948, although there was first a small and then an increasingly larger Jewish minority, the overwhelming majority of the native inhabitants were Muslim and Christian Arabs with natural ties to surrounding Arab countries, ties of culture, language, religions, outlook, and national aspirations. After World War II, the acceleration of Jewish immigration to Palestine was a result, among other things, of the nightmarish experience of the fascist era. By 1948 Jews constituted about 30 percent of the total population of Palestine.

Now about what happened in 1948 there is controversy, of course, but no controversy at all when we say that the birth of Israel in May of that year produced a massive, and, to Palestinians, a calamitous, destruction of their society. There was for a time a myth that the Palestinians left Palestine in 1948 because they were told to. Now, as the recent researches of a younger generation of Israeli revisionist historians have revealed and as all Palestinians, the United Nations, and many eyewitness accounts have always said, it is commonly admitted that the Zionists planned and through various means caused at least seven hundred thousand Palestinians to leave. The present Israeli minister of defense was himself responsible for the forced evacuation of fifty thousand Palestinians.

No matter how it is looked at, there can be no consideration of Israel today, yesterday, or tomorrow which does not take into account the fact that Israel's statehood in its present form, and I insist on that clause, is predicated, indeed constituted, on the exclusion, the dispossession, and to a very great extent—given the priorities of one Israel government after another—the political and national elimination of the Palestinian people as a people.

Occupation

No one needs to be told that the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, as well as the Golan Heights, is almost twenty years old. During those twenty years Israel's record against the Palestinians is a horrendous one in the number of people killed, numbers jailed, deported. A vast network of repressive measures against the Palestinians, even to the extent of banning the word "Palestine" or trying to ban it, continues. Today every one of the four Palestinian universities on the occupied territories is closed as are several schools.

The net result is that Israel has expropriated—this is again controversial—50 or 55 percent of a Palestinian land that has been occupied since 1967. It has razed to the ground many thousands of Palestinian houses. Through the use of informers, mercenaries, and Arab experts, it has tried to prevent the emergence not only of a local Palestinian leadership, which has emerged anyway, but also of any coherent national economic development for Palestinians, who are forced to sell their agricultural produce to Israel. And, of course, the situation of the Palestinian citizens of Israel is many levels beneath the level of Jewish citizens of Israel. And as for the West Bank and Gaza, there too the neglect, the brutality, the intervention by Israel into Palestinian lives goes on unabated.

Universities are shut down for months at a time. Towns are put on collective curfews, in some cases for weeks at a stretch. And the body searches, the massive roundups of so-called terrorist suspects are a daily occurrence. As for the presence on the West Bank and Gaza of many, well over one hundred and twenty illegal settlements and many thousands of equally illegal settlers, they are a deliberately calculated affront to any hopes for a peaceful settlement to the dispute between Israelis and Palestinians. Most of these settlers are religious zealots who believe they are there because God gave them the right to be there despite the native Palestinian inhabitants.

The point here, too, is that all Israeli governments, whether of the right or the left, have abetted the settlers in this irrational pursuit. And the results have not been good, with a condition of virtual apartheid obtaining in

the occupied territories.

The vast majority of native Palestinians make no claim for exclusivity; they do not claim that Palestine is ours and only ours by right of continuous inhabitation, culture, and tradition. On the contrary, they say that Palestine is the land of many peoples, many cultures, many religions. All peoples after all—whether they are in Europe, Asia, Africa, or elsewhere—are mixed peoples. Our bloods are "impure"; our ideas are interconnected; our values to most intents and purposes common. What Palestinians fight against is the notion that Palestine should be dominated by one group to the exclusion of others. In its domination of late twentieth-century Palestine, Israel proclaimed itself a state unique in the world, not as a state of its citizens, but as a state of the Jewish people whoever they are. In Israel, therefore, non-Jewish citizens of the state are *ipso facto* defined and discriminated against as non-Jews with less rights than Jews.

Moreover, Israel is the only state in the UN today without internationally defined borders. For the Palestinians, therefore, the condition of being a people whose birthplace and primordial natal rights have been abrogated unilaterally and by force by an incoming population is something to be fought against as Palestinians have fought against it for almost a century. The essence of the Palestinian struggle is the notion, not only of the restoration of rights, but the notion also of community and of sharing.

The Palestinian today performs is someone without a state, the victim of another people, largely European and Middle Eastern, who came to Palestine proclaiming itself to have a superior right and to exercise total sovereignty over the whole of Palestine, first through colonial settlement, then through military conquest.

So far as I know, the history of political struggle of a colonial sort shows no other instance of this type. When most of the colonial world was being liberated after World War II, Palestine was being colonized. In Algeria and

tion and Exile

South Africa, for example, the right of sovereignty over the native inhabitants was made in the name of a higher civilization or race, in the name also of a superior mission or a civilization. In Palestine, Israel doesn't merely assert a claim to superiority, it is also a claim to sanctified exclusivity. In classical Zionism, the natives were not exploited, they were simply ignored.

The essence of the Palestinian situation today is that Israel not only claims exclusivity, but that its official policy denies the reality of the Palestinians as a people, and it does so with the support and approval of the United States in the name of democracy, bravery, the Western tradition, and innovation.

Palestinians, in other words, not only experience the ravages of dispossession and the trials of exile, they also must endure the spectacle of their oppressors proclaiming what they do with the moral approbation of the West, which recognized in Israel its finest ideals. No other oppressors have been as celebrated for their morality and purity of arms and the fervor of their pioneering settlers. For at its disposal Israel has an extraordinary information system in which, as of the middle seventies, the resistance of the Palestinians to Israeli occupation, which is a right granted to all people unconditionally under the charter of the United Nations, had been converted simply into terrorism. In the United Nations, on the military battlefield, as one massacre, one horror of occupation after another is witnessed by the world, Israel and the United States together not only proclaim their defiance, they proclaim also their superior morality, and even more grotesquely, they also require a unilateral declaration of approval for Israel from the victims of Israel, the Palestinians.

When, during the invasion of Lebanon and the siege of Beirut in 1982, the Security Council passed a resolution asking Israel to lift the siege in order that food and medical supplies be allowed the inhabitants of that beleaguered city, the United States vetoed the resolution as "unbalanced." When Israeli forces supervised the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, it was the United States media that exonerated Israel for having prosecuted itself in a show of democratic fervor. And when, a scant four years later in 1986, it was announced that the commander of Israeli troops holding the camps while the Phalange butchers did their bloody deeds in the camps, massacring several thousand Palestinian refugees, that the very same commander of those troops, Maj. Gen. Amos Yaron, would become the Israeli military attache to Washington, to my knowledge there has been no media comment on this irony. No comment at all from a media which has endlessly bewailed the surge of terrorism. And, of course, there has been no comment from the U.S. government. I wrote a letter, in fact, to the Department of State, and I got a form letter back saying, "Well, we have nothing to do with people who are appointed to such posts. That's a privilege we give to all governments."

So "no comment" from the U.S. government, which, while it gravely attacked "Libyan terrorism" and tried to assassinate the Libyan leader, supplied the Israeli war machine, as it still does, with cluster and concussion bombs, the most advanced planes and tanks that have ravaged Palestinian camps for a generation and have also bombed and attacked four Arab capitals, in which the United States has called "understandable self-defense."

The Palestinians exist today as a nation in exile.

There's really nothing like this in modern history. The celebration of Israel continues, and, more important, the financial support for Israel from this country continues munificently. Israel now benefits from the largest foreign-aid package in U.S. history—all of it in the form of direct grants forgiven, not debts, direct, unaccounted for, budgetary support. No itemizations are required. During 1982, as if to reward at the end of year Israel for its defense of civilized, democratic, and anticommunist values, the United States increased the support of Israel for that year by \$450 million. Today the aid amounts to \$4 billion plus, which comes to somewhere between \$1,200 to \$1,500 per Israeli man, woman, and child per year.

Israeli spies raid the U.S. arsenal with only measured responses. Jewish terrorists openly kill and threaten Pales-



Niesbrief Palestina Komitee/Wim Mes

Palestinian boys at a barricaded entrance to Kalandia camp on the West Bank.

tinian American citizens, and scarcely any notice is taken. When Leon Klinghoffer was brutally and unforgivably killed October of 1985 as the researches of Sheila Ryan reveal, 1,043 column inches in the *New York Times* were devoted to the outrage. When Alex Odeh was murdered with equal brutality and savagery at the very same time, he rated only 14 inches in the *New York Times*.

We have here a classic textbook of the systematic dehumanization of the Palestinians which exists at the heart of a society. There is, of course, an old history to this in the relationship between the Christian West, now re-emerging in the polemics of neoconservatism as the Judeo-Christian tradition, on the one hand, and the Islamic Orient. What must be noted here is that the Islamic Arab world has never completely capitulated to the West. To this very day, despite a whole series of defeats, humiliations, and even degradations, the Arab and Islamic world represents a kind of intransigent defiance to the hegemony of the West that no other culture group or religion has ever maintained for so long a time.

Islam and the Arabs cannot be consigned to the realm of the exotic or domesticated into the world of cult and enthusiasm as, for example, China, India, Africa, and Japan have. Because Islam is a monotheistic religion, there is the added irritant of consanguinity, of a kind of adjacent competition, which makes it a formidable challenge for the two other religions. In the domain of cultural struggle, therefore, the Palestinian refusal to capitulate, to recognize the defeats that Israel and the West appear to have conflicted on the cause of Palestine, is a symbol of the larger mystery of Islam and the Arabs as they continue to resist the West, demanding instead recognition and equality.

No such compassion is forthcoming, however. And you can see it in Western and Israeli treatments of the Arabs generally, the Palestinians in particular. The essence of that treatment is dehumanization, a process by which politically you convert a living, breathing, working human being into something fundamentally ahuman, devoid of emotion, and the feelings that "we" have, the values that "we," as opposed to "they," hold.

Israeli retaliations against the Palestinians routinely claim fifty or one hundred Palestinian lives for one Israeli or Jewish life. The Arab is represented in popular literature, for example in Leon Uris' novel, *The Haj*, as somebody confined to a low order of existence: lazy, depraved, treacherous, oversexed, obscene. Consequently, in the West the Palestinian is not known as a human being, but only as a nuisance, as a terrorist, a faceless creature in a stocking mask. There are very few, hardly any to speak of, certainly no commercial translations of Palestinian literature, no films about them, no testimonials to their suffering. None are available. None sought after. None permitted to circulate in any significant number.

All this is carried on, not only in the glare of life and the blaring of political speeches, all of them seeking Israeli approval for U.S. support, but with a complicity of the media which is quick to respond when it records a hijacking or a random, mad act, yet able systematically to overlook the daily outrages on the West Bank, in south Lebanon, in Gaza, and elsewhere, all of them carried out,

not by individuals, but by the Israeli Army, its air force, its navy, its secret police, all of them funded, down to their shoelaces, by the U.S. taxpayer, who has been told little of what his or her money is paying for. And all of this is recorded also in the Israeli press. Yet none of it is transferred to the press in this country.

Yet I must add that all the polls in recent years have shown that U.S. policy goes contrary to the wishes of the electorate in this country, who, when it is asked and been informed, has solidly shown itself for Palestinian self-determination, for the end of blind U.S. support to Israeli settlements and military adventures. Certainly, there is also a growing number, growing very significant, of Jews—American, European, Canadian, and Israeli—who have opposed Israeli and U.S. policy, who have stood up for Palestinian rights, who have dared to brave the onslaught of the organized groups who have used blacklisting, terror, and economic intimidation to silence the opposition to and criticism of Israeli policies.

Most important of all, however, has been the role of the Palestinians themselves, who despite all the odds have neither capitulated nor abandoned the uneven struggle. I don't know of any Palestinian who has said, "I am not a Palestinian. I will forget. I will be a Jordanian." And it is the record of Palestinian achievements that shines through the awful darkness of the current situation. Consider that after 1948 the Palestinians were a crushed and dispersed population, scarred by the cataclysmic loss of their homeland, unprepared for the onrush of disaster and dispossession. A scant twenty years later, the rise of a new Palestinian leadership marked the beginning of a major national renaissance. Within a few years the desolation had been replaced by a formidable network of Palestinian health services, educational research organizations, the various unions—women's groups, students, writers, teachers, intellectuals, and other associations—and above all, of a vital political leadership which, for the first time since 1948, reinserted the question of Palestine, forgotten and buried by the Israelis and their allies, back into the world agenda.

Palestinians boasted the highest number of university graduates in the Arab world. Palestinian writers and poets like Mahmoud Darwish and Emile Habibi had become world-famous and generally respected artists. Most of what is called the higher-level manpower in the Arab world and elsewhere has an extraordinarily high proportion of Palestinians. The oil states of the Middle East, for example, owe most of their oil technicians, contractors, engineers, doctors, professors, and senior advisors to the ranks of the Palestinians.

And on top of all this the Palestinians have created a political organization which, given the tremendous constraints of politics, the fact that all Palestinians everywhere, especially in the Middle East, live subject to the inhibitions of host states who most assuredly do not favor democracy for Palestinians or for their own populations and in addition the rigors of widespread geographical dispersion, all this has nevertheless not prevented the Palestinians from essentially maintaining a democratic, representative, and political responsive organization, which, of course, is the Palestine Liberation Organization. □

L.A. Case...

Continued from page 3

return to the era when people were harassed for what they thought, what they said, what they read, or what groups they belonged to."

It is no accident that the government's "test case" has targeted Palestinians. Long viewed as the "weak link" in the civil liberties chain, "Palestinian" still equals "terrorist" in the eyes of many in the United States. Reagan's "war on terrorism" has fanned a renewed wave of anti-

Arab hysteria in the United States and has created an atmosphere in which racist violence has resulted in the death of at least one Arab-American, Alex Odeh.

The defense of the Los Angeles Eight is not merely the defense of civil liberties in general, though it is surely that. It is also the defense of Palestinian civil liberties in particular, including the right of the Palestinian community in the United States to debate crucial questions of U.S. foreign policy and crucial questions of Palestinian self-determination. It is the right of Palestinians to debate

their future, and the right of all of us to hear that debate, that is on trial in Los Angeles. As the *Boston Globe* wrote in its February 18 editorial, "This attempt to deport politically active Palestinians for what they read, think or say is consistent with an INS Contingency Plan of May 1986 to incarcerate thousands of aliens in internment camps and to 'isolate those members of the nationality group whose presence is inimical to national security interests.' It is inconsistent with the principles of a democratic society." □

Lebanon...

Continued from page 2

program of the Phalange. It also was a reflection of the success of the Iranian revolution and its export of Shi'a religious militancy and financial resources to Lebanese Islamic groups.

However, the primary factor in the growth of sectarianism was Israel's intervention. From the beginning, Israel attempted to build ties with religious-identified groups such as the Shi'a Amal or the mainly Druse Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) of Walid Jumblatt. During the invasion in 1982, Israel did not even disarm Amal and PSP units, while nonsectarian progressive groups were targeted and forced to operate underground. The fruits of the Israeli policy of covert support of sectarian groups were most apparent in the south, where Amal was rapidly able to assert control over the liberated areas even though its role in the struggle for liberation was limited and did not start until the end of 1983.

By 1986 the Christian Phalangist program had clearly lost any chance of implementation. Today, the Gemayel government controls only the Christian areas north of Beirut. The Christian establishment is divided between a pragmatic wing, which sees the need to give up some of the Maronite privileges, and a diehard pro-Israeli faction which controls the Phalangist militia.

In the nationalist areas, Islamic fundamentalist groups have also seen their programs blocked. They still face Phalangist control over the state, an Islamic community divided along sect lines (Druse, Sunni, and

Shi'a), and the consistent, progressive, non-sectarian program put forth by the left.

The ascendancy of the sectarian program provided the context for the battle of the camps which erupted between the Palestinian movement and Amal in 1985. Amal, the main group within the Shi'a community, had hoped to parlay the community's numerical superiority into political primacy in the nationalist areas in hopes of sharing the spoils of any political agreement with the Phalangists. The return of the PLO fighters to the Palestinian camps constituted a challenge to Amal's hegemony which it sought to smash.

The resulting battle of the camps, during which Amal besieged the camps in Beirut and in the south, resulted in the almost complete destruction of the camps and their surroundings. Over two thousand people died during the fighting which raged intermittently between the summer of 1985 until the end of March 1987. Amal was unable to storm the camps or to disarm the Palestinian movement mainly because of the stiff resistance of the camp inhabitants and the lack of solid support for Amal's goals, even within the Shi'a community. Israel provided indirect support for Amal in the south by frequently bombarding Palestinian positions around Sidon.

The Lebanese progressive forces supported the right of the Palestinian resistance to carry weapons and opposed Amal hegemony in the nationalist areas and its sectarian goals. During February 1987, an Amal attack on one of the progressive groups provoked a major battle for the control of Beirut, resulting in Amal losing con-

trol of most of West Beirut and precipitating the entry of Syrian peace-keeping forces.

The Lebanese economy suffered a deadly blow following the Israeli invasion and during the following occupation. The destruction caused by the fighting wreaked havoc on the industrial infrastructure and the transport sector. The occupation of the south was followed by an attempt to subjugate the area to economic exploitation and transform it into an export zone for Israeli products. The Israelis shut the south off from the rest of the country from 1983 to 1985. Israeli products flooded the market at heavily subsidized prices which made them less expensive than any comparable Lebanese product. The siege of Beirut and the heavy fighting which took place on the outskirts of the city destroyed most of the industry located there.

The Lebanese economy did not collapse immediately. The *coup de grace* came at the end of 1983 when Gemayel's regime spent over a billion dollars from its hard currency reserves on arms purchases from the United States to equip its army. The Lebanese pound, valued at four per dollar in 1983, is now exchanged at the incredible rate of 120 per dollar. The result has been utter poverty for the vast majority of the Lebanese people.

Five years after the Israeli invasion, Lebanon is still suffering the effects of Israeli aggression. While Israel has been forced to withdraw from most of Lebanon, it remains actively engaged in the affairs of the country, intervening overtly through bombing raids and covertly through support for sectarian groups. Israel still controls a large band of territory in the south

and uses its puppet South Lebanon Army to secure the area.

A Phalangist president is still nominally in power. His influence, however, does not extend beyond the Christian heartland. Both the United States and Israel, who initially tried to impose a fascist regime in Lebanon, have come to the realization that the Christian supremacist program could not be imposed on the majority of the population. When the Gemayel regime was unable to overcome Islamic popular hostility and nationalist opposition, Israel and then the United States shifted to a position of support for sectarian groups within the nationalist areas, thus ensuring further fragmentation in the country.

The Lebanese progressive forces, who suffered a heavy blow from both the Israeli invasion and the installation of the Phalangist regime, have slowly regained their strength in the five years since June 1982. The LNRF forced the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from most of Lebanon. The progressive forces played a central role in the battles against the Phalangists and the army in the Shouf mountains, Beirut, and the south. The democratic opposition is currently targeted by the Moslem sectarian groups whose narrow communal identification is challenged by the opposition's nonsectarian, Arab nationalist, and democratic program. The February 1987 battle for the control of West Beirut resulted in the expulsion of the sectarian groups and the return of West Beirut to its nationalist identity. After twelve years of civil war, one fact is becoming clear to most Lebanese: only a nationalist, democratic, and nonsectarian program can reunite Lebanon. □

20 Years...

Continued from page 4

underneath all this talk of peace and negotiations. There is no mention of Israel withdrawing from the West Bank and Gaza. There is no mention of Israel withdrawing from Jerusalem. There is no mention of Israel stopping the settlements. There is not even talk about conditions for peace, or full human rights for the people of the occupied territories."

Michael Warshawsky, an Israeli activist who until its recent closure by the Israeli military directed the Alternative Information Center, summed up the Iron Fist policies this way: "Labor proved itself more expert in public relations, especially international public opinion. And Labor is also more intelligent regarding repression. It is less public than Likud, but more harsh, hitting at the nerve centers of resistance. The whole point of the Iron Fist is not to target 'leaders' in the sense of public figures. It is to target those who carry the movement on their shoulders, in order to disarm any mobilization or opposition."

Israel has been strikingly unsuccessful in disarming opposition over twenty years of occupation, even in Gaza where the repression has been particularly harsh. "Israel is trying to make the pressure completely unbearable in

Gaza," asserted Raji Sourani, a Gaza attorney who has been arrested and tortured himself in recent months. "Hundreds are spending three to four months in jail without charges, especially 17- to 25-year-olds. They have forbidden almost four thousand from traveling outside. The economic situation is going backwards very quickly. Unemployment has reached 30 to 40 percent in Gaza. The plans are to get a political current to support the classical figures who previously supported Camp David. Gaza is a test case. Peres will test out his plan, see if he can get "autonomy" to work first in Gaza. Gaza is weaker in some ways than the West Bank. We don't have the political institutions, the associations, the unions, the charitable organizations that can reflect the Palestinian nationalist position in a strong way. But we have a very strong infrastructure of resistance here, stronger than in the West Bank. There are more military operations here than in the West Bank. That's why the repression has been even harsher here. Forty-three thousand have been arrested, detained or sentenced since 1967 in Gaza, one out of every three adults."

While political and armed resistance in the West Bank and Gaza has erupted even more strongly in recent months, Ibrahim Mattar also spoke of other forms that resistance to the Iron Fist of occupation takes. "We are organizing our own counter assault. We are teaching people to make more efficient use of the water, using drip irrigation. In this way, Palestinian farmers are outproduc-

ing Israelis in the Jordan Valley. But they can't sell their vegetables in Israel, while Israel sells all of its produce in the Occupied Territories. We are organizing land reclamation projects, clearing rocks and ploughing and planting. In over 8 years, we will have planted 2 million new olive trees. We are trying to strengthen the will of the farmers to hold on, while we expose the Israeli actions to the world community. And of course the Israelis are issuing new military orders, like 1015 and 1057, which make it illegal to plant eggplants, tomatoes, grapes and plums without a permit from the military authorities."

The right of self-determination in occupied Palestine is also the right to choose a leadership. "Hussein clearly wants to undermine PLO support and influence here and pave the way for an 'alternative' leadership," noted Akram Haniya, the editor of a West Bank daily newspaper who was "deported" in early 1987. In the recent comprehensive public opinion poll conducted by *Al-Fajr* newspaper in the West Bank and Gaza, a resounding 93 percent of Palestinians under military occupation stated that the PLO is their legitimate representative, and only 3 percent selected King Hussin as their favorite leader. The emerging new bonds of unity in the Palestine Liberation Organization echo this affirmation of the Palestinians of the West Bank, Gaza and the camps of Lebanon.

The Palestinian right to self-determination may be postponed, but it cannot be denied. Not even by twenty years of occupation. □

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Palestine Focus is the national newspaper of the November 29th Committee for Palestine. 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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West Bank and Gaza ... 20 years ... soldiers in the streets, house demolitions ... Palestinian universities closed, students shot ... Jerusalem and Golan Heights annexed ... land confiscations.... This June marks the 20th anniversary of the war in 1967 that started yet another stage of displacement, dispossession, and occupation for the Palestinian people. People all around the world are responding to the shocking fact of such an ugly anniversary with renewed support for Palestinian self-determination.

The *Guardian* (New York) newsweekly is making its own contribution to this international movement by issuing a special "End the 20 Years of Occupation" supplement with a host of outstanding authors covering a wide range of topics: Mohammed Batrawi on the culture of resistance; Fouzi Al Asmar on Israeli racism; Rita Giacaman on the popular movement under occupation; Gerald Horne on the U.S. left and the Middle East; Jane Hunter on the Israel lobby; Jan Abu-Shaiker on settlements and settler violence; Nubar Hovsepian, Hilton Obenzinger, Sheila Ryan, Grace Paley, Naseer Aruri, Jeanne Butterfield, Jonathan Kuttub, and more. The list is large indeed—equal to the bold task of making an end to the Israeli occupation a focal point for all progressives. Write to The *Guardian*, 33 West 17th St. NYC, NY 10011. Each supplement costs 75 cents; 10-100 copies 10 cents each; and over 100 costs 5 cents each.

Often, it's only the West Bank that comes to mind when people consider the Israeli occupation, and the Gaza Strip—one of the most densely populated areas in the world, impoverished, suffering from severe repression—is likely to be ignored. Now *Stateless in Gaza* by Paul Cossali and Clive Robson (Zed Press) remedies this in a powerful portrait of life for these Palestinians living in crowded refugee camps and cities hemmed in by Israeli troops, desert, and the Mediterranean. The book weaves in numerous interviews with Gaza residents—doctors and big landowners, small artisans and laborers, activists and ordinary people—to portray Palestinian life vividly and honestly. Rarely do you find a book that combines historical and factual detail with such human accuracy of emotions and sensibilities.

June also marks the fifth anniversary of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. *Lebanon: Dynamics of Conflict* by B. J. Odeh (Zed Press) provides a broad historical overview and analysis of the roots of the Lebanese civil war, relating them to the Israeli invasion and its aftermath.

Getting It All In Focus

"Christian" versus "Muslim" are overly simplistic catchwords to describe the complexity of Lebanon, and Dr. Odeh examines the economic, social, and political realities of the unraveling of Lebanese society's fabric. The book also covers the Reagan administration's intervention, the May 17 agreement which attempted to put Lebanon under permanent United States-Israeli domination, the withdrawal of the U.S. Marines, and the role of Syria.

Another view of Lebanon is provided in "Zahrat al-Kandoul: Resistance Struggle of Women of South Lebanon," a new film by documentary filmmakers Mai Masri and Jean Chamoun. The film is an extraordinary portrayal of the resistance of the women of southern Lebanon to the Israeli invasion and occupation, told through the story of one woman in particular, Khadije, who not only resisted, but was jailed by the Israelis as a result of her activities. A video version of the film is available for rental from the Middle East Philanthropic Fund, P.O. Box 2029, Jamaica Plain, MA 02130.

During these years of Israeli occupation and invasion, many Jews have increasingly voiced their opposition to Israeli policies. *I & P: Israel & Palestine Political Report*, edited by Maxim Ghilan in Paris and part of the same circle of progressive Jews which organizes the International Jewish Peace Union, is a highly readable monthly magazine which offers unique insights into the Israeli peace movement and the activities of Jews around the world seeking justice and peace in the Middle East. Subscriptions are \$30 a year; write to *Israel & Palestine*, 5 rue Cardinal Mercier 75009, Paris, France.

In the midst of these anniversaries, we still cannot forget the bubbling Iran-Contra scandal. The idiotic and dangerous foibles of the Reagan administration has directed increasing attention towards Israel's role as part of U.S. global strategy. Note several new books which examine Israel's meddling in Central America. *No Simple*

Proxy: Israel in Central America (Washington Middle East Associates) by Jane Hunter, editor of *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, provides a succinct summary of Israel's schemes in that area. Send \$7 to P.O. Box 19580, Sacramento, CA 95819.

Also, *It's No Secret: Israel's Military Involvement in Central America* (Arab American University Graduates) by Milton Jamail and Margo Gutierrez, and *Israel in Latin America: The Military Connection* (St. Martin's Press) by Bishara Bahbah are also excellent studies. Certainly, no one can say this sordid relationship is "a secret!"

Noam Chomsky exercises relentless reason to unmask the essence of U.S. foreign policy and the way media distortions serve its interests in *Pirates & Emperors: International Terrorism in the Real World* (Claremont Research & Publications, 160 Claremont Avenue, NYC, NY 10027).

Chomsky unfolds his logic starting from a tale by St. Augustine which recounts "a pirate captured by Alexander the Great, who asked him 'how he dares molest the sea.' 'How dare you molest the whole world?' the pirate replied: 'because I do it with a little ship only, I am called thief; you, doing it with a great navy, are called an Emperor.'"

According to Chomsky, such a parable captures with some accuracy the current relations between the United States and other actors on the stage of the "international terrorism" scenario. Chomsky goes on to define the essence of violence in the Middle East, examining the way the massive violence of "the Emperor"—the United States and its friends, Israel, South Africa, and others—stacks up against the sensationalized violence of "the pirate," the perpetrators of the Vienna and Rome airport attacks, for example, much less the legitimate violence of the Palestinian resistance fighting occupation.

In order to pursue interventionist policies to benefit the Emperor's military-industrial complex, "such policies cannot be presented to the public in the terms in which they are intended. They can be implemented only if the general population is properly frightened by monsters against whom we must defend ourselves." The monsters, of course, are the forces of what the Reagan administration likes to call "international terrorism," but which means any movement for national liberation that threatens perceived American interests, such as the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the PLO.

If you're having problems locating these books in your local bookstore, we have some suggestions. Demand that your local bookstore order these books right away. Or, write to Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc. and request their catalogue which lists many of these books plus others at prices at least 30 percent below list price from their inventory. Write to AMEU, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 771, New York, NY 10115. □

Iran...

Continued from page 1

is new is that a study mandated by Congress in the sanctions bill for South Africa concludes that Israel is South Africa's largest military supplier, but Israel still gets off without penalties or criticism because Congress is more interested in sweeping the information under the rug than investigating it.

Indeed, the 1987 version of the sanctions bill removes the reporting clause under pressure from the Israel lobby. After Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-CA) introduced the new bill with a reporting clause, his 24 cosponsors withdrew their names when pressured by the lobby. Dellums was then forced to remove the clause.

Israeli officials recruited Jonathan Pollard to ferret out U.S. military secrets and implausibly lied about the extent of their own government's involvement. The Israelis rewarded those responsible. One of Israel's defenders, Senator Duerrenberger, pointed out that the United States spies on Israel, too, and thereby leaked presumably secret information. Israeli and U.S. officials treated the affair as having no effect on relations. Pollard's roomful of stolen documents turned over to Israel not only made possible the terror bombing of PLO offices in Tunis, but reportedly also included information about South Africa which Israel turned over to the South African government. Pollard's information, according to government prosecutors, "comprised a breadth and volume of classified information as great as in any reported espionage case."

The list of similar Israeli crimes is long. The Israeli bombing of the U.S. naval vessel *Liberty* in 1967 was suppressed by U.S. authorities. A Pennsylvania firm flouted laws mandating the death penalty for violators to smuggle weapons-grade uranium from the United

States to Israel. The Justice Department did not pursue the case. Senate staffer Stephen Bryen turned over top-secret maps to Israeli military officials; the Justice Department overturned its own investigators' recommendations and declined to prosecute him. Bryen was appointed assistant to cold warrior and recently retired Assistant Undersecretary of Defense Richard Perle, who himself helped arrange the purchase of arms from an Israeli company he formerly and recently represented.

In the heart of the Iran-Israel-contra scandal itself, Israelis not only embroil the United States in arms sales to the Khomeini regime but facilitate the illegal use of the proceeds to fund the contras when Congress had banned such aid. Again, this is nothing new. A Reagan administration official told the *New York Times* in July 1983 that "the Reagan administration, concerned about Congressional limitation of involvement in Central America, had encouraged the Israeli activities as a means of supplementing American security assistance to friendly governments. In addition, the officials said, the administration wanted to establish new lines of support to Nicaraguan rebels in case Congress approved legislation that would cut off covert support for the insurgents." (Emphasis added.)

Indeed, it is clear that Israel answered the call and went well beyond the "call of duty" not only in arming and training the contras (Fred Francis of NBC News reported that one-quarter of the contras' weapons came from Israel) but in turning all of Central America into a battleground and a burial ground from the extermination campaign against Guatemalan Indians through napalming in El Salvador and contra attacks on Nicaragua. Israel had the necessary stockpile of arms of diversified origin the CIA needed to launch the contra military effort in the first place. And the contras themselves are the persistent source of information that Israel has maintained its assist-

ance through thick and thin.

Thus the relationship between the United States and Israel has become so tightly intertwined that even when Israel is used to violate the Congress' own decisions, Congress prefers to look away rather than defend itself. And if that gets Ronald Reagan off the hook, too, so be it.

The indulgence shown toward Israel has thus become a disease eating away at the most fundamental principles of constitutional government. That the disease is self-inflicted will not necessarily limit the damage.

U.S. decisionmakers perceive that they have few reliable allies in maintaining domination over an increasingly rebellious world. An Israeli official told the *New York Times* in 1966: "The United States has come to the conclusion that it can no longer respond to every incident around the world, that it must rely on a local power—the deterrent of a friendly power—as a first line to stave off America's direct involvement.... Israel feels that she fits this definition."

In 1987 few other countries "fit the definition." Israel itself clearly sought such a role and built itself into a garrison state so that it could participate in U.S. interventionist policies around the world and gain protection in return. Some commentators have begun to describe Israel as an agency of the United States government whose budget and activities are completely outside congressional and public scrutiny.

The citizens of the United States pay the aforementioned price in the subversion of its constitutional process. Israelis pay a high price as well. The Pollard affair prompted the American conservative rabbi Jacob Neusner to write in the *Washington Post* that "the state of Israel is a client state, not Sparta or Athens, either. Having priced itself out of independence in economic terms, and because of recurring wars, the state of Israel depends upon a generous America." Though Neusner professes to be "glad" that "this

country [has] one really strong, reliable, and stable ally in the Middle East," he also confirms that in its willing complicity in suppressing the freedom of South Africans, Central Americans, and, most directly, the Palestinians, Israel has surrendered its own independence.

Thus the deeper message of the contemporary series of scandals in the United States-Israel relationship goes to the heart of the fundamental failure of each partner. The United States believes it must intervene forcefully around the world to protect its interests, and Israelis have built a society which must help out in that effort to survive.

Since the rest of the world will not put up with foreign intervention indefinitely, those of us concerned about the future for ourselves and our children had better devise some alternative approaches. We can demand a thoroughgoing congressional investigation to deal with the difficult issue of Israeli violation of U.S. laws head on. We can begin by demanding the implementation of existing laws blatantly violated by the Israeli government. These laws currently mandate that all aid to Israel be immediately stopped.

We can demand full accountability for the use of the billions of aid dollars the Congress grants to Israel each year. We can demand that any new sanctions bill retain the mandatory report on sanctions violators. We can demand that the classified version of this year's sanctions violation report be released in full. We must demand honesty, responsibility, and real scrutiny over these important matters from our representatives in Washington. Otherwise, the present scandals can only give way to new ones, more profoundly shocking to our humanity and deadly to our own survival in a nuclear world. □

Israel Victimizes Jews

By Hilton Obenzinger

The Pollard spy scandal cover-up by the Israeli government, along with other incidents such as the recent unprecedented arrests of Israeli peace activists, has served to underscore a fact that critics of the Zionist movement and its ideology have been saying for years: Zionism, while principally victimizing Palestinians, also victimizes Jews. Of course, many Jews do not yet realize this, but recent events have caused many to begin speaking out about Israeli policies as never before.

To be sure, the Pollard spy case—where Israeli leaders engineered a too obvious cover-up, arrogantly followed by promotions of the two Israeli officers who led the purported "rogue" operation—has created a huge uproar, particularly amongst American Jews. Certainly, the strategic relationship between the two countries has not been shaken, but Israeli leaders are now being forcefully reminded that Washington remains the senior partner in the alliance.

It appears that a dam has finally burst in the long tradition of American Jewish acquiescence to Israeli policies.

Never before has there been such vocal criticism of Israeli policies by American Jewish leaders, particularly when the Iran-Contra scandal, Israel's belated admission of arms deals with South Africa, and other affairs are added to the list. It appears that a dam has finally burst in the long tradition of American Jewish acquiescence to Israeli policies. "There is a feeling of unease," said Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. "American Jews, more than any other Jews, have an ideal conception of Israel. Somehow the reality of Israel as an arms merchant and as a spy clashes with the ideal of Israel." But, in Rabbi Schindler's opinion "our advice is cheap" concerning Israeli "security" concerns. "We don't have to live with the consequences," he commented, reiterating the traditional line. But the Pollard case is different, he adds. "For the first time in recent history, the issue of double loyalty has been dramatically raised," Rabbi Schindler said. American Jews feel increasingly affronted, if not threatened, by Israeli policies.

For example, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has called for the United States to forbid entry of Soviet Jews who have left the Soviet Union with permission to go to Israel and who chose instead to come to the United States. Shamir said the main issue was to "bring more people to Israel.... The aim of our struggle is not to get them out of Soviet Russia, but to bring them to their homeland, Israel. Our struggle is not to change for our brethren one place of dispersion for another." Such remarks, and the policy, were criticized by American Jewish organizations. Karl Zukerman, executive vice president of Hias, a Jews immigration aid society said, "We will resist strongly any effort by the American Government to make it more difficult for a Jew to come to the United States."

The controversies are not limited to Jewish immigration, but reach into the very foundations of Zionist ideology. Nothing illustrated this more than the comments of Shlomo Avineri, Zionist theoretician and former director general of the Israel Foreign Ministry. His open "Letter to an American Friend" in the

Jerusalem Post touched off angry responses when, observing the condemnations of American Jews, Avineri said the Pollard affair proves that American Jews do not really feel "at home" in America.

"Let me not mince words," Avineri wrote, "some of the responses of American Jewish leaders after Pollard's sentencing remind me of the way in which Jewish leaders in Egypt under Nasser and in Iran under Khomeini ran for cover when members of their respective Jewish communities were caught spying for Israel.... American Jewry has prided itself on being a free community of fiercely proud Jews living in an open society, in which being Jewish was considered as American as apple pie." But Avineri thinks that American Jews show that they still live in "Galut," in exile from their true homeland, Israel. "Zionism grew out of the cruel realization that for all of their achievements and successes, when the chips are down, Jews in the Diaspora become vulnerable and defenceless, are seen as aliens—and will see themselves as such." To American Jews Avineri gives one final word of advice: "You too have to be emancipated from Galut and

alienation; and for all its achievements and promise, America, it now appears, may not be your Promised Land."

Anti-Zionist Jewish scholar Norman Finkelstein commented that "such a remark in the mouth of a gentile would be regarded as the grossest anti-Semitism." The outraged response amongst mainstream American Jewish leaders was almost as scathing. "Contrary to the Israeli view, Jews feel very much at home in America," said Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress. "It is the freest, most open society that Jews have known in their three-thousand-year-old history." Rabbi Jacob Neusner wrote in the *Washington Post* that "America is a better place to be a Jew than Jerusalem.... What I hear in the odd turning of ideology is that Jews cannot live in a free and open society, that Judaism required the ghetto, and that freedom—an absolute good for everyone else—is bad for the Jews."

Abraham Foxman, associate director of the Anti-Defamation League, recoiled at Avineri's charge that American Jews were "cringing" in their support of Israel when the going got tough. "How quickly you forget, Shlomo, how tough it was in the past, defending the Suez invasion, coping with the attack on the Liberty, defending settlement policy, challenging the president over Awacs and the Reagan Plan, and getting caught by surprise over the annexation of the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem."

Mr. Foxman continued by asking, "Do you think it was easy making the case for Israel while the IDF bombardment of Beirut was driven home nightly in vivid color on American television newscasts? However much we were disconcerted by these policies, we neither shrank from our Jewishness nor did we waver in our support for Israel."

Without doubt, the American Jewish community still constitutes the most ardent supporters of Israel, despite the fact that the Zionist siren call for immigrants to Israel falls mostly on deaf ears. But the contradiction between Zionist policies and practices

on the one hand, including the harsh treatment of the Palestinians, and the concerns of American Jews for democracy, pluralism, and to be full participants in American political life, on the other, continues to grow.

Perhaps the most telling indication of the negative role Zionism has played in the Jewish community, and the growing unease American Jews feel, is provided by the Central Intelligence Agency. In 1979, the CIA produced a report on Israeli intelligence activity, "Israel: Foreign Intelligence and Security Services." The report examines Israel's use of Jewish communities for spying: "The Israelis are prepared to capitalize on nearly every kind of agent motivation. A substantial effort is made to appeal to Jewish racial or religious proclivities, pro-Zionism, dislike of anti-Semitism.... Blackmail is also used.... Within Jewish communities in almost every country of the world, there are Zionists and other sympathizers, who render strong support to the Israeli intelligence effort. Such contacts are carefully nurtured, and serve as channels for information, deception material, propaganda and other purposes."

The report continues: "The Israeli intelligence service depends heavily on various Jewish communities and organizations abroad for recruiting agents and eliciting general information. The aggressively ideological nature of Zionism, which emphasizes that all Jews belong to Israel and must return to Israel, had had its drawbacks in enlisting support for intelligence operations, however, since there is considerable opposition to Zionism among Jews throughout the world. Aware of this fact, Israeli intelligence representatives usually operate discreetly within Jewish communities and are under instructions to handle their missions with utmost tact to avoid embarrassment to Israel. They also attempt to penetrate anti-Zionist elements in order to neutralize the opposition. Despite such precautions, the Israelis frequently experience setbacks and there have been several cases where attempts at recruitment of Americans of the Jewish faith have been rejected and reported to U.S. authorities." (From "Israel: Old Ally, Old Snoop," by James Bramford, *Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 1987.)



Jules Feiffer

The contradiction facing American Jews is growing. Jews are called upon to uphold the unbending mandates of Zionism, whether they be the defense of an odious occupation, the espionage needs of the Israeli state, or the demands for increased Jewish immigration. And if questions or opposition should be raised, slander and ostracism can await the Jews who dares to speak out.

For those Jews who have long criticized Israel and who have regularly been labeled as "self-hating" or "anti-Semitic," such treatment has come to be expected. But for the increasing number of Jews who support Israel yet still do not feel that such support contradicts their notions of democracy, the latest misdeeds of the Zionist leadership have created unsettling questions. Is their "ideal conception of Israel," as Rabbi Schindler described it, nothing but an illusion? □

Progressive Israeli Jews Face Repression

The repression of those regarded as "anti-Zionist elements" by the Israeli and Zionist hierarchy reaches even into Israel itself. On February 17, 1987, Israeli police raided the offices of the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center, which publishes the biweekly *News From Within*. Six Israeli peace activists were arrested and held for eight days, with one, Michel Warshawski detained for several weeks, and the office was ordered closed for six months. These actions were taken on the basis of Israel's Emergency Defense Regulations, a collection of British mandatory regulations taken over and amended by Israel. The regulations grant police and military officers authority

to detain individuals, impose censorship and suspend civil rights by decree. "Rendering information services to the enemy" were the grounds for the arrests.

Such use of the Emergency Regulations is a regular occurrence for Palestinians—but this was the first time that such repression was directed at Israeli Jews working within the 1948 borders of Israel. What was once reserved only for Palestinians is now the treatment Israelis can come to expect when they protest the illegal occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, and Golan Heights. The group noted how closing one source for accurate information about the occupation "makes it easier for the authorities to conceal their current campaign of repression in the occupied territories under a cloud of unknowing." And they asked, "is it mere coincidence that the raid occurred exactly one week after members of the AIC collective organized a demonstration in Jerusalem

on behalf of Mordechai Vanunu's right to a fair and open trial?" Vanunu, the former nuclear technician who confirmed the existence of Israel's nuclear arsenal—kidnapped, held incommunicado, vilified in the media, and tried before a secret court—also stands out as a Jewish victim of Israeli repression.

But you certainly do not have to reveal atomic secrets to land in an Israeli jail. Talking peace to the "wrong" people can end with the same result. Four leading Israeli peace activists from the Oriental Jewish community were charged under a recently enacted Anti-Terrorist Ordinance which forbids Israelis meeting with representatives of the PLO. Latif Dori, Eliezer Feiler, Yael Lotan and Rueven Kaminer, along with eighteen others, traveled to Romania last November to attend meetings with senior PLO officials. In a joint statement, the four stressed that "there was nothing furtive or

criminal in the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue we attended: it was held under the watchful eyes of scores of media representatives. It is ironic that such an event, whose sole purpose was the termination of mutual violence, should subject us to indictment for 'aid to terrorism.'"

Contributions and letters of support for this case can be sent to the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue Founded By Israelis of Oriental Origin, P.O. Box 20373, Tel Aviv 61204.

The Committee to Defend Michel Warshawski and the Alternative Information Center in Israel is sponsored by Philippa Strum and Rabbi Balfour Brickner of the American-Israeli Civil Liberties Coalition and Noam Chomsky. Write to Topping Lane, Norwalk, CT 06854.

The Mordechai Vanunu Defense Fund can be reached at P.O. Box 45005, Somerville, MA 02145.—H.O. □