Humphrey Gets The Inside Dope

By John Law

As usual, Humphrey walked into my office as though his visit was routine. The fact is, he had not visited me for four years, and his next-to-last visit had been five years before that. He knows much more about the Middle East than he used to then, in part because he seems to have remembered a lot of what I told him. But he has a long way to go before he gets a bid to join the National Security Council.

Hi, Humphrey! What a pleasure to...

Q. Ya never tole me that summa these things was gonna happen, for pete’s sake!
A. Some of what things? What in carnation are you talking about...
Q. Ya better tell me about the DOPE.
A. Tell you about what? You gotta be kidding. Humph. You’re the last guy I would ever have thought of who would want any of that stuff, and even if I knew how to get it, I wouldn’t tell you anything.
Q. I’m not talking about that kinda dope, for cryin out loud. I’m talkin about DOPE!
A. ?
Q. The Declaration of Principles, dummy...
A. Oh, the DOP! Why didn’t you say so? Okay, listen up now. The DOP was signed last September 13, right on the White House lawn, with Rabin shaking hands with Arafat. I have to admit that I was flabbergasted, but I didn’t think it would lead to a big deal. And now, a year later, it really hasn’t.
Q. Whatcha talkin about? Da Palestinians...
A. You mean the Palestinians...
Q. Whatever. Da Palestinians took over dat town, whatchamacallit, Jerry Co., and dev also took over the Guzzler Strip, and eacha dem are now independent states. Pretty soon, da Palestinians will get all da rest of da West Bank, and toin it inta de independent state of Palestine. Right?
A. Palestine, please. Well, you

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About This Issue

The Link goes out to approximately 2,000 public and school libraries across the country. This means that lots of people must, at the very least, glance at our front cover. And many of these, one may assume, are either unfamiliar with or not particularly interested in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

That's where Humphrey comes in. His mix of blackheadedness and inquisitiveness is intended to reach out to the average reader and say, "Hey, it's okay to ask questions. Even dumb ones."

John Law has been in the reporting business long enough — since 1948, actually — to know that the medium all too often is the key to getting the message across. He dumbs all over his blundering alter ego in the hope that, in between the bantering and badgering, the facts of this much debated conflict may more easily emerge. And, truth to tell, we did notice that after Humphrey's first two visits, we received more requests from school teachers for class copies. (We should also note that, like those sugar-coated cereals that adults eat in the privacy of their kitchens, Humphrey, too, has his followers among Middle East conoscenti — Try that word on for size, Humph!) And what's on Humphrey's mind this time? Well, for starters, there's Jerry Co., the Guzzler Strip, Yes Sir's wife, and the difference between two Israeli leaders, one whose name sounds like a vegetable, the other like maybe he's from Chilly. That's for starters.

Our July-August issue included a review of Israel Shahak's latest book "Jewish History, Jewish Religion: the Weight of Three Thousand Years." Since then, the book has been reviewed favorably in The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs and "Middle East Policy," as well as receiving an endorsement from columnist Christopher Hitchens in The Nation. As a result of this fanfare, we quickly exhausted our initial inventory from London. We are now resupplied and are pleased to include Dr. Shahak's book along with our other new entries on page 15.

A.M.E.U. videocassette selection and order form are found on page 16.

John F. Mahoney
Executive Director
may be right about the eventual Palestine state, but you can skip that "pretty soon" part. For all we know, Jericho and Gaza may turn out to be the only areas that Israel will hand back to the Palestinians. For half a century, Gaza has been a crowded, fetid slum, which the Israeli occupation forces since 1967 did much to worsen, and Israel was dying to get rid of the place. But Gaza, under its new status, is still only partially independent, for all practical purposes, because Jewish settlements have remained, and Israeli soldiers are there to guard them. As for Jericho, Humph, aside from the fact that it is the first community that visitors reach when they cross the Allenby bridge from Jordan on their way to Jerusalem, it's a relatively small rural village that is only of archaeological...

Q. Cheez, willya cut out da big words!...
A. and historical significance. In other words, it's not an important West Bank town like, say, Hebron, or Bethlehem, or Ramallah, or Nablus, or...

Q. Enough already. I getcha!
A. Not yet, you don't. Another thing about Jericho is that it's nowhere near as "autonomous" as the Palestinians would like or as the Israelis pretend it to be. Although Arafat signed up for Palestinian "self-rule" on last May 4, Israel controls the external borders of Jericho, insists that Israeli settlers be allowed to remain there with their guns, handles such "foreign policy" problems as there are, and has laid down umpteen rules governing various internal economic and political issues. On top of it all, Israel maintains the right to review legislation passed in Jericho, and the right to exercise a veto over individuals who join the Palestinian police force there. Independence, anyone?

Q. Okay, okay, ya gota given time ta wuk out da details. Dat'll happen. Wuma dese days da Israelis'll give back da resta Palestine, too! You just wait!
A. Well, you're just a baby, Humph...

Q. @#$%^*!
A. I mean in age, compared to me, and if it happens, I think you have a better chance of seeing it happen.

Q. What makes ya so pessy mystic? A. For starters, there's a very substantial number of Israelis who do not want to cede any part of the West Bank, or even Gaza for that matter, to the Palestinians. They believe Israel has the right to all of the land of biblical Palestine...uh, Palestine. (Have I ever told you that you drive me nuts, Humph?)...

Q. Whawuzzat? Speak louder, cancha...
A. ...and those who believe they have this right do not by any means constitute the majority of Israelis. But they have considerable power. They include members of Israel's ultra-religious political parties, Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza (especially those who immigrated from the United States), top military officials and a substantial portion of the armed services.

Q. So where were all dese guys when DOP was signed?
A. As you could expect, they stayed away, because they didn't believe in the DOP. But the people who were actually in charge of military affairs, from Prime Minister Rabin on down, did believe in it. On the other hand, a lot of the Palestinians are also grumbling, because they think there are far too many loopholes for the Israelis.

Q. Loopholes, shmoopholes, nuttin ain't ever perfect... A. But some things are less po...uh, perfect than they ought to be, if they're going to work. To set up the so-called "autonomous states" of Jericho and Gaza, the Israelis compiled a detailed document that covered more than 200 pages. It's full of complex "rules" designed to separate Jews and Palestinians who live in the same area, and to forestall confrontations. Yet they still happen on practically a daily basis, particularly near synagogues and mosques. Israeli troops patrol what are known as "yellow" zones within the autonomous Palestinian areas, and Israeli settlers are even allowed, by the Israelis, to walk around the supposedly Palestinian area with their guns...

Q. Yeah, okay. I got da pitcha...
A. No, you don't, Humph. I've barely started giving you the picture. First, let me ask you a question: what do you think is at the root of the chronic violence in the occupied territories, that is, the West Bank and Gaza?

Q. Uh, let's see...da Balfour Declaration?
A. Humph, I've really got to compliment you for remembering that piece of history.

Q. Whadva take me for, a fool? A. but I'm not talking about historic roots. I'm talking about the current factors of the problem.

The Link
Can you guess what the root of most of the problem might be?
Q: I dunno. Maybe it’s root beer! Haw, haw.
A: Humph, I’m finding a side of you which I rather like and didn’t know you had: a sense of humor. But I don’t have all the time in the world, so I’m just going to go ahead and tell you what the problem is. It’s hate.
Q: Hate?
A: You got it. The Palestinian Arabs who are native to the West Bank or Gaza (their ancestors had lived there for thousands of years), hate the Jewish settlers who have come onto what Palestinians regard as their own land. The Jewish settlers, on the other hand, hate the Palestinians because they’re not Jewish and because they are living on what the settlers regard as Israeli territory...
Q: Okay, so we don’t like each other much, big deal...
A: I’m not talking about people who don’t like each other much...I’m talking about haters here. As an example, do you remember the Hebron massacre?
Q: Yeah, da Hepburn massacre, but dat was a long time ago...
A: No, Humph, it wasn’t a long time ago, and it had nothing to do with a movie star. It happened this year. It took place in the West Bank town of Hebron.
Q: Yeah, dat’s what I said, Hepburn.
A: (Boy this guy is still a dunce)...
Q: Speak up, willya?
A: I said, Humph. I’ll only tell you this once. The story of the Hebron massacre is about Baruch Goldstein a medical doctor who, even by the standards of the Arab-Israeli conflict, was a first-class hater. Eleven years ago he emigrated from Flatbush, in Brooklyn, where he was a member of Meir Kahane’s extremist Jewish Defense League. When Goldstein did his required tour of military service, he used his religion to justify turning away Arab patients. Later, he went off to the West Bank to join a group of radical Jews in the settlement of Kiryat Arba, just outside the city of Hebron. At that settlement, Goldstein set up a medical practice, but hated Arabs to the point that he usually refused to give any of them medical treatment. But he could not contain his hate within those limits. Early one morning — last February 25, to be exact — Goldstein woke up, put on his army uniform, picked up his Galil automatic assault rifle, and walked over to the city’s Ibrahimi mosque. It was prayer time and hundreds of Muslims were inside. The Israeli soldiers who stood guard at the gate knew him well, since he was a frequent visitor to that part of the mosque that had been set aside by Israel for Jewish services. Although the soldiers knew Goldstein as an extremist, they let him go in with his gun, which was a normal procedure for settlers who attended Jewish services. But when Goldstein went in, instead of turning in the direction of the Jewish section, he turned left and walked into the hall where the Palestinian Muslims were chanting their prayers. He then reportedly stood behind a column until the worshippers placed their foreheads on the ground for the unison prayer. At that moment, he opened automatic fire from behind them, shooting bullets into the backs of their heads and torsos. Goldstein was rat-tat-tatting with his third magazine when some of the worshippers managed to attack him with a fire extinguisher, which killed him.
Goldstein had killed at least 30 defenseless Palestinian worshippers, and injured a couple of hundred others. Six more Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers in the subsequent turmoil and around the mosque. Three Palestinians were trampled to death in a stampede to escape the spray of automatic rifle fire by the army. During three days of confrontations that followed, more than a score of Palestinians were killed and hundreds more injured.
After the massacre it took 50 minutes for ambulances to reach the site, thanks to harassment at Israeli checkpoints. Medical staff at al-Ahli hospital said that four Palestinians were killed by the army at the hospital’s entrance a few hours after the massacre, including a young man whose head was blown off as he left the hospital after donating a unit of blood.
The fact that the number of Israeli soldiers and policemen guarding the front door of the mosque were four, rather than the usual nine, raised suspicions that the Israeli army was in on the plot, but these were never confirmed.
Q: Yeah, but he wuz only one guy, and...
A: Hold on there, Humph! What Goldstein did was not approved by most Israelis, of course, but a sickening number of them thought it was great stuff...
Q: Ya gotta be kidding!
A. Nope, I'm not. In a eulogy for Goldstein delivered to 300 people, Rabbi Yaakov Perrin told them: “One million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail,” and a man who shouted We are all Baruch Goldstein received roars of approval. A teacher in a Jerusalem college, Shmuel Hacohen, also an immigrant from the United States, said: “Baruch Goldstein was the greatest Jew alive, not in one way, but in every way.” He added that he thought the massacre was “necessary,” and that “It’s necessary to kill a lot more. There are no innocent Arabs.”

Q. Pridy horrible. But dare's always gonna be a cuppla nuts who sound off...

A. What makes you think there are only a couple? There are surely hundreds — no, thousands of them — take it from me. After all, there are more than 110,000 Jewish settlers in the occupied territories, and although not all of them have extremist views, a large number of them do. Lots of these like to bend the ears of reporters, and to help you get the picture. I happen to have a couple of clippings right here on my desk...

Q. (sigh)

A. What did you say? My name is not Cy, and I think you need to know that the prejudices are a lot more prevalent than you think...

Q. I can't stand it when ya take so long to make a pernt.

A. That's too bad. Humph, because sometimes a pernt — er, point — has to be driven home a little deeper to stick. I want you to understand what I mean when I say there is a lot of hate around.

Okay — the clips. The New York Times interviewed a settler by the name of Matityahu Alansky, who immigrated to Israel from New York City. Here's what the guy said about Goldstein: “We are proud of what he did. He has given us pride as Jews. He is a hero. People may have died, but he has given life to the country. He has shown us that God is with us, that Jews will now fight back.”

Can you believe that, Humph. This guy is saying that God approves shooting people in the back while they are kneeling in prayer!

Another interview comes from The Washington Post. It quotes Shlomi Fulman, a 25-year-old student at a yeshiva...

Q. Yesh what?

A. Good point. Why couldn't the Post have just called it a Jewish religious school? Anyhow, Fulman, also a Kiryat Arba settler, told the reporter: "When they [the victims] were dead, it didn't matter to me." Nice guy, right? Yair Galman, a 16-year-old immigrant from Holland, said he was “happy” to learn of the massacre. Ben-Yaacov, an immigrant from Stony Brook, Long Island, N.Y., opined that “this act [the massacre] should not be condemned.”

David ben Avraham, a 42-year-old from a nearby settlement, apparently thought that it was about time to slam someone else's religion, rather than defend his own, so he told the Post reporter: “Islam is the poison of humanity. We must struggle to liberate our land, the land of Israel, and to take out the imperialist Muslims.”

Holy war, anyone?

Q. Okay, so some of dah settlers hate the Palestinians, so what?

A. Well, let's take a closer look at dat — eh, that — word "some." 110,000 settlers now live in 144 settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. A settlement is a community created by Israeli immigrants to the West Bank and Gaza on land owned by Palestinians. Unfortunately for the Palestinians, the Israeli settlers do not rent the land — they confiscate it. They have been doing this ever since 1967, when the Israeli armed forces took over these territories by force during the “Six-Day War.” Many of them moved into the occupied territories in order to build houses that would be cheaper to live in than those that were available in Israel itself. A significant number of the settlers moved into the occupied territories for “ideological” reasons — that is, to make the point that the West Bank and Gaza were part of Israel. These are the settlers who have caused the problems: seized orchards, leveled villages, swagereed around with guns, and enjoyed the protection of Israeli troops in the territories — the troops who shot to death teenagers (and children even younger) who had the temerity to throw stones in protest of the occupation of their country. Believe it or not, Humph, but Israeli troops have standing orders never to fire at Jewish settlers, even if the settlers are shooting at people. Although officially the Israeli government has approved supposedly tough measures to disarm settlers, nothing much seems to happen. In the settlement of Kfar Tapuah, for example, it is said that no one has yet seen an official piece of paper ordering the return of a gun. It's surprising, considering the...
extremist views of so many of the people who live in that settlement. For example, one of the settlement’s leaders, the American-born David Axelrod, told a reporter that he looks forward to being thrown in prison by the Israeli government, because it would hasten the day when Israelis will overthrow a government that he says is not only “anti-Jewish” but kowtows to the Arabs and “other gentiles.” When asked whether he was capable of committing an act similar to Baruch Goldstein’s he replied: “I suppose so. I’m a soldier in a war. We would be happy if the government left us alone, because they’re preventing us from fighting a just war.”

Q. Cheez! Ya make all da soldiers look pretty bad. How about dose guys dat came in ‘cause da costa livin wuz cheaper?
A. Well, aside from the fact that not all of those guys were saints either, there’s a key reason why none of the settlers should be there. Can you guess what it is?
Q. Yep.
A. What was that you said?
Q. I said yep. I know why da solders shunt be in da territories. It’s illegal! Ha ha! It’s illegal! Illegal against da U.N. Charter and da, whatchacallit, da wanna Accord. uh, no, dat is, da Geneva Accord! Bethlehem never thought I’d know...
A. Simmer down, Humph! Hey, it’s refreshing to find that you’ve become positively scholarly. Now don’t blush. I’m delighted that you’re acquainted with that segment of history, and I shall be looking forward to some future segments. (You should live so long).
Q. Huh? Waddya say?
A. I said, it would be wrong to doubt your talents. I’m sure you could easily quote some clause in the U.N. resolutions that would back up your statement — such as Security Council Resolution 242, just after Israel’s 1967 takeover of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza, which affirms “the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war”...
Q. Yeah, sure. I remember that stuff about da disability...
A. So you probably also remember that stuff about the illegality of the Israelis building settlements in territory that does not legally belong to them.
Q. ‘Course I do. Hey, could we move onta sumpin else?
A. Well, Humph, how about talking about what is first-rate in Israel, especially when it comes to Israelis protecting their own country or invading someone else’s?
Q. Yeah, what’s dat?
A. Their soldiers. How else could Israeli have occupied land in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt without a first-rate army. How else could they have held on to East Jerusalem, with its Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Wailing Wall?
Q. For crying out loud, whatsa Wailing Wall?
A. You just answered your own question, Humph.
Q. ?
A. But it’s one thing to conquer a land and another thing to police it. And Israeli soldiers, when they act as an occupying police force, tend to be nasty and tough to the locals, as well as very nervous and very, very quick on the trigger. That can explain why, in just six months last year — according to Amnesty International — Israeli occupation forces shot dead 110 Palestinians, of which 30 were children. Most were just throwing stones in the direction of the soldiers, as they had been doing in the form of protest ever since the “intifadah” (uprising) had begun in December, 1987. And when the soldiers aren’t killing Palestinians, they make it tough for them in other ways. The head of the orthopedic department of the Makassed Islamic Charitable Hospital, in Jerusalem, told a reporter recently that one-third of his nursing and medical staff of 200 were unable to get to work because of Israeli Army roadblocks and curfews. Now, why couldn’t the Israeli authorities at least allow the Palestinians to staff their hospitals? Or did they want their wounded to die? In another typical harrassment, a group of Israeli soldiers pulled up outside the Nativity Bakery in Bethlehem and told 18-year-old Iyad Elsheweiki — have I got that name right, Humph? —
Q. Yeah, sure... funny, funny...
A. ...the soldiers told him and his two brothers that they would have to shut down the ovens in their family’s bakery and go home. “We have a 24-hour work and curfew permit which I showed to the soldiers,” Elsheweiki said. “One of them took it and threw it to the floor saying that the hours have been changed now, which was not true. Pharmacies and bakeries are allowed to work 24 hours. But he threw me in the jeep anyway, locked the bakery, took the keys, and took me to the military jail. They also had
thrown one of our bakery's co-workers into the jeep, and throughout the drive kept kicking him in the knees and calling him a dirty dog.

This kind of harrassment is brutal. Of course, but being killed is worse. Let me give you some excerpts from a story this spring by the Associated Press that was submitted to Israeli censors, who then allowed it to be published only after ordering a number of "deletions." The story was about a break-out of fighting, and here are some quotes from it:

"Hunduk Zahdeh, who was 34 and pregnant, died instantly" from army gunfire.

"The Israeli radio said dozens of Palestinians were wounded." "The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) said Israeli soldiers had seized two United Nations officers in a refugee camp northwest of Nablus, forced them to the ground, handcuffed them and dragged them out of the camp. A spokesman for the agency, Sandro Tucci, said the officers were arrested after 'observing an incident between Israeli soldiers and Palestinian civilians, including women and children.'

"Elsewhere in the West Bank, Israeli soldiers wounded five Palestinian children, including a 6-month-old girl, during confrontations with stone-throwing youths."

Considering the material that the Israeli censors allowed the AP to print, Humph, doesn't it make you wonder what the deletions must have been about?

Q: I tink I hadda nuffa dis kinda stuff, I feel kinda...

A: ...sick. Yeah, I know, Humph, and I can't blame you. But I'm going to make you just a little sicker, and then I won't have to do it any more...

Q: Please, I don't wanna be a little sicker...

A: So listen up. Be a brave boy. I think you should know about the Israeli "death squads".

Q: Yuk! Do I hafta? It's aawmost lunch time and...

A: You're already sick! You can't have lunch! So let me continue. A "death squad" is a secret group, part of Israel's security services, which carries out what some call "premeditated execution," and others refer to as "extra-judicial execution." The death squads typically arrive without uniforms, dressed in Arab clothing, in a car with an Arab license plate, and then they carry out their ambush.

Nasr Aruri, a professor of political science at a U.S. university, wrote a moving article in The Christian Science Monitor a few months ago, describing the "extra-judicial execution" in the occupied territories of a Palestinian cousin, a 31-year-old grocery store owner. Let me read you part of his description of it:

"He was shot and killed by two bullets fired from a silent revolver at a close range in front of his own home as his eight-months pregnant wife, three children and relatives watched out the window in horror and disbelief.

"It did not matter that he came out with both hands on his head, bearing in one hand the receipt for the benign orange ID card, which had been exchanged two weeks before for the green card, which identifies former prisoners. He was not on any 'wanted list'; his expulsion to Lebanon in December 1992 with 413 Islamic activists was ruled a 'mistake' by the Israeli Army and he subsequently returned home...

"An Israeli Army spokesman said he was suspected of taking part in the Dec. 1 killing of two Israeli settlers. As he was spotted in his village he made a 'suspicious move,' a gesture as if he was armed. An officer shot him — then found he was not carrying a gun.

"Eyewitness accounts reported the killing as a premeditated execution; moments after the victim fell to the ground an Israeli agent asked a relative to identify him as 'Aruri.'"

Ready for lunch now, Humph?

Q: Yetch...dat story was too sad I lost my appetite. Can't we talk about sumpin else, like maybe Lebanon. How come da Israelis are always sendin troops or droppin bombs on dat country?

A: Let's put it this way, they always seem to come up with some excuse. In the early 70s they used to make frequent air-strikes on Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps, which they considered a risk to Israel's security. In 1978, when a civil war was going on in Lebanon, Israel invaded the country in a attempt to help the Lebanese Christian Maronites prevail over the Muslims, but was stalled by United Nations pressure within a few months. In July, 1981, the Israelis became very concerned over the existence of a P.L.O. headquarters in Beirut, and in two days killed more than a hundred and wounded more than six hundred people with a number of bombing runs over densely
populated quarters in an effort to knock it out. This time, the U.S. intervened diplomatically to establish a cease-fire between the government of Lebanon and the Palestinian refugees living there, and surprisingly it lasted for eleven months. This long truce was thanks to Yasser Arafat, because the Israelis repeatedly tried to provoke him — but Arafat refused to take the bait.

Q: What happened after de leaven months?
A: The Israelis gave up trying to provoke Arafat and found an excuse of their own. On June 4, 1982, the Israeli ambassador in London was shot and killed by Palestinian gunmen. The Israelis immediately assumed that the P.L.O. was guilty, but by the time London police investigations revealed that the attack had been carried out by an anti-P.L.O. group, Israel's reprisal was already under way. And what a "reprisal" it was!

Q: Gimme a quick pitcha, I forgot...
A: Well, on June 6, the Israelis invaded Lebanon, shooting all the way. Then Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin assured President Reagan that the Israeli troops — who were led by the infamous General Sharon — would stop when they got 25 miles into Lebanon, but instead, they kept going all the way to the outskirts of Beirut. On the way, they took time out to give Syria a huge bashing, as they destroyed Syria's missile sites and shot down a large percentage of its air force. Israel then used its most lethal American-made guns, as well as naval artillery and planes to subject the most densely populated parts of Beirut to a two-months bombardment by land, air and sea that ended in the killing of many more civilians than of Palestinian guerrilla fighters. When P.L.O. leaders rejected Sharon's suggestion to leave the city, Sharon intensified the bombardment and moved his soldiers into strategic areas of Beirut. On August 12, a day that Churchill would have called "a day that will live in infamy"...

Q: Choichill who?
A: Humph, I'm not going to answer that. This day in Beirut actually became known as "Black Thursday," and was described by two horrified Israeli journalists as — I've got the quotes right here on my desk. Humph — "a nightmare in which the saturation bombing came on top of a massive artillery barrage that began at dawn and continued throughout the eleven hours of the air-raid. Unofficial statistics counted 300 people dead in West Beirut that day. What made 'Black Thursday' so terrifying was the sense of brute violence run wild... (There were) harrowing descriptions of wanton destruction and frantic cries for help."

Q: Humph?
Q: Humph! HUMPH! Are you still with me?
Q: Dat raid was oney parta de invasion, right?
A: Yeah. Figures for the whole invasion add up to a lot more. Most of the figures come from Lebanese police records that are based on reported actual counts in clinics, hospitals and civil defense centers. Uh — here I go, paper-shuffling again! — according to the December 21, 1982 issue of the Christian Science Monitor...

Q: What would dat paper know about it? Mosta does guys over dare amt Christians...
A: Right, Humph! Come to think about it, most aren't scientifists either. The paper does have good monitors over there, however, and according to one of them, 19,085 people were killed between June 4 and August 31, 1982, and 30,320 wounded. In Beirut alone, 6,775 died — 84 percent of them civilians. In southern Lebanon, which the Israelis blitzed through in less than two weeks, only 20 percent of the dead were civilians, the rest were Palestinian, Syrian or Lebanese fighters. Many of them, by the way, were killed by cluster bombs, which spray shrapnel into people. The Israelis used them despite the fact that their use in such circumstances was illegal.

Q: Enuf, already — but dint things get bedder?
A: Well, it could hardly get worse, so it had to get better. The Israelis eventually withdrew their troops from most of Lebanon, but kept holding onto a piece of Lebanese territory just north of the border of Israel.

Q: Whadja mean by "a piece."
A: I'm talking about what the Israelis refer to as a "security zone." Just a see while I look at my notes...yeah, here it is...The zone stretches 72 miles, from the Mediterranean in the West to Syria in the east, ranging from three to 12 miles wide and covering 386 square miles — one tenth of Lebanon's total area. It's estimated that about 175,000 Lebanese live there, and a little more than half of them are
Muslims. Israel still keeps about 2,500 Israeli troops in the zone, and it polices the zone with the help of a Lebanese militia, known as the South Lebanon Army, that is in the pay of the Israeli government. The only thing Israel hasn’t done with the south of Lebanon is officially annex it. But the fighting there between Israeli soldiers and Lebanese Shia guerrillas — natives of the area, who are trying to regain their homeland and who call themselves “Hizbullah,” Arabic for “Party of God” — never seems to stop.

Q. Wot kinda fighting?
A. You name it.
Q. How can I...
A. Okay, I'll name some of the different things that go on. Ambushes: soldiers lie in wait for guerrillas and vice versa, ready to shoot to kill. Israeli helicopter gunships and war planes attack a Hizbullah training camp and kill 30 people, most of whom are youths of 12 to 18 years old, killed in their beds. During the summer of '93, Israel carries out a week-long artillery bombardment of southern Lebanon, kills 149 people, many of them civilians, and forces half a million residents to flee their homes. Israeli commandos sweep into Lebanon, kidnap a Muslim guerrilla leader from his house, while the rest of his family looks on, and fly him back to Israel. Israeli helicopter gunships attack a convoy carrying the leader of Hizbullah, Sheikh Abbas Musawi, killing him, his wife, his six-year-old son, and five bodyguards. Then, just a few weeks ago in August of this year, Israel admitted that it "accidentally" killed 10 Lebanese civilians in an air strike on Lebanon when a "smart" bomb went astray.

Q. Stop! Dis is all makin me sick...
A. You asked for it...
Q. Okay, okay! So tell me: Wot gives da Israelis da nerv to keep dare sojers in a territory dat dont belong to dem?
A. They say they have to do it to protect Israel's security. Humph. But you're right on target: what gives the Israelis the right to put their troops, on a permanent basis, in somebody else's country? Supposing the United States decided that in order to keep the Canadians from sneaking into the U.S., they would take over Canadian territory all along the border of the two countries? That would simply be a no-no. But the Israelis don't care what the Lebanese think — they just go ahead and do it.

In any case, Humph, you may not know this, but ever since the establishment of Israel in 1948, the Israelis have believed that their country's northern border should be at Lebanon's Litani River. For all practical purposes, it's a done deal. But at least they've got the grace not to make it official. Or is that worse?

Q. Don't ask me. Ask Yes Sir.
A. Huh?
Q. You know. Da guy who's da head of da Pea Hello.
A. Am I right in thinking that you are referring to Yasser Arafat, head of the P.L.O.?
Q. Dat's wot I said! Cheez... By the way, I always wanta ask you if you know him in poison?...
A. You mean, do I know him in person?
Q. Yeah. What's wrong, you deaf or sumthin? A. Actually, Humph. I've met and talked with him a number of times. Believe it or not, I was one of the first reporters, if not the first, ever to hear of the guy. Since 1957, he had been leading a secret group called Fatah, which, of course, you realize is a backwards acronym for the words "Movement for the Liberation of Palestine"...
Q. Cut da garbage, ya using too many big words...
A. but it was another dozen years before Arafat would become the leader of the P.L.O. While he was heading Fatah he used the name spelling — you know what that is, Humph...
Q. Yeah, name ovva plum... A. ...of "Abu Ammar," which means, roughly, "The Builder." It was not until 1968 that I heard — or just about anyone else heard — the name "Yasser Arafat" for the first time, and just a year later, as head of Fatah, he also took over as leader of the P.L.O. It's now exactly 25 years since then, and he's still the head of the P.L.O.! He is now 65 years old.

People tend to think of Arafat as an odd-looking character, with his lanshish nose and ears, and stubble, and it's understandable. But when you're in his presence, you forget all that. Arafat is not only smart, but very warm, very friendly, laughs a great deal, and, most important, is very interested in what you have to say...
Q. Yeah, but his organization killed lotsa people.
A. I thought you might say that. Sure it did. Fatah was a guerrilla organization, seeking to establish a homeland. The Palestinian Jews did the same thing against the British when they were seeking a homeland to be called Israel. And, of course,
we did the same thing against British troops during our revolutionary war.

Anyway, after all these years, Arafat keeps hanging in there. As early as 1974, he announced to the U.N. that he would recognize Israel in exchange for a state in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. Nothing happened, but in 1988, Arafat made a new declaration in which he officially recognized the state of Israel. On September 13, 1993, there was Arafat on a podium, standing next to President Clinton and Israel’s prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, shaking Rabin’s hand, in a ceremony of mutual recognition.

They had just made an agreement that the P.L.O. would be allowed to have control of the Gaza strip, as well as autonomy for the West Bank town of Jericho.

Whether Israel will ever permit Arafat to gain control over any other parts of the West Bank remains to be seen.

Q. Boring, boring! Can'tcha tell me somptin more interrestin about Yes Sir?
A. Such as...
Q. Is he married?
A. Yes, he is, to a young lady who used to be his secretary, by the name of Suha Tawel. She is the daughter of one of the most prestigious families in the West Bank. Her mother is Raymonda Tawel, a wealthy journalist and publisher who works in Jerusalem.

May I tell you something, Humph?
Q. Shoot.
A. Boring, boring! You don’t need to know those details. Let’s talk about Arafat the world-famous leader, not his family.

You may not be aware of this. Humph, but Arafat’s image has faded considerably in the last year or so, and the support of Palestinians for him has dwindled considerably.

Q. Why’s dat?
A. Arafat is no longer looked upon by many Palestinians as the heroic guerrilla leader who led the battle for Palestinian independence. He is regarded by many Palestinians as the man who negotiated with Israel and gave away the store...
Q. Gosh, dat’s terrible! I had a nuncle once who owned a store and a copulaudder tings and he said da worst ting that could happen wud be if da store wuz given away...
Q. Humphrey, I didn’t mean it literally. It’s just a way of saying that he gave away too much. All he’s got to show for his negotiations with Israel is a kind of pseudo-autonomy in Gaza — one of the poorest and saddest places anywhere...
Q. Yeah, who wud wanna live anywhere where dare are sadists — ugh...
A. ...and a similar pseudo-autonomy in Jericho. I know you don’t know what pseudo means. Humph, so I’ll tell you. You could translate it as “not quite” or “supposedly.” You could even say “sham,” if you wanted to.
Q. Gee, thanks.
A. Do I detect a tinge of sarcasm, Humph? It’s not like you. Anyhow, a lot of Palestinians actually revile him, believing that somehow he should have been able to prevent some of the killings in the West Bank by soldiers and settlers, including the massacre of the 30 Palestinians while they prayed in a mosque. Palestinians also blame him for his work-style, his practice of favoring cronies when he sets policies, while bypassing official members of his executive committee. He is criticized for his frequent propensity to get on a plane and make a “state visit” to foreign countries in an atmosphere of pomp, when he should have stayed at home and attended to problems. In short, many believe Arafat has lost touch with his people.
Q. Well, what about Rabin. He’s da boss on da udder side, right?
A. Exactly. And for that reason, if the Palestinians play it right, Rabin can be cowed — Get it, Humph?
Q. Nope. As I said, he’s da boss on da udder side, right?
A. (sigh)
I first met Rabin when he was ambassador to the United States in the late 60s. I was on a visit to Washington from my base in the Middle East, where for many years I had been — and still was — a correspondent for U.S. News & World Report. I called up the ambassador for an interview, and he invited me to lunch. He was very taciturn — as he still is today — so I had to do practically all the talking.
Q. Why dja hasla do all the talkin?
A. Because he was taciturn.
Q. What if he wasn’t tasssy tenn. Duzzat mean ya wud both hafta do all the talkin?
A. Nope, it’t doesn’t work that way. C'mon, Humph, let me get on with this, okay?

Anyway, I recalled that I had just recently been in Kuwait, and
I told Rabin that the Kuwaitis were very upset about what Israel had done during the 1967 "Six-Day-War," when they bombed and invaded several Arab countries. Rabin glowered at me, and said, emphasizing every syllable: "Well, maybe what we ought to do now is bomb the hell out of that country, too, the bastards."

That's classical "Rabin." After all, he's the guy who said, when young Palestinians in the West Bank were throwing stones at Israeli soldiers during the "intifada": "We'll break their bones!"

Q. Heh, heh, I bet he wuz just tryin to scare da kids...
A. No. Humphrey. Rabin always says what he means. He sent out the order and the soldiers did break the bones of the kids! American TV cameras were all over the place, and the results could be seen on TV broadcasts all over the states: scenes of soldiers holding down young teenagers while they systematically broke their bones with hammers. It shocked Americans — including White House officials — so much that even tough-guy Rabin was shamed into withdrawing the orders after a few weeks.

Q. Sounds ta me like Rabin is some kinda Ray-Bin maniac. Get it? Ray-bin maniac! Heh, heh...
A. That's pretty good. Humphrey, although the correct pronunciation of his name is Raheem, like the vegetable.

He's tough, no doubt about that. Rabin has been prime minister of Israel — and usually defense minister at the same time — very often, going back to the 70s. When you think of the fact that Israel is a state that was established primarily as a homeland for Jews, it's interesting that Rabin is a secular nationalist...

Q. Dare ya go, usin da big woids again...
A. Sorry, Humph. I keep forgetting that any word that has more than three letters is considered by you to be a big word.

Q. Hey, cut it out! I know lotsa woids that got four, five letters, even more...
A. Okay, a secular person is someone who has an aversion to people or movements motivated by an ideology based on religion. So when Rabin took over as president, he wanted religion kept out of government, and as a result he now presides over Israel's first cabinet ever that does not have a single Orthodox minister!

Q. What made people tink that Raheem — yuck, I hate vegetables — had da background ta get elected prime minister...
A. Humph, your ignorance of some things is sometimes beyond belief. Rabin was commander-in-chief of Israel's armed forces in 1967, when Israel invaded several Arab countries. For many Israelis, this made him a hero. It's a little like General Eisenhower being a hero in World War II, and getting elected president later.

Q. General who?
A. Forget it. I guess your're too young to remember Eisenhower, but I assume you know who Peres is.

Q. Which one? I met lotsa guys, when I lived in Noo Yawk, called Perez, and mosta dem wuz from Mexico or Chilly or ...
A. The person I'm talking about is called Peres, not Perez. Shimon Peres, to be exact, and he lives in Jerusalem. He is the second most important politician in Israel — at any rate, when it comes to foreign policy — because he is the foreign minister in Rabin's cabinet. He's a lot different from Yitzhak Rabin, in many ways.

Q. Such as...
A. For one thing, Rabin virtually never smiles. Peres does, but not that much. More importantly, Peres has an entirely different outlook towards the Palestinians from that of Rabin. Far from a bone-breaker, Peres is what we call a 'dove' — that is, not hardline in his approach to an Israeli-Palestinian settlement. Rabin, on the other hand, follows a rather hard line, and therefore regarded as a "hawk."

To understand Peres, it's worth knowing that he was not always a "dove." In his early days, as a disciple of Prime Minister David Ben Gurion, he was as tough as they come. Forty or so years ago, he was head of Israel's Ministry of Defense, and led Israel's successful drive to acquire nuclear weapons. He also, hawishly, helped create the alliance with France and Britain that led to Israel's 1956 "Suez War" on Egypt, and a decade later he was one of those who pressured Israel's then prime minister, Levi Eshkol, to launch the 1967 "Six-Day War," in which Israel invaded Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Afterwards, Peres was in the forefront of the efforts to plant Jewish settlements in the new territories that Israel had occupied, and he was stronger on this issue than Rabin, in whose
cabinet he served until the takeover by the Likud party in the late 70s.

Are you still with me, Humph?
Q. Where'dja tink I am, for Peres's sake...
A. You mean "Pete's sake,"
don't you?
Q. Yeah, ya got me mixed up. I mean, ya dint see me leave the room...
A. Sorry, Humph. I should have known better than to ask. Anyhow, while the Likud was in office, Peres moved himself up to Labor party leader, at which time he began his political transformation. This was due, in part, to the need to distinguish his party from the right-leaning opposition party, the Likud and, in part, to his young and more dovish advisors, such as the current Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin. His close ties to the Socialist French President Francois Mitterrand may also have influenced him. Peres himself has indicated that he believes that Israel's ability to survive in the long run depends on its making peace with the Arabs and integrating into the Middle East, even if this means moving away from militant Zionism and towards Palestinian nationalism.

As the Middle East specialist, Leon Hadar, wrote recently in The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, Peres was "the driving force behind such decisions as decriminalizing meetings between Israelis and P.L.O. officials, and permitting Faisal Husseini [the prominent West Bank leader] to take part in the Washington peace talks."

Hadar also maintains that there was a "gradual effort on the part of Peres and his deputy, Beilin, to open negotiations with the P.L.O. and to accept the idea of Palestinian independence alongside Israel."

Q. Enuf! I've had it up ta gills with all dem kwoats. No more kwo...
A. Sorry, Humph. I won't do it anymore. But just let me wind up a few more things about Peres, then we'll change the subject...

Peres was the key Israeli figure in the arrangements for the secret peace talks at Oslo and, of course, played a big role in the September 13 meeting last year with President Clinton and Yasser Arafat on the White House lawn. Ever since, he has tried hard to push the peace process along. A few weeks ago, Peres was the guest of honor at a dinner in Washington's Capital Hilton that was attended by hundreds of prominent guests involved in Middle East affairs, including top Norwegian and other negotiators who had come in from Europe. When it was Peres's turn to speak, the first thing he did was to make sure that Palestinians, including high officials and children of high officials, ranked him on both sides of the long table. He then gave an extemporaneous speech that heaped praise on what the Palestinian negotiators had accomplished, after which he hugged a Palestinian boy. As they say, there wasn't a dry eye in the joint.

Q. Well, dat's all intressin, but I gotta get outa here in a coupla minutes. Any last things ya wanna tell me?
A. Well, I want to tell you a little about Jerusalem, because when you come right down to it this is the most important problem between the Israelis and the Palestinians. It's also the most intractable.

Q. Da most whatable?
A. (sigh) Let's just say it's the most difficult. You know, D-I-F-F-I-C-U-L-T.
Q. A. C'mon, don't sulk, Humph. I know you can spell. I was only kidding.
Q. A. Okay! I apologize! Now let me get on with telling you about Jerusalem.

The first thing you should know is that Jerusalem is a city inhabited by Jews, Christians and Muslims. Until 1967, it was two separate cities, divided by a wall separating the Arabs, who lived in the so-called Old City under Jordanian rule, and the Jews who lived in the Western part, in Israel.

Q. I betcha I know what happened in 1967!
A. Shoot.
Q. A. Da Israelis invaded Egypt.
A. Yes, but...
Q. And dey invaded Jordan...
A. Yes, b...
Q. And dey invaded Syria!
A. Haven't you forgotten something?
Q. Whassa matter, did I forget ta shave?
A. What about East Jerusalem?
Q. What about it?
A. The Israelis invaded it and annexed it, you dummy!
Q. A. Oh...
A. There's hardly a country in the world that recognized this takeover by Israel, because, according to the United Nations, Jerusalem was supposed to be an "international city," neither part of Israel nor part of Palestine. This was its status until the end of
the Arab-Israeli war that took place in 1948-49, which left Israel controlling the Western zone of the city, and the Arabs — more specifically the country of Jordan — controlling the “Old City” in the East.

Ever since, even after Israel’s takeover of the Jordan sector, the United Nations has considered Jerusalem to be an international city, and even the United States — as close an ally with Israel as can be — does not recognize Israeli jurisdiction over Jerusalem. There have been reports, however, that President Clinton may shift U.S. policy by recognizing Israeli sovereignty over the city.

Q. Ouch.
A. I couldn’t agree more, Humph. OUCH!
Q. Dya tink da prez is gonna do it?
A. Somehow I doubt it, Humph, because this would raise a real furor.
Q. Why only a few gonna roar? Lotsa people gonna roar...
A. (sigh)
Q. Whaddya say? Speak up willya?
A. I meant, Humph, that if President Clinton actually backed Israeli control over Jerusalem, there would be a great controversy because U.N. Resolution 242, in its preamble, refers to the “inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war.”
Q. Inadmissiwhatibility?
A. Humph, you shoudn’t’ve been a bureaucrat. Only one of them could top a 15-letter word by coming up with a 20-letter word that was actually comprehensible.

Good try.

But getting back to President Clinton, what I’m saying is that if he took that position — if he stated that all of Jerusalem would be under Israeli sovereignty, he would be disregarding a U.N. Resolution that the United States has officially accepted over the past 27 years. For that matter, even during the period from 1948 to 1967, before Israel took over East Jerusalem, the United Nations regarded Jerusalem as an international city — one that did not belong to either Israel, which occupied the western part, or to Jordan, which controlled the eastern part of the city.

Q. What didda Jordanians and Israelis tink?
A. Well, the Jordanians considered the eastern part of Jerusalem as part of Jordan, and the Israelis considered all of Jerusalem as part of Israel — even though they did not control all of it until the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.
Q. How come da city got divided in da foist place?
A. It happened in 1948 and 1949, when the Arabs and the Jews fought each other over the territory of Palestine, including the city of Jerusalem, which, as I said, had been designated an “international city” by the United Nations. By the time the fighting was over, Israel had occupied more of Palestine than it was supposed to have, and controlled the western part of Jerusalem. East Jerusalem, on the other side of a dividing wall, belonged at that time to Jordan, and remained so until 1967.

Q. But now it sorta looks like Jordan and Israel are gonna iron tings out over Jerusalem, no?
A. Why does that word “iron” remind me of Rabin’s “iron-fist” policy that he tried during the Palestinian intifada? But to your question, Humph. Some analysts think that Rabin wants to play King Hussein off against Arafat by granting the King a special role over the shrines in East Jerusalem. That way Israel shuts out Arafat and keeps its self-proclaimed sovereignty over all of Jerusalem.
Q. Dya tink it’ll work?
A. Well, Humph, the iron fist didn’t work — eh, work — the first time, and I doubt the diplomatic version of it will fare much better. We’ll just have to wait and see. There should be plenty of interesting things to talk about in a few years.
Q. Ya mean ya invitin me back?
A. (I should live so long.)
Q. Whatta ya say?
A. I said so long — for now, Humph.

S’LONG HUMPH!
By L. Humphrey Walz

As I write, something referred to as Middle East peace is busting out all over the headlines and op-ed pages that reach my door. The cessation of armed conflict and the negotiated compromises they refer to as peace are welcome to the extent that they offer respite from threats of massive, high-tech warfare. However, that's not enough to satisfy Thomas Are's definition. He agrees with Pope Paul VI and Protestant and Jewish political theologian Reinhold Niebuhr that real peace is something that can only come with the pursuit of justice: and he sees too little justice being offered the Palestinians by their Israeli overlords.

Among the source materials meticulously authenticated in his 537 footnotes is this page 8 excerpt from a joint public declaration by heads of the surviving Anglican, Armenian, Orthodox, Greek, Lutheran, Roman Catholic and other churches in Jerusalem:

We are particularly concerned by the tragic and unnecessary loss of Palestinian lives, especially among minors. Unarmed and innocent people are being killed by the unwarranted use of force. We condemn the practice of mass administrative arrest and the continuing detention of adults and minors without trial.

That statement was issued April 26, 1989, but the human rights abuses it delineates are just a few of those that, before and since, have persistently constituted official Israeli policy. Others still notable for their frequency are torture, collective punishment, destruction of homes, deportation, displacement by Jewish immigrant settlers, food embargoes, confiscation of real estate, and travel restrictions. Are documents such data and a lot else in appropriate contexts from Palestinian, Israeli and international popular and specialized sources.

His plain, straightforward narrative style makes the fruit of his inclusive research and personal observations readily intelligible to a general audience. Stimulatingly, often startlingly, he disentangles complex issues, histories, myths and propaganda. Compellingly yet compassionately, he confronts the reader with the urgency of candor, fair play, and conciliatoriness on all sides if the troubled terrain so often called the Holy Land is ever to warrant that name.

Relentlessly and uncompromisingly, he spotlights those who abuse the Bible to support their own special interests. All too typical is the comment of an Israeli captain to justify the 1982 military occupation of Lebanon and massacre of Palestinian refugees: "We are fulfilling our religious duty as Jews... to conquer the Land from the enemies." (p. 87)

Look up Joab (King David's loyal general) in any Bible dictionary for examples of ancient Israelite barbarity. Then turn to Arc's second chapter about similar savageries by modern Israelis who, ignoring the Hebrew prophets' insistent calls for national as well as personal morality, justify their behavior as "Biblical." Militant televangelists capitalize on similar twittings of Scripture that resist its call to do justice, love mercy and walk humbly with God (Micah 6:8).

Are aims his most searing criticism, however, at the piously uninvolved, those self-justifying American church members who elect the politicians and pay the taxes that work to exclude the people of the Middle East from the national pledge of "liberty and justice for all."

The entire book reflects the spirit that led the author to devote most of his pastoral career to helping his native Deep South advance in the struggle for equal rights. It also testifies to the impact of his 1979 encounter in the slums and byways of Ecuador with the on-going then eleven-year-old movement which had galvanized 130 Latin American Catholic bishops to confront entrenched dictatorships with the demands of what has become known as Liberation Theology. At great personal risk and with much subsequent sacrifice and loss of life, they led their priests and their people to recognize that if the Church is truly to be the Body of Christ it must identify with Jesus' summons to "seek at liberty all those who are oppressed" (Luke 4:18, cf. Isaiah 61:1). This "good news to the poor" necessarily entails the empowerment of the exploited over against the power of their exploiters.

It is symbolic of the whole book that a Palestinian Christian pastor and an American Jewish theologian contributed, respectively, its foreword and preface. They - Canon Atteaek and Professor Ellis - are prominent among those who led Are to see the continuing importance of Liberation Theology's message and goals to the people now living where Jesus and Isaiah first proclaimed them.

ISRAELI PEACE / PALESTINIAN JUSTICE: Liberation Theology and the Peace Process
By Thomas Are, Clarity Press, 1994, 194 pp., paper.
A Christian minister concludes that the Israeli-P.L.O. agreement fails the basic requirement of justice. See Review on page 14
List: $14.95; AMEU: $11.50

ARABS & ISRAEL FOR BEGINNERS
Take the research of Noam Chomsky (as the author did), enliven it with pen-sketches drawings (as the illustrator did), then trace 12,000 years of history with the irreverence of Saturday Night Live, and you have "A Beginner's Documentary Comic Book on the Arab-Israeli conflict."
List: $9.95; AMEU: $8.95

DELIBERATE DECEPTIONS:
Facing the Facts about the U.S.-Israeli Relationship
By Paul Findley, Lawrence Hill, 1993, 348 pp., paper.
Former U.S. congressman answers most common pro-Israeli propaganda.
List: $14.95; AMEU: $5.95

THE ARAB CHRISTIANS:
A History in the Middle East
Episcopal bishop looks at how Arab Christians maintain their identity while sharing a common destiny with their Muslim neighbors.
List: $29.95; $22.50

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