

Palestine Focus

NO. 7

NATIONAL NEWSLETTER OF THE NOVEMBER 29th COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

JULY 1984

Editorial: The Challenge of Peace

The Democrats and Palestine



Jesse Jackson with Barbara Lubin, of Jews for Jackson, and Osama Doumani, of Arab-Americans for Jackson, at press conference in San Francisco in May.

The 1984 presidential campaign poses a question of immense importance to the American people: Are the Democrats planning to forfeit the elections to Reagan or will they provide a clear alternative which brings out the half of the electorate who boycotted the polls in 1980?

The Democratic Party has the opportunity to carve out bold positions on a whole range of issues: nuclear disarmament, military spending, Central America, providing for human needs, and the Middle East. If the Democratic candidate, whoever he may be, seizes this opportunity and pledges to make changes supported by a broad consensus of public opinion, he can win in November. If the candidate moves to the right and acts as a clone of Reagan, defeat is certain.

Since Walter Mondale is most likely to gain the nomination, we have particular cause for concern, especially when it comes to the Middle East. While overwhelming majorities of Americans, in poll after poll and including

Jewish Americans, endorse Palestinian rights—including a homeland—talks with the PLO, and an end to settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, Mondale (and Hart) proposes to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv into the occupied West Bank in Jerusalem.

Jesse Jackson, on the other hand, made Palestinian rights a key issue in the Democratic primaries from the start. He was virulently attacked by apologists for Israel because of his courageous stand; the attacks reached a fury after his successful mission to Syria. Even before his regrettable "Hymies" remark, the pro-Israel lobby broadcast its concern about Jackson's "anti-Semitism" and tried to discredit his campaign with smears about "Arab money" and "support for terrorism."

Yet Jackson's position is not that "radical"; many Western European politicians, such as former Austrian Prime Minister Bruno Kreisky, and even the Pope espouse similar views to Jackson's. Jackson is attacked because he has breached a wall of silence; he has dared to

speaking out on a peace issue which had been taboo in American politics. Jackson's respectable showing in the primaries, considering he is bucking the still strong influence of racism on the voters, demonstrates that his position on the Middle East is an asset with the voters and not a liability.

Of course, the Rainbow Coalition raises many other challenges to "politics as usual." Jackson's candidacy has launched a fledgling movement for peace and justice—rooted in disenfranchised communities that suffer from intense discrimination themselves—which insists on exploring ways of stopping discrimination against Palestinians. This broad movement demands to know why America's priorities are so distorted as to continue astronomical funding for the Israeli war machine and for massively subsidized illegal settlements on the West Bank and Gaza while Americans demand increased and better social services and jobs.

As Democrats converge in San Francisco to select their candidate, the Rainbow Coalition will push for a comprehensive progressive platform against Reaganism—a platform which includes Palestinian rights as a plank. We do not anticipate that the Democrats will repudiate their deplorable endorsement of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon; we do not expect the longstanding and deeply held prejudices held by many Democrats to disappear suddenly at this convention. Nevertheless, the very raising of the issue represents a major crack in the pro-Israel consensus within the party and within American politics overall.

While Jackson delegates demand a progressive platform against war and racism inside the convention, tens of thousands will march and gather outside to make sure the message is heard. Vote Peace in '84, a broad national coalition of peace, nonintervention, and other groups, will include the call of "No U.S. Troops in the Middle East" in its program. The peace movement is increasingly taking up the Middle East as a peace issue.

Indeed, the lid is off on genuine debate—inside and outside the Democratic Party—and the lid cannot be clamped shut again. No longer can people be silenced with slander and misinformation. Americans who seek peace and justice at home and abroad are opening their eyes to the facts of Palestinian suffering and to the urgent need to obtain Palestinian rights. While the 1984 elections will not hinge on this issue—nor will the outcome of the Democratic Convention—American politics will never be the same again. □

Reagan Prepares for War Intervention in the Middle East

By Steve Goldfield

The United States government intervenes in all parts of the world; no region can claim a monopoly on U.S. meddling. Arbenz of Guatemala (1954), Allende of Chile (1973), Lumumba of the Congo (1961), Mossadegh of Iran (1953)—all were overthrown by the CIA or U.S. armed forces. In 1958 the United States sent U.S. Marines to put down a popular uprising in Lebanon; few will have already forgotten the similar intervention in 1983. This article does not, therefore, stress the uniqueness of the Middle East but, rather, how well it fits the global pattern.

Poised for Intervention

Five of the twenty active ground divisions of U.S. armed forces are allocated to

"We have had more nuclear alerts—the brink of nuclear war—in the Middle East than anywhere else in the world."

preserve U.S. control over the Middle East; their maintenance, along with ships and planes, is budgeted at \$59 billion for fiscal 1985. Most of these troops are part of the newly renamed Central Command, better known as the Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), the first new unified command to be established in more than twenty years according to the *New York Times*. The RDF became operational on January 1, 1983 and was estimated to include almost one-half million soldiers, sailors, marines, and Air Force personnel with an area of operations

covering about twenty countries, but not including Israel.

In recent years the U.S. government has acquired bases in Egypt, Oman, Kenya, and

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South African Freedom Fighter Speaks: "Nothing Can Deter Us"

Interview with Mfanafuthi (Johnny) Makatini, Head of International Relations Department and former Chief Representative to the United Nations of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). Mr. Makatini was interviewed in September 1983 in Geneva at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine.

the field of military and nuclear collaboration, and both these regimes, of course, enjoy the support and alliance with the United States. They enjoy the protection of the United States whenever the international community seeks to impose punitive measures for their acts of aggression.

Both the Israeli and the South African regimes play complementary roles; both serve as permanent bases of aggression. The role

PF: How does the ANC view the relationship between Israel and South Africa?

MM: The South African regime, presently led by people who were active collaborators with Nazi Germany and, therefore, strongly anti-Semitic, has now become the closest ally of Zionist Israel. This is a strange alliance. But, as David Ben-Gurion said in 1969, they justify it on the basis of so-called comradeship between two regimes under peril.

One thing that brings them together is their total opposition to the right to self-determination for the indigenous people of South Africa and for the Palestinian people. Of course there are other parallels: the use of religion as a basis, or spiritual rock, for discrimination; the claim of predestination, or divine right; and the view of Palestine and South Africa as "promised lands."

The first statesman to visit Israel after the proclamation of Israel was Dr. Malan, then prime minister of South Africa. A number of people who ended up as officials in Israel are South African-born, I could mention [former Foreign Minister] Abba Eban, [current President] Chaim Herzog, and many others.

Now this collaboration has reached a very high level in the field of economics, in

Both Israel and South Africa serve as permanent bases of aggression.

of Israel has been to destabilize and foment insecurity in the Middle East and oppress the Palestinian people. Israel engages in total aggression against the Arab countries and operates as the regional gendarme in the service of the United States, whereas Israel extends a carrot to the African countries south of the equator. This is part of the strategy to divide the continent of Africa.

The apartheid regime engages in total aggression against the immediate African countries, i.e. the front-line states that are supporting our struggle, while it seeks to neutralize the Arab countries, since they are the only source where it can get oil which helps to fuel the machinery of oppression and aggression.



Steve Goldfield/Palestine Focus

This strategy is a pincer movement, and we believe that every Israeli official in Africa, even a technician, is an extension of the South African intelligence service. Therefore, it is out of the question that African countries can have relations with Israel. We welcomed the severance of diplomatic relations in 1973 [after the October war—ed.], not just because Israel was occupying Egyptian soil, an African country. For us, it's because Israel is an enemy of the continent of Africa. We deplore the role that Is-

rael is playing—for example, the visit by Sharon to Namibia, to the bases there, making public statements literally calling on the international community to put an end to the arms embargo against South Africa.

Israel's training of Savimbi's forces [UNITA in Angola—ed.] is an act of hostility to the supreme objectives of the Organization of African Unity because the African countries are all supportive of the struggle

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FOCUS ON ACTION

By Steve Goldfield

The results are in on Berkeley's Measure E, the first referendum in the United States on U.S. funding of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. Almost 40 percent of Berkeley's electorate voted in favor of the measure, despite a long list of ordinarily progressive politicians who came out against it and a campaign which put forth the ironic slogan, "Vote No for Peace."

The opposition spent more money to defeat Measure E than ever before spent on a referendum in Berkeley's history—about \$100,000, compared to \$15,000 raised by supporters. In addition, anti-Arab racism, smear tactics charging anti-Semitism, intimidation of political figures, such as Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport who endorsed Measure E as a "matter of principle," marred the debate.

Toward the end of the campaign, well over a hundred death threats were received over the phone by Taxpayers for Peace in the Middle East, which placed Measure E on the ballot. Many of the callers identified themselves as members of the Jewish Defense Organization, a splinter from the JDL. But from the beginning, few tactics were ruled out-of-bounds by one or another of the opposition. A local newspaper headline read, "Arab groups put initiative on Berkeley ballot," ignoring the prominent role played by Jewish organizations and individuals, along with Asians, blacks, and many other ethnic groups. The strong implication was that Arab-Americans had no business "interfering" in electoral politics. Mailings to Berkeley voters denounced the initiative for raising interna-

tional issues; yet many opponents of Measure E had supported previous initiatives on Central America.

Supporters felt the strong showing was a victory for the first-ever discussion of this issue in the open. Even the opposition claimed to be against Israeli settlements. We'd like to take them at their word. What do they intend to do to stop the settlements?

President Reagan's "Anti-Terrorism" bill, aimed at solidarity work for national liberation movements and for progressive governments such as Nicaragua, is now in the Senate as S2626. A national coalition, based in Washington, is forming to fight the bill, which allows the Secretary of State to determine—with no appeal—which governments and organizations are terrorist. Anyone who supports those listed is subject to heavy jail terms and fines.

El Al Airlines' American workers at Kennedy Airport in New York have been on strike against the union-bust-

ing tactics of the airline. El Al brought in Israeli scabs, some with diplomatic passports and others lacking proper visas, to break the strike. The workers, many of whom are Jewish and staunch supporters of Israel, were shocked at the illegal tactics of both the U.S. and Israeli governments. The November 29th chapter in New York is helping to publicize the strike, which has been conspicuously ignored, not only by the media but by the union, the International Association of Machinists, led by strongly pro-Israel William Winpisinger.

Rita Giacaman, whom we interviewed in the last issue of *Palestine Focus*, completed a very successful national tour along with Tamar Berger of the Israeli Committee Against the War in Lebanon. The tour was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and other groups.

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Taxpayers for Peace in the Middle East (TAPME) campaign billboard in Berkeley.

Jeffrey Blankfort

"The Silence is Broken"

Jack O'Dell is Director of International Affairs for Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, Chairman of the Board of the Pacifica Foundation, which owns five listener-sponsored radio stations, member of the board of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, and Associate Editor of Freedomways magazine. Palestine Focus interviewed him in San Francisco in May 1984.

Commenting on the Jesse Jackson campaign, Mr. O'Dell emphasized that the Middle East issue "has been good for the entire campaign because it means that whatever new constituencies we reached out to, they got educated on this issue. And, conversely, I think that our campaign has made a major contribution to guaranteeing that the public debate on foreign policy does not sweep this issue under the rug."

Our interview then turned to some issues underlying recent efforts connecting the issue of Palestinian rights and the particular concerns of black people.

JO: Over the last five to seven years, the Afro-American community in the United States has made a quantum leap in its concerns in the area of foreign policy. Foreign-policy concerns now are a common factor in our thinking, where before we followed the general pattern of the United States population as a whole; we dealt with our domestic concerns, so-called, and left foreign policy to the so-called experts.

But I think beginning with our concerns with apartheid that we articulated in the early seventies and then with Andrew Young coming as United Nations ambassador, we've now developed a world outlook. The Palestinian issue was triggered by Andy Young having to leave the Carter administration. It is now a central part of our foreign policy concerns.

Just as in the last two years the organizations of the black community are increasingly discussing the arms race and its impact on our general domestic conditions. So, what we're looking at is the evolution of an Afro-American political community incorporating a world outlook into its general political outlook. Because we have been victims of the violation of human rights, the human rights of the Palestinians and their experience is something that we understand. We are not only sympathetic toward them; we are committed to the process of changing United States foreign policy in that area.

PF: Has the relationship between Israel and South Africa played an important role in that awakening consciousness?

JO: Definitely. We have a position that the United States should not be the number one trading partner, should have a complete break with South Africa. Thus we regard our support for Israel and Israel's relations with South Africa as a violation of that principle. We believe that economic sanctions are to be addressed against the South African regime as the most racist government in the world. And we see Israel's relations with South Africa as a measure of the racism of the Israeli government just as we see the United States' relations with the

South African regime as a measure of the racism in U.S. foreign policy.

PF: Historically there was a coalition of the black community and the Jewish community around civil rights. Today the leadership of the major Jewish organizations oppose affirmative action and other issues important to the black community. How do you view these shifting alliances?

JO: Re-evaluation of the relationships between the Afro-American and Jewish communities has been going on for several years. I think it began seriously in the early seventies. This has been going on for about a decade, but it has gone through stages of insight and depth. I agree that the idea of the

dealt with foreign policy issues. They didn't lose any credibility with us when they spoke out on relations with the rest of the world, with Africa, with the Soviet Union.

We were bogged down trying to get rid of segregation; so it didn't have a high priority. But once we got the legislation out of the way and removed the barriers of segregation, by getting the walls of segregation removed from around us, we saw the world for the first time.

And so, when we saw the world, we also heard the cries of our brothers and sisters in the Middle East; and I'm telling you, we're not going to abandon them. We're not going

"Because blacks have been victims, the human rights of the Palestinians is something that we understand."



Rainbow Coalition, which, of course, includes progressive elements of the Jewish community, is a more appropriate answer flowing from that re-evaluation because you cannot have coalitions on the foundation of lack of principle. Coalitions have to be built on principle.

What we have found in our discourse, or lack of it, with certain—what they call—presidents of major Jewish organizations is that they had a different concept of the coalition with the black community during the civil rights era than we had.

We did not know of the Palestinian question. We were not deliberately ignoring it; we didn't know of it, and now it seems that some of the Jewish leaders were relating to us as much on the idea of keeping us in a state of silence on this issue as it was with any genuine concern with civil rights. Or, to put it another way, the coalition for them rested upon the idea that we would leave foreign policy alone, especially as it involves the Middle East.

Well, of course, that's a conservative position, and we never promised anybody that we were going to leave foreign policy alone. Once we got our agenda organized in terms of domestic concerns, it was almost inevitable that intellectual honesty would push us in the direction of examining foreign policy. And, of course, we always supported those in our own community, such as Dr. DuBois and Paul Robeson, who

back. The silence is broken and that's very important. The silence on this issue is broken. The days when it was not discussed are over with, and we would hope it will affect the Jewish community, that there are men and women of conscience in the Jewish community in the United States.

Follow their Israeli brothers, that's all they've got to do. The movement inside Israel is questioning some things, and the Jewish community in the United States ought to be questioning some things. We are glad that the period of the obfuscation of this issue is over with. We think that's a major breakthrough because, to the extent that organized and enlightened public opinion intervenes on this issue, we can relieve the world of a flashpoint that could lead to its destruction. We don't want an armageddon; we want peace.

PF: Does the Afro-American community connect the question of massive U.S. aid to Israel to the whole issue of increased military spending in the United States along with the budget cuts in social programs?

JO: I think that's absolutely true. Of course, the other side of it is that the aid is not going to the Israeli people. We're not selfish; we'll make sacrifices for others; but that aid is going to reinforce a military caste inside Israel that ends up burdening the Israeli population. They're working over the people with 190 percent [now over 300 percent—ed.] inflation.

So don't tell us that's good foreign policy. There are people living high on the hog as a result of that aid, but the average working person inside Israel is not benefiting from it; the Arab population in Israel is not benefiting from this aid. This American foreign aid is a payoff to a small clique inside Israel. That is part of the problem of Nazifying Israel, as Israel Shahak says in his recent article in Freedomways. So, in opposing that aid we are standing for the right of the Israeli people to have a better life. And when the time comes when we relieve that problem, we'll be for aid for the people of Israel to build an infrastructure just as we would be for aid for the Palestinian state which we hope will emerge in the West Bank and Gaza. We're not being selfish, but at this point it is increasingly clear that United States aid anywhere in the world is not aimed at helping working people like ourselves, therefore, we don't have any qualms about being opposed to it.

PF: There's been a lot of pressure around the Jesse Jackson campaign and Berkeley's settlements initiative to cut U.S. aid to Israel by the amount spent on the illegal settlements. How do you view these pressures?

JO: Well, you constantly run into periods like that when concrete action is proposed, it's opposed on the ground that it will weaken the peace movement, or weaken any movement. Let's go back in history. There was a stage in which, especially in the south, in response to the demand for an end to segregation people would say, "we are for civil rights, but we are against the proposal that a fair employment practices commission be formed, that's going to weaken us."

Then along came the Vietnam war. There were people who said, "we are for an end to the war, but we are not for the demand that the troops be brought back home." Then we come into the peace movement and these people say, "we are for a freeze, but we are not for the demand that the military budget be cut and resources be redirected to meet human needs. It'll divide the movement."

So, now we are on this issue. "Yes, we're for peace in the Middle East, but we are not for a referendum that says our tax dollars should not go for illegal settlements; it'll divide the movement."

Now we cannot be lawless and be for justice at the same time. There's some things that ain't compatible, like oil and water. You cannot be supporting lawlessness and be for justice. Justice and lawlessness are incompatible, and if we are for peace and justice, then we cannot be for the support of settlements that are compounding the injustice against the Palestinians. It's bad enough to have them dispossessed, but then they're going to take the land and even in violation of international law.

There are standards we have to maintain, and so there comes a moment when an initiative by a group of citizens requires that we look at it objectively and see what cause does it serve. This referendum serves the cause of peace and justice in the Middle East and, far from dividing the movement, you can't point to another Middle East issue that blacks and Jews and Protestant whites and Arab-Americans have joined around. □

Focus On...

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Our San Diego chapter reports they have been very busy providing a food concession at a series of local events. On June 15 they held an evening event marking two years since the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon at Grass Roots, a cultural center in San Diego.

In Austin, Texas, November 29th helped organize events protesting Henry Kissinger's visit to Austin in

March. In April, our Austin chapter participated with the Texas Mobilization for Survival and the American Friends Service Committee in the "Deadly Connections Conference." The conference tied together issues concerning nuclear arms, the Middle East, Central America, and local matters.

In Chicago, November 29th recently hosted Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer at the University of Illinois. In both Chicago and New York, our chapters are increasingly active in broad anti-intervention coalitions which began last November 12th.

Former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon toured the East Coast in May, our New York chapter reports.

Sharon spoke at events—unpublicized except in the Jewish press—at synagogues in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Riverdale, New York, and Plainfield, New Jersey. Demonstrators met Sharon at each stop. Sharon's JDL security forces attacked the protestors but failed to provoke fights.

Write to a Palestinian prisoner. You can support Palestinians in Beersheva Jail in Israel with your letters. Write to anyone on the prisoners committee: Hilmi Ghabin, Omar Barghouthi, Jalal Azezeh, Adnan Mansour, Nasir Shareef, or Rajih Hammad at Beersheva Jail, P.O. Box 59, Beersheva, Israel. □

This article presents excerpts from a much longer talk by Rabbi Elmer Berger for a May 18th forum presented by Palestine Focus and the Bay Area chapter of the November 29th Committee for Palestine held in San Francisco to mark the first anniversary of the publication of Palestine Focus.

Rabbi Berger has been one of the most outspoken Jewish critics of Zionism for over forty years. Founder of the American Council for Judaism, he left that organization in 1968 when the ACJ took a pro-Israel stand. He founded American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism shortly thereafter and continues today as its president, regularly issuing penetrating reports and pamphlets. For information on how to receive more of Rabbi Berger's work, write to AJAZ, 133 E. 73rd Street, Suite 404, New York, NY 10021. Also, as a service to our readers, Palestine Focus has made copies of Rabbi Berger's lecture which are available for \$4.00 to cover postage and copying.

"Jewish" State or Democracy?

Meir Kahane, of the so-called Jewish Defense League in the United States and more recently the leader of an Israeli political party known as Kach, put the dilemma with unmistakable clarity.

Kahane is usually described as an extremist, although the term is seldom clarified by defining about what he is extreme. Much of his "extremism" is merely candor in which he articulates clearly what others prefer to mumble in ambiguities while they execute policies to which Kahane gives proper names.

In a recent article in the *New York Times* Kahane addressed the dilemma of perpetuating a so-called "Jewish state" and still being identified as an authentic democracy. He concludes, "A state can be permanently defined as Jewish or as democratic, but never both." And he explains:

Israel's Declaration of Independence is a schizophrenic document, for it speaks of the establishment of "a Jewish state in the Land of Israel," while, in the same breath offering "equal social and political rights to all citizens, regardless of religion." That is clearly an absurdity—a contradiction in terms. A Jewish state, by definition, is one with a majority of Jews who can, thus, establish their own sovereignty and become captains of their own fate. A democracy, on the other hand, allows non-Jews to become a majority and, thus, to turn Israel into a non-Jewish state. The very idea of a "democratic Jewish state" is nonsense.

And Meron Benvenisti, Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem and no fire-eating Kahane, admits the dichotomy between a so-called "Jewish" state and democracy in a recent column by Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*.

The contradiction was—and is—inherent in Zionism. And Zionism is the quintessential criterion of Israel's nationality determining the rights and obligations of all who either voluntarily accept its sovereignty or are subjected to it as victims of occupation. When religion becomes a determinant of rights, responsibilities, and status the resultant society is no longer democratic. That is the inexorable logic of the Kahane candor. Then territorial disputes are no longer negotiable by the simple adjustment of boundaries. For people live in the disputed territory and the shift of boundaries may either deprive or privilege the resident humans depending upon their religious predilections.

Many Israelis have begun to perceive their self-inflicted dilemma. One of the important inhibitions to annexation of the West Bank is that, given its present demographic character, the overwhelming majority of the population are either Moslem or Christian Palestinians. Annexation would face Israel with an aggravated form of the Kahane dilemma. It would have to reveal to the world the undemocratic character of Zionism or grant equal rights to some three-quarters of a million humans who do not qualify as "Jews" according to the *de facto*, operative definitions of existing Israeli legislation.

The Prophet's Vision

Judaism is a covenant religion. The people was promised the land *only* if specified moral obligations were strictly fulfilled. The biblical tests referring to the return to Zion promise "no free lunch." Some Jews—and some Christians and most devout Moslems—regard the biblical Zion as a religious sacrament. With some theological differences, they believe a universal, messianic era of human redemption will include the restoration of what the Bible calls "the children of Israel" to a Zion from which there would go forth the moral law. "The word of the Lord"—not Knesset legislation—will resound "from that Jerusalem."

The content of that "word of the Lord" evolved over the centuries because Judaism was a living faith reflecting the almost imperceptible elevation of human morality from the tribalistic to at least the aspiration for the universalistic, however much we mortals fail the ideal. The first

promise-covenant in the book of Genesis stipulates primitive human obligations. The "seed" of Abraham was to have only one God and to circumcise every male child. Perhaps seven centuries later, Jeremiah declared a new contract in the name of the Lord, "I will make a new covenant...not according to the covenant I made with their fathers."

The original human obligations were tribal. This one elevated the ideal of moral conduct to the level of individual responsibility. "In those days they shall say no more 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge' but everyone shall die for his own iniquity."

Judaism, Zionism, and the Palestinians



Rabbi Elmer Berger at the San Francisco forum marking Palestine Focus' first year. With Rabbi Berger were JoNina Abron of the Jesse Jackson Campaign, Osama Doumani of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), Mary Layoun of Taxpayers for Peace in the Middle East, and Palestine Focus contributing editor, Cathryn Salazar.

In a recent, excellent survey of attitudes in Israel, the *Economist* of London provided a contemporary example of the spiritual, nonpolitical, nonterritorial rules to govern this divinely promised Zion. Professor Uri Simon, dean of religion at Bar-Ilan University is quoted as saying, "The Land of Israel has been promised to the children of Israel...only if they fulfill the command to become a light unto other nations—and not to oppress them."

That contemporary rejection of Israel's state-Zionism is consistent with the vision of Isaiah, another of the great, biblical prophets. He described the authentically restored Zion as one of which God would say, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples."

No expertise in textual exegesis is required to determine the difference between this divine reward of exemplary human conduct and an illegal annexation of which the meeting hall of a contentious Knesset or parliament is the symbol supreme.

The Evidence

Israel is an ideological state. Step by step it was built by Zionists. It is governed by Zionists. Zionism dictates the substance of its so-called "basic" or "fundamental" laws. Zionism dominates the objectives of its foreign policy. Zionism controls the patterns of its domestic, social, economic, and political life.

This Zionist ideology is not sentimentality sporadically activated to assist homeless refugees. Nor is it some vague, theological concept, fair play for esoteric theological disputations in the rarified atmosphere of church or synagogue or mosque. It is codified in law by deliberative Knesset debate in a body of legislation known as "funda-

mental" or "basic" laws. A more illuminating title would be "Jewish people" legislation. Distinct from domestic, statutory legislation, these laws, designated as "basic," convey to "the Jewish people"—all Jews regardless of residence or citizenship—rights in and, although without power of enforcement for most Jews, they specify "Jewish people" obligations to the Zionist state.

Some of these laws are well known. "The Law of the Return" grants every Jew, anywhere, the right to immigrate—unless the Minister of Immigration finds he or she "is engaged in an activity directed against the Jewish people."

No other classification of people—not even legitimate Palestinian nationals—qualifies. The "Law of the Return" was logically followed by "The Law of Nationality." It declares that a "Jewish people" immigrant automatically acquires Israeli citizenship unless he or she renounces such citizenship within a stipulated period of time after acquiring the immigration certificate or entry to the country.

The critical criteria for possession of these extraterritorial "Jewish people" rights are profession of Judaism or descent from a Jewish mother. The legislation therefore is predicated upon either theocratic or racial qualifications. It is *prima facie* evidence that the State of Israel regards all Jews—"the Jewish people"—to be the nationality constituency of the Zionist state. The point is not whether individual Jews accept this system of rights and obligations. Nor is the point whether the Zionist state has the competence to apply this legislation to all Jews. The point is that, without specific disclaimers, recognition of the state implies recognition of this extraterritorial legislation. The point is crucial to any genuine peace. For this extraterritorial nationality legislation provides foreign nationals rights in the state which even its resident, non—"Jewish people" nationals do not possess, let alone the displaced Palestinians. Such racial or theocratic legislation may be the prerogative of Israel's Zionist sovereignty. But it deserves much closer examination than the so-called peacemakers have given it before they hound they Palestinians to grant Israel recognition.

The Zionist movement is, consequently, juridically a partner of the government serving the most vital interests of the state. This shadow government or agent of the state serves only the "Jewish people" nationals. It is as discriminating as any White Citizens Council but unlike this institution of American racism which flouts the law of the land, the Zionist structure is a full partner with Israel's government in expanding and perpetuating the Zionist state's discriminatory policies.

This duality of government responsibilities explains the wide disparity in Israel between what are called "Jewish" land, "Jewish" housing, "Jewish" education, "Jewish" industry, on the one hand, and economic, educational, social institutions of the same categories for Israel's disadvantaged non-"Jewish people" citizens, on the other hand.

A Saving Remnant?

This exposition would be incomplete without a word about the hopefully growing dissent in Israel. It is a broader dissent than recent opposition to, or disillusion with, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Last October a new party calling itself "Alternative" was launched by some of the most prominent leaders of the peace movement. It issued a "Manifesto." A few excerpts illuminate the principles of this new party and, by inference, confirm the racist, discriminatory, undemocratic policies of the present state structure which the new party aims to eliminate. For example, the Manifesto says:

We see Israel turning before our eyes into an apartheid state, in which a "master race" rules over toiling "natives" who are denied national, civil and human rights, who live under arbitrary rule by military governors.

The settlers in the occupied territories are the advance guard of the so-called "National Consensus" which includes the coalition and the "opposition," the Likud and the Labor Party, the religious establishment and those who call themselves "secular." In the face of this consensus, a true alternative must be presented.

A true Israeli party must be built, a party that will struggle for a different Israel—an Israel that is independent, humanistic, democratic, secular, pluralist, seeking peace and social justice; a state belonging equally to all its citizens, women and men, Orientals and Europeans, Jews and Arabs, secular and religious, holders of all views and beliefs.

Several, specific plans in this party platform are relevant to issues which are of concern to the world beyond Israel. They declare:

For direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), for the creation of a Palestinian State side-by-side with the State of Israel, in its June 4th, 1967, borders. For negotiations for a comprehensive peace between Israel and all its neighbors, in the context of which Israel will

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Under Occupation Palestinians Speak of Their Lives

By Douglas Franks with Linda Kahn

The most vivid and lasting picture of life under Israeli occupation is drawn by those who are not supposed to exist: the Palestinian people. Their accounts of day-to-day experiences express the human reality behind the systematic expropriation of Palestinian rights, independence, identity, land, and property. The words of these people who "do not exist"—Palestinian students, mayors, peasants, teachers, laborers, journalists, lawyers—convey a compelling but seldom heard, often misinterpreted, and little appreciated message: the Palestinians do exist. The following interviews were conducted by November 29th activist Linda Kahn in occupied Palestine between March and November 1983.

Palestinian economist Ibrahim Matar stood on a hill overlooking the West Bank village of Talbiyeh:

You can see our houses there; they [the Israelis] are living in them. Talbiyeh, all the beautiful red stone houses on the road to Bethlehem from the Jaffa gate. These are Palestinian houses. From the windmill west, all this area is Palestinian. Golda Meir [former Israeli Prime Minister] lived in one of them. She said, "Who are the Palestinians?" and she was living in their house!

Bassam Shaka'a, deposed mayor of Nablus who was maimed by Israeli terrorists in an assassination attempt:

They want the land and not the people. They want to direct our daily life in order to serve their policies and to go against our interests.

They tried to kill me; they try to cut off my relations, harass my family, my visitors. They harass my friends, stop their cars, tax them heavily. They forbid visitors, take their ID numbers. They follow me around. I'm under town arrest. They are always at my door. Once they forbid a citizen to shake hands with me. When I walk in the Casbah, I always say hello to the citizens. [Israeli] Captain Daoud says, "I shall kill you one by one."

Settlements and Confiscation of Property

A 60-year-old man in Majd El Krum recalls earlier years:

In 1947-48 the Jews started to occupy the villages. In October 1948, they occupied this village and all the villages around it in the Galilee. They gathered all the weapons from the people and they were shooting people in the middle of the village in front of all the people. All the terrorist behavior and actions they were doing, it frightened all the people so they were leaving the villages and escaping.

In 1967 they began to take a lot of land to build big settlements. In 1968-69 they built Karmiel. It's now a big town. It's built on the land of four villages: Majd El Krum, Beni, Dir Al Assad, and Nahif. Now this town, after only fifteen years, it's bigger than the four villages.

An elderly resident in the Gaza Strip commented: I feel terrible sitting with the people whose houses will soon be destroyed. I don't think the Galilee [northern Israel] is different from here. Houses are destroyed there. They'll do the same to us. We had no permits to build [routinely denied]; all five thousand houses are illegal. They are going to destroy them one day. You feel bad and nervous because you can't do anything about it.

The elimination of a Palestinian presence by confiscating or destroying Palestinian property often involves destroying the land itself notes Ibrahim Matar:

The Israelis have bulldozed, used defoliants, cut down trees, uprooted grapevines in order to drive out the Palestinians from their land



Israeli soldier waits on guard in Old City, Jerusalem.

for exclusive use of settlements. I've seen fig trees upturned and remnants of grape vines, fig trees, and olive trees. How can they say it didn't belong to anyone?

Palestinian lawyer Jonathan Kuttab explains how the planting of settlements poses agonizing complications:

When I see tanks here in the West Bank, it doesn't bother me. It's an army tank, there is warfare. There is enmity; there is hatred. There is military occupation. It's a tank. Some day there will be peace and they will withdraw their tank. But when I see the mothers with children and clotheslines living in the settlements, it bothers me very much. Because they are saying, "We are here; you don't belong here." They are saying in order to resolve the issue, you'll have to kill women and children. They are forcing me, who loves children, to fight very hard not to hate them. This is the problem of the settlements.

Palestinian Institutions Stifled

The vital functions of Palestinian society, such as education, the press, and economic development, are severely inhibited by innumerable Israeli laws and regulations, including over a thousand military orders. (A military order, according to lawyer Kuttab, "is not passed by the Israeli Knesset but by the military governor; what he needs really is just a stencil machine.")

A Palestinian university student, taking part in a demonstration outside the Knesset against anti-Arab discrimination in Israeli schools, explains the students' grievances:

I'm studying biology at the university, but if I wanted to study engineering, it is not allowed. If I were accepted, I wouldn't get a job afterwards. Arab students have to pay at least seven times [the tuition] that Jewish students pay. I paid about 35,000 shekels and Jewish students paid about 5,000.

Another example of academic strangulation, remarks Rita Giacaman, teacher at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank, "is military order 854 that reduces the universities to the status of high schools, completely controlled by the military both in terms of syllabus and in terms of the type of student who would be admitted to the university." Thousands of books are banned outright by the military authorities.

A Bir Zeit student elaborates, "Just last night the Israeli soldiers entered the houses of students in Jifna, a nearby

town where students have residences. They arrested four students and confiscated some books they claim are illegal. They imposed curfew on the town for a while for no reason whatsoever."

When the university was ordered closed recently, a frequent occurrence, "we studied in secret. Each time we have a lesson, we hide our books; we don't walk together." When attempting to study openly immediately following the closure, "more than one hundred students were arrested. They were arrested just for trying to study."

Akram Haniyeh, chair of the Palestinian Journalists Association in Jerusalem, cites some unique difficulties Palestinian journalists must cope with:

We are harassed in many ways. The ban on distribution kills the publication. ["The definition of 'publication' is so broad that it includes the delivery of one copy to one person," notes Jonathan Kuttab.] Besides that there is the town arrest. We are not allowed to work as journalists. Our basic job is to cover the news, but most of the time we are not allowed to do it. We are charged with "inciting."

The problem of censorship "is the most important one," Haniyeh stresses. "If you have the best article in the world, it will be censored automatically. Because of that, we suffer intellectually as journalists. There's an inner censorship that is growing inside us. We say to ourselves, 'He will like this word; that one he won't.'"

"We are allowed to talk about Nicaragua or Namibia but not about the expropriation of land here. We are not allowed to talk about what happened in Al Aqsa [mosque] which is about two hundred meters from the office."

The plight of Palestinian labor is another "unprintable" story. On the outskirts of large Israeli cities at what the Israelis themselves call "slave markets," Palestinian day laborers wait to be picked up by Israeli contractors for the equivalent of \$4 to \$8 per day.

"They took our land so now we are day workers for the Israelis," explains one waiting worker. "We used to plant wheat, flax, tomatoes; we were content. We used to live decently. Here, now, even if you kill yourself working, they don't pay you much."

"We ask for the assistance of any reporter or journalist to spread our story outside, in America and Europe, because here we cannot get any help. We are under pressure, so that if we complain, they will kill us."

"We are part of the Palestinian people. We are a part that might suffer the worst, but all the Palestinian people suffer." □

Judaism...

Continued from page 4

give back the territories occupied in 1967. For unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in the Lebanon war.

For political and economic nonalignment of Israel with foreign powers, of either West

or East; for Israeli noninvolvement in the struggle of world power blocks; for Israeli solidarity with the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples.

It is an exciting manifestation that the genuine spirit of authentic Judaism is still vibrant in some sectors of the society. But it is still only the smallest light at the end of a very dark tunnel. It is a dereliction of the American

media that, to my knowledge, not a word of this embryonic hope has been conveyed to the American people; and it is nothing less than an obscenity that an American administration professing its dedication to peace on every corner but which may be prevented by conventional propriety from formally acknowledging such a development, still adds several billions of dollars each year to subsidies of the known warmakers in the Zionist state. □

Intervention...

Continued from page 1

Somalia, along with the huge installation on the island of Diego Garcia, in the center of the Indian Ocean. In his annual report to Congress for fiscal year 1983, when he unveiled his five-year program to "place increased emphasis on our ability to project forces into Southwest Asia" (the Middle East), Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger identified the problems as "the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq War, Arab-Israeli disputes in southern Lebanon, the conflict between North and South Yemen, and the Iranian attacks on Kuwaiti oil facilities."

Weinberger's solution is the Rapid Deployment Force, charged with "sustaining a continuous combat presence in a distant region halfway around the world and training our combat units for operations in unfamiliar and widely varying climates and terrain."

Scapegoating the "Evil Empire"

In 1978 Ronald Reagan told an Israel Bonds meeting, "In every one of the far-flung trouble spots, dig deep enough and you'll find the Soviet Union stirring a witches' brew, furthering its own imperialistic ambitions. If the Soviet Union would simply go home, much of the bloodshed in the world today would cease." Indeed, the stated purpose of the huge RDF is to prevent the Soviet Union from invading the Gulf region to take control of its huge oil resources, which the United States, Europe, and Japan have come to think of as "their" property. But military analysts such as William O. Beeman, writing for the Pacific News Service, regard such a Soviet threat as highly unlikely and as one the RDF would, in any case, be incapable of meeting in sufficient numbers and time, particularly if simultaneously actions occurred in Europe, preventing the movement of U.S. troops from NATO's European theater to the Middle East.

Although the Soviet Union does lie much closer to—parts of it are in—the Middle East than to Central America, Reagan's military strategy and Weinberger's arguments to justify it make about as much sense in one region as in the other. U.S. forces make a lot more sense when they are viewed as interventionist troops prepared to avert or reverse popular uprisings.

Richard Nixon assigned the Shah of Iran the role of protecting the Gulf region with U.S. weapons and advisers; before he was overthrown the Shah sent thirty-thousand American-armed Iranian troops to prevent the overthrow of the Sultan of Oman by an indigenous popular movement. The Shah has departed the scene with no apparent successor in his role of protecting U.S. interests in the region. Both Presidents Carter and Reagan have openly promised U.S. intervention to prop up the highly unpopular and dictatorial royal family in Saudi Arabia.

U.S. military posture in the Middle East is thus highly understandable: preserve U.S. interests as defined by the government and the oil companies—including former Bechtel Corporation officials Caspar Weinberger and George Shultz—and control and preserve U.S. allies, no matter how much their own people wish to depose them.

U.S. Strategic Interests in the Middle East

U.S. economic interests in the region are equally transparent. The overriding factor is control over the immense oil reservoir in the Gulf states. Almost entirely marketed by American-owned companies, the oil and pumping facilities are on paper the property of the various states and the consumers of the oil are predominantly in Europe and Japan. Yet somehow we have come to think of this as "our" oil because these companies control its distribution and because they reap billions of dollars in profits from it.



Jewish settler with machine gun waits for bus to West Bank settlement.

Predominant U.S. strategic concerns in the Middle East are commonly considered to include oil, the Soviet Union, and the region's central location as the crossroads of three continents: Africa, Asia, and Europe. A large section of the U.S. arc of encirclement of the Soviet Union lies in the Middle East; the loss of Iran has put an even greater burden on Turkey.

To these concerns, however, must be added Israel. The full importance of Israel in U.S. worldwide strategy has only recently been understood. Israel is important to the United States not only because of its location but because it has become a garrison state willing to promote U.S. objectives anywhere in the world in return for massive injections of aid and other privileges.

U.S. arms investments in Israel, though sizeable and extremely profitable, for instance, are primarily of value because they provide a convenient "back door" to ship arms to other pariah states. U.S. firms, such as Motorola, are able to sell weapons to South Africa via Israeli subsidiaries. The Israelis themselves can sell to Guatemala, Chile, El Salvador, or the contras in Nicaragua when the U.S. government is forced to stop.

Arms for the Empire

With these U.S. concerns in mind, the massive flow of arms and aid to the Middle East makes a lot of sense. Between 1977 and 1981 78 percent of U.S. military aid and 87 percent of U.S. economic aid went to the Middle East. In both cases Egypt and Israel head the list; Israel received more than half of all U.S. military aid in that period. Between 1950 and 1981, the top three recipients of U.S. weapons were Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia.

In fact, U.S. arms are still flowing to both sides in the tragic Iran/Iraq war. Though both sides are at fault—Iraq for invading Iran to seize territory and Iran for refusing to discuss a settlement once it regained its losses—a growing danger of the Iran/Iraq war is that it provides a pretext for U.S. intervention. The United States is only waiting to be invited in to "protect" its allies; Reagan and Weinberger hope to be offered bases on the Arabian Peninsula. Five American aircraft carriers recently sailed into the Gulf—one of them the headquarters for the RDF—as a show of strength. The planners in the Pentagon are clearly prepared to land troops on the shores of the Gulf.

Balancing on the Brink

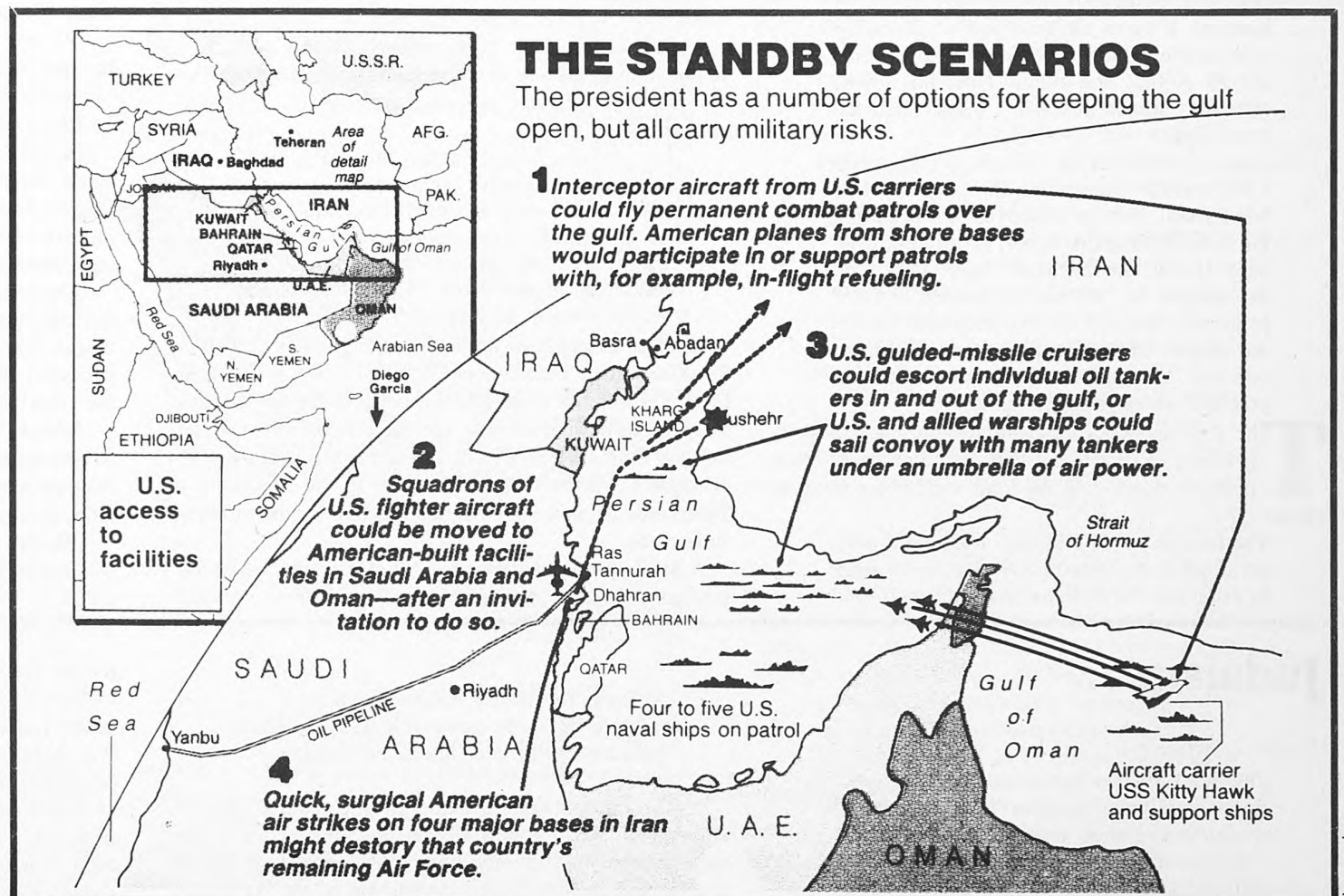
The Middle East is thus a literal powder-keg. The United States confronts the Soviet Union on its own borders. We have had more nuclear alerts—the brink of nuclear war—in the Middle East than anywhere else in the world. The unresolved injustice to the Palestinian people and Israeli expansionism generate war after war. The people of the Middle East are increasingly restive under conservative dictatorships in country after country. What can possibly stay the hand of the United States from sending hundreds of thousands of troops to fight and die on the soil of the Middle East as they did in Vietnam?

Fortunately, the United States cannot act with impunity. It is clear to the regimes of the Gulf, for instance, if not to the strategists in Washington, that U.S. intervention, no matter how limited, no matter what the form, can only inflame the nationalist aspirations of the Arab and Iranian peoples. U.S. intervention in Lebanon only helped solidify the opposition. The Saudi monarchy and its counterparts in Kuwait and the smaller Gulf states fear that U.S. troops on their soil, let alone U.S. bases, would strengthen their internal opposition.

Another restraining force, however, is the U.S. peace movement, the ability of which to halt U.S. intervention in the Middle East is still untested. The U.S. intervention in Lebanon appeared to demonstrate the distaste of the American people for paying the price of occupation and consequent resistance, whether or not the issues were at all understood. As the peace movement channels these popular sentiments into opposition, U.S. policymakers will have to weigh public disapproval before deciding to intervene.

A lot of work needs to be done for this opinion to gel into effective opposition. The American public's misinformation about the Middle East is even more dangerous than was its ignorance about Vietnam. Few Americans even knew where Vietnam was in the early sixties. The media has bombarded us with an insidious and incessant campaign of disinformation about the Middle East and its peoples. Racism against Arabs is the only form of racism—and of anti-Semitism—which goes unchallenged in American popular culture today. It is a horrible waste when young men and women die by violence in wartime; it is particularly horrible when they die fighting to preserve injustice.

The United States government wants to intervene in all parts of the world. But we can refuse to go. We can refuse to foot the bill. We can refuse to arm surrogates in Israel, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, and Turkey. We can act for peace and justice in the Middle East, or we can march to war, bringing conflagration to the peoples of that region and to ourselves. □



In recent years the fundamentalist Christian right has emerged as a powerful political force. Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and the other "televangelists" have become some of Israel's staunchest supporters—complete with strange justifications based in their contorted interpretations of biblical "prophesies." Good Christians should support the "Jewish state" because Israel will be the catalyst for armageddon—World War III—which must precede Jesus' return.

In these apocalyptic fantasies most Jews must die before Jesus returns, the rest will be converted. Despite the extremely chauvinist and even anti-Semitic pronouncements of these TV "born agains," Menahem Begin was able to find Falwell's support so valuable that he awarded him a gold medal for Falwell's "service to the State of Israel and the entire Jewish people."

Now the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee has released the latest *ADC Issues*, "Unholy Alliance—Christian Fundamentalism and the Israeli State" by Alan Dehmer, a carefully researched overview of this dangerous trend. Dehmer explains that "the fundamentalist version of the Judeo-Christian ethic emphatically excludes Islam, the Arab nations, and the Arab people."

Dehmer quotes Ronald Reagan to demonstrate just how much influence the "televangelists" now have. The "Great Communicator" told the executive director of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, "I turn back to your ancient prophets in the Old Testament and the signs foretelling Armageddon, and I find myself wondering if—if we're the generation that is going to see that come about. I don't know if you've noted any of those prophesies lately, but, believe me, they certainly describe the times we're going through."

Obviously, these "prophesies" have become the new rationale for promoting the arms race and unlimited aid to Israel. Write for this pamphlet to: *ADC Issues*, 1731 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 400, Washington, DC 20009.

Getting It All In FOCUS

Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations with a Militant Israel by Stephen Green (William Morrow), looks at the U.S./Israeli relationship through government documents, some obtained through Freedom of Information Act inquiries; many of the raw documents are printed in the back of the book.

Stephen Green shares the perspective of many, such as former Undersecretary of State George Ball, who feel that U.S. foreign policy has been seriously distorted by Israel's overly dependent role. No doubt this is true—although we would argue that Green's view is a little of "the tail wagging the dog." In our opinion, it is not so much that Israel shapes U.S. foreign policy; rather, U.S. policy regards Israel as an extension of U.S. power. However, the book is replete with revelations on just how deeply partisan the United States has been in supporting Israel over many years. Green pays close attention to the discrepancies between what the U.S. government knew and did and what it said it knew and did.

For example, he shows the early relationship between U.S. intelligence and the Zionist underground, particularly in the period after the war through the founding of the Israeli state. Green cites State Department cables showing the U.S. government knew of the collaboration of Ben Gurion's Haganah police in the assassination of U.N. mediator Count Bernadotte. Green also explores such controversies as secret U.S. assistance to Israel during the 1967 war and the deliberate bombing of the

U.S.S. Liberty by Israeli planes during that war. A fascinating book.

The recent scandal involving the deaths of two Palestinian commandos who had seized a bus caused a flurry in the media. Israeli officials—including Defense Minister Moshe Arens, who was on the scene—at first denied the brutal murders, but when exposed by photographs taken by Israeli journalists and coverage by the *New York Times*, the truth came out.

Oddly enough, while some *New York Times* columnists have begun to re-examine their pro-Israel bias (notably Anthony Lewis), the venerable newspaper did manage to write an editorial praising Israel's democracy for working to investigate its crime. Once again Israel remains morally supreme—yes, they murder Palestinians ... but at least the government will launch an investigation, slap some wrists, and go about business as usual. This theme is becoming stale. When will the *New York Times* ask, "Are Israelis beating Palestinian commandos to death because they hijack buses—or are Palestinians hijacking buses because they are getting beaten to death?"

We are sad to report that progressive journalist Livia Rokach, fifty, was found dead in her Rome apartment on March 31. Along with her incisive columns in *Al Fajr*, her book, *Israel's Sacred Terrorism* (Arab-American University Graduates, 1980) exposed Israel's use of terror as policy, through a study of the diaries of Moshe Sharett, Israel's first foreign minister and then prime minister. According to *Al Fajr*, "her father, Israel Rokach, was mayor of Tel Aviv from 1936, under the British mandate, to 1953. Livia moved to Rome in 1959 as a correspondent" for the Israeli press. There she began to develop a deeper critique of Israeli society and broke with her past. Her voice and pen will be sorely missed.

Correction: In the last issue of *Palestine Focus*, we described Franklin Lamb as Rev. Jesse Jackson's legal advisor in Damascus. Dr. Lamb informs us that he was not serving as Jackson's legal advisor during the trip. □

South African...

Continued from page 2

for the liberation of Namibia and they are all against the destabilization policies carried out by South Africa against Angola. When Israel seeks to establish diplomatic relations with African countries, it is a matter of a trojan horse, playing the role of a friend, but in fact a total enemy of the continent of Africa. We can go on and on insofar as this collaboration is concerned; the list is very long.

PF: What is the significance of Israel's special relations with the Bantustans, such as the Ciskei?

MM: First and foremost, it is important to recall that the so-called Ciskei is a tribal entity created by the apartheid regime as part of its policy of Bantustanization or tribal fragmentation of South Africa. This policy aims to prevent the exercise of the right to self-determination of the indigenous people in South Africa. The international community rejected this policy in 1976 when the first Bantustan, the Transkei, was pro-

claimed. The General Assembly condemned this as null and void and called on all governments not to recognize or to have any contact whatsoever with this tribal entity. Therefore, any regime or government that establishes contact, direct or indirect, with such entities is acting in a hostile manner.

So far, these tribal entities have only been recognized by the apartheid regime, the

massive forced removals of the African people who are being taken out of the cities in their millions and dumped in these Bantustans. Already 3.5 million have been removed, and another 2 million are scheduled to be removed pretty soon. This double-pronged approach—the removals and the offensive to win some recognition from certain countries—is aimed at bringing about a

ing, training, financing, and equipping dissidents or counterrevolutionaries, such as the Savimbi elements, the LNA in Lesotho, the so-called Mozambican armed resistance, and the Selous Scouts in Zimbabwe.

These counterrevolutionaries have the role of destabilizing the legitimate governments through the destruction of the economic and social infrastructures. Anything done to strengthen the military position of these pariah states is part of that strategy. We have seen nuclear collaboration between the United States and South Africa, between the United States and Israel, as far back as the sixties. But this now includes Taiwan.

Taiwan and Israel have also served as conduits for the arming of South Africa. But now the biggest danger posed to world peace and international security is that these three pariah states have achieved nuclear capacity thanks to the collaboration between them and some of these western countries.

What dangers do we see? Yes, we see the danger of them being a nuisance. The whole purpose is to try and intimidate international opinion into capitulation. It is intended to bring about a situation whereby the third world or the nonaligned countries can be intimidated into abandoning support of the struggle of the Palestinian people or the South African people. But nothing of that sort will happen. Nothing is going to deter the struggles in both Palestine and in South Africa and Namibia, despite the fact that Israel and South Africa have this nuclear capacity. □

Israel and South Africa are both pariah states supported by the United States.

creator of the problem. The second closest recognition that has come so far is from Israel. There have been visits to Israel by some of these tribal puppets, and there have been promises of assistance and even granting of assistance, including a private plane to the Ciskei puppets. This scheme derives from the collusion between South Africa and the Israeli regime and also the United States. In other words, we are witnessing an attempt to prepare the ground for the eventual recognition of these tribal creations.

And this takes place at a time when the regime in South Africa has embarked on

situation where the African people can be totally deprived of South African nationhood. Not one African, not one black is to be recognized as South African. In other words, Israel is now in the forefront in policies that are tantamount to total hostility to every position adopted by the Organization of African Unity.

PF: What dangers do you see in the joint Israeli/South African/Taiwanese development of nuclear weapons and cruise missiles?

MM: These three—South Africa, Israel, and Taiwan—are all pariah states, regimes that are totally isolated internationally. The United States, in pursuit of its so-called global strategy, uses these pariah regimes as regional gendarmes in order to foment instability in certain areas. South Africa is playing that role in southern Africa, creat-

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Palestine Focus is the national newsletter of the November 29th Committee for Palestine (formerly November 29th Coalition). The newsletter 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 movement 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, articles, and other contributions are welcome.

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Douglas Franks, Steve Goldfield, Nanay Gabriel, Tony Martin, Hilton Obenzinger, Cathryn Salazar, Ur Shlonsky

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Felicia Langer is an attorney and Vice President of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. Palestine Focus interviewed her in May at a conference sponsored by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign in San Francisco.

PF: What have you come to the United States to tell Americans?

FL: I want the Americans to hear something and after hearing it to do something. I want them to hear for what purpose their money is being spent. Their money, which is denied to the poor strata of Americans and those who are the real victims of Reagan's economic and armaments policies here, is being contributed to destroy and annihilate another people—the Palestinians—and to corrupt and destroy from inside the state of Israel. If somebody gives this money innocently believing that it serves a positive aim or objective in Israel, he is mistaken. Easy money—money for free—corrupts.

I want to say something, a paraphrase of the words: "peacekeeping force." Israel is the American "warkeeping force" in the Middle East. The Americans are financing and maintaining a "warkeeping force" in order to promote American interests in the Middle East. I think that it is a crime and, if not a crime, stupidity, which is even worse. Even those who really think they want to assist Israel, please stop granting aid to those who abuse it in such a terrible way or use it for purposes alien to American interests, to the interests of the Israeli people, to the interests of the Israeli peace forces, and to the future of Israel as a state.

Your money, the arms race, the economy of armaments, the policy of kindling wars, and the policy of warmongering, in a very broad sense, is the economy of an army camp, not of a state. Israeli moral standards are now so low that sometimes even the mere words "moral standard" are met with astonishment. "What do you mean 'moral standards'?" Stupid people care about morals. We have to be proud. We have to be strong. The strong always gain. The strong are always victorious. We don't have to care about anything but our strength, our survival, and our well-being. Let the others die!" Such things are said. This phenomenon has been cultivated since the beginning of the sixties, especially after the Six Day War in 1967.

PF: What is the connection of the Israeli terrorists and the Israeli government?

FL: The terrorists are expressing the ideology of the government but with more intensity. They are an expression of the government. The government is pursuing these same aims in an organized, legalistic way. Sometimes there is a Sabra and Shatila; sometimes there is a massacre; but still it is a state line. What the terrorists have done is to pursue the same aims in another way.

PF: One of the ministers defended the attacks on the mayors...

FL: Yes, one of the ministers [Yuval Ne'eman, minister of Science and Technology and himself a settlement activist—ed.] said that maybe the attack on Hebron University was "not so good" but the attack on the mayors was "not so bad—nobody died. Cut legs but it was not so bad." These are monstrous expressions.

What Mr. Richardson of the *Jerusalem Post* said was that a government pursuing such policies cannot say that it has nothing to do with an underground which pursues the same policies but with more intensity. Mr. Shamir would not plant explosives on a bus. But if he is able, he will wipe out half of Beirut with cluster bombs. The dividing lines are vague but if you develop them, you will come to monstrous conclusions.

We don't know what their line of defense will be during the trial. I predict that their line of defense will be: "The government was idle; we were stoned by the Arabs. The Arabs are terrorists. So we understood that we had to act." In today's press, one of their lawyers said, "So what? Was not Mr. Shamir a member of a terrorist organization before the establishment of the state? Didn't they use bombs and grenades on the population?" It will be a very interesting trial.

The policy of settlements was started by the Labor government. The first sin was a Labor sin. Kiryat Arba was erected by them. I describe how they did it, as I witnessed it with my own eyes, in my

"Israel is the American 'warkeeping force' in the Middle East."

first book. They did it. The most important settlement was Kiryat Arba. Never did the Likud succeed in establishing such a settlement as Kiryat Arba. It was a town. It was a cradle of our present evil. Some scandals in the Golan Heights settlements are coming to light. Who built settlements in the Golan Heights? The Labor government, not the Likud. Mag Shamin is the cradle of this creature of the Labor government.

Whoever started the policy of settlements put a knife into the heart of the Palestinians. To say the lands were "not settled" is hypocrisy. What does "not settled" mean? The



Steve Goldfield/Palestine Focus

to oppose the occupation even by violent means.

But the word, "terrorist," is attributed to the Palestinians as a matter of practice, not only to the bus hijacker but to every Palestinian, even one displaying a Palestinian flag.

Felicia Langer: Israeli Lawyer Defends Palestinian Rights

Palestinians are on Mars or some other planet? They live, they are people existing—outside our legal system—but they are. Whoever started this policy—and the Likud continued the policy—subscribed to Jewish terror. To live among Arabs, after stealing their land, means to be afraid of having this stolen property restored to its owner. Every move of the owner to restore what was illegally taken from him is called "an act of terrorism." "If the state is not terrorizing enough, we have to terrorize, but then it is an act of self-defense."

This will be the line of defense, and it will be a very proud line of defense. They will not say that we regret, I am sure. They will say, "Don't blame us; blame yourself. Who are you to charge us if you have done such and such." I hope it opens some eyes to the ways of these people.

PF: How do the investigative and legal procedures applied to Palestinian and Jewish defendants compare?

FL: First, I have to make a distinction. To me, the Palestinians are not terrorists. I deplore acts like the hijacking of a bus, and I don't defend such people as a matter of practice. I think such acts are countereffective and counterproductive. But, as I quoted from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as I want to impress on people's minds so they will understand what the difference is, international law takes into consideration that if there is a situation in which a people are under tyranny and oppression, they have a right to have recourse, if there is no other choice, to a struggle in order to ensure its human rights. There were several decisions regarding this principle, stating that people under occupation have the right

Every Palestinian is a "terrorist," even the kids. Therefore, I try as far as I can—and up until now successfully—not to use the word even if the word is a legal one. Unfortunately in many Israeli laws the Hebrew word for "terrorist" is a legal word we sometimes have to use. I try not to use it because I think it is improper and unjust.

The Israeli terrorist underground is the opposite pole to the right of self-defense. They claim the right of domination, the right of imposing their political and legal structure and domination on another people. Whatever they do from the beginning is a crime. They want to preserve and perpetuate the illegal status of settling in the occupied territories, illegal by virtue of international law.

The settlers' situation is completely antithetical to that of the Palestinians. The settlers want to perpetuate, by virtue of terror, an illegality. The Palestinians struggle to exist and survive because they have no choice, because they have tried all possible means. On one side you have the right of physical survival, on the other a regime of occupation, domination, and annexation. These are the two poles.

The attitude to the Israeli underground is that of a mother or father to a prodigal son: "They are bad but they are in the same family. They are beloved; they are very hard guys; it is very hard to crush them. Still, we have the obligation to do it, otherwise there will be a terrible disorder and we cannot let them take the law into their own hands."

The mere expression "to take the law into their own hands"—what "law" are they taking into their own hands?" Who said there is a law to kill, that the state has a law

to kill, the obligation to kill, the permission to kill? It is terrible. All the concepts and definitions are so terrible that you have to turn them upside down in order to understand what is going on. "They are beloved and cherished. They are in prison, but they are still our boys. They made a mistake but so what?" As Sharon said, "the love for Eretz Israel causes a man to make a mistake sometimes." "They did it out of love for Eretz Israel. And these Palestinians, they are 'four-legged animals on two legs,' they are 'drugged roaches in a bottle,' they are subhuman. How can you even compare?"

PF: What are the trends in Israeli human rights, in particular concerning torture and Palestinian women prisoners?

FL: Torture has been a pattern followed for many years. I can't say whether or not there has been an increase. But what is more distressing is Ansar, which was dissolved but not entirely. Now there are new prisoners. The ex-Ansar prisoners in Atleet are in very bad shape there. It is a shame. The number of women prisoners is always expanding.

Far'a prison, however, is a new phenomenon: a new center for the interrogation of youngsters, chiefly juvenile delinquents, kids who were caught in demonstrations. The authorities want badly to establish that they threw stones but don't want to go through all the procedures of identification and bringing soldiers to testify. So they crush them and make them confess. Far'a is a terrible phenomenon. My ambition for the last year and a half has been to expose it more and more and to fight against it more and more. I am trying, but I need help. I am delivering all the cases to the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. It's extremely important to work on it.

As the occupation expands and embraces all spheres of life in the occupied territories and becomes more comprehensive, they have to try to find more means of oppression. A vaster strata of the population is oppressed now, for example, now including the youngsters. I am now dealing with the sons and daughters of my former clients, those born since 1967—kids, babies. They don't know me. They know me only from my books. They know my books from their fathers. They are coming to me and saying, "I am the son of..." or "the son..." It is terrible. These kids are overcrowding Far'a prison, hundreds of them.

It is a new phenomenon but it is ominous. It means that the occupation is more deeply implanted. They are trying to prevent all the children from even thinking about opposition to the occupation—the preventive arrest of children. They are taking the children one or two days before their matriculation examinations, before their baccalaureate, in order to undermine their education. Or, for instance, they take them for eighteen days during the most important period of their studies. There are many sorts of things that were invented by Raphael Eitan [former Chief of Staff of the Israeli army, which administers occupation—ed.] and others before him in order to crush Palestinian education, Palestinian identity, everything.

PF: Could you comment on the upcoming Israeli elections?

FL: The most important aim is to get rid of the Likud government. We don't want the Likud to go on. If we have to, we prefer anything over the Likud. On the other hand the Labor party is not much different.

There was an article in *Koterit Rashit*, a very important weekly, titled "A Sold Game," saying the elections are already decided. It is terrible to speak about. Yet such an article appeared once again two days ago in *Ha'aretz* [Israel's *New York Times*—ed.] and in *Hadashot*, another important, very courageous paper. *Hadashot* was the first to disclose that the two from Gaza were killed by the Israeli Shin Beth after they were captured. This paper said there were many question marks about the fate of the elections. Shamir and Peres are cooperating to some extent. There are very stubborn or persistent voices in Israel—much more than rumor—that there is a silent agreement between the Likud and Labor parties to form a government of national unity after the elections. □