

CONCERN GROWS IN U.S. OVER ISRAELI POLICIES

By Allan C. Brownfeld

Despite the talk about a reconvened Geneva Conference, Mr. Begin's line is so tough as to render inconceivable meaningful negotiations between the Israelis and the Arabs. It is now clear that while in Washington, Mr. Begin made the following points known to President Carter, points which have not been altered in the intervening months:

1. He vowed that Israel would not permit a Palestine Liberation Organization presence at a negotiating table in Geneva or elsewhere.

2. He made it clear that he will not give back all the Arab territories conquered in the 1967 War — not the West Bank of the Jordan River and not all of the Golan Heights — because this would leave Israel too vulnerable to Arab attacks.

3. He emphasized that he will not agree to a Palestinian homeland or "entity" on the West Bank.

4. He said that he wants no more "step-by-step" diplomacy as conducted by Henry Kissinger in which Israel was pressured to yield pieces of territory for "minor gestures" by the Arabs. He said there would be no more Israeli withdrawals without an overall peace agreement.

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5. He asked the U.S. to stay out of substantive discussions relative to a peace agreement, even while urging the U.S. to help to bring about peace talks.

The sanctioning by the Israeli government of previously unauthorized Jewish settlements on the occupied West Bank of Jordan, and the initiation of additional settlements in an area that Prime Minister Menachem Begin considers part of "historic" Israel, has caused serious concern among U.S. policymakers in Washington.

The Department of State quickly rebuked him for this action, saying that it was "deeply disappointed" by the Israeli decision, which created "an obstacle to the peace-making process."

Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported that, "The split inside the administration over proper handling of Israel's flouting of the U.S. on the settlements question may only be beginning." Criticism of the settlements has been widespread,

and support for Israel on this question is difficult to find. Columnist Garry Wills, writing in *The Washington Star*, declared that, "Begin did not just recognize three settlements as legal. He recognized the principle of settlement. He opened the way for endless settlement. He made any future opposition to the blackmail tactics of the settlers look like a betrayal of the promise implicitly made to them now."

There is also significant concern about Begin's unwillingness to confront the Palestinian question, although there is a feeling at the White House that Begin has not ruled out a possible compromise approach to this question. While in Washington, he hinted that Israel might accept Palestinian representatives at a Geneva meeting as part of a Jordanian delegation, provided they were not leaders of the PLO. One official familiar with the substance of the Carter-Begin talks remarked that, "We don't really know what he meant. Clearly, he means you can't have Yasir Arafat in the delegation. But the situation might be different if it were a university professor from Beirut who had close ties with the PLO. Somewhere in there is a dividing line and we'll have to find it . . ."

The Israeli proposal in early September that civilian autonomy could be bestowed upon the occupied West Bank, an idea championed by Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, has also met with a negative response in most influential American circles. *The Washington Post* declared that it is "a non-starter . . . It is a formula to relieve Israel of the burden of civilian administration while

AMEU AWARD

On October 22nd, at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., held in Detroit, Michigan, Americans for Middle East Understanding received a citation for its contribution to a better understanding of the Arab peoples and cultures.

preserving for it the security presence and the opportunity for Jewish settlement to which Arabs object. Mr. Dayan would be 'selling' moderate Arab West Bankers hardly more than the degree of self-government that Israel may yet decide to give them for free anyway as bait and reward for edging away from the PLO. Just why

any future peace treaty. In a seeming response to this position, the Israeli government issued a Jewish New Year Message which declared that the "problem of Arabs in Eretz Israel (a use of the Biblical name for Palestine) is a direct outcome of aggression launched by Arab states against Israel." Four wars were forced upon

President Carter has in effect boxed himself into an untenable position: He has explicitly stated what kind of peace settlement he thinks desirable — one that includes a 'homeland' for the Palestinians — but, for domestic political reasons, he is unwilling to exert the pressures needed to persuade the disputants, notably Israel, to accept a compromise. . . ."

Concerning the possibility of Arab preparations for war, *The Monitor* expresses the view that, "Israel appears to be giving them every provocation for such an action. In fact, Israel alone is on the diplomatic offensive these days with a 'step-by-step' diplomacy of its own. Prime Minister Menachem Begin knows what he wants and he is proceeding to secure it. In total disregard of what the American President or anyone else thinks, he is permitting Jewish settlement of the West Bank. Israeli

About This Issue

AMEU has not sought an "advocate's role." Material for *The Link* is not chosen for its polemic value. Timely, accurate, relevant articles, which contain information or insights not readily available to rank and file Americans, are selected for their educational or human interest value and are included on that basis.

This issue of *The Link* was held back twice at the printers. The first time was so it could contain the text of the U.N. Resolution in which 130 nations voted to censure Israel for her record of illegal measures in the Occupied Territories, designed to change "the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of those territories."

The second time was to see whether President Sadat's trip to Israel would produce any indication of change in Begin's stated policies or some reason to expect Israel to alter her traditional approach to the borders issue. As this is written, there is no basis to assume that Israel is willing to adopt a conciliatory position or to modify her stand. So far, unfortunately, events have not proven the Brownfeld insights or the Nes thesis to be in error.

Arabs would 'pay' for a result so much at odds with their goals of reclaiming war-lost territory and establishing a Palestinian homeland is unclear."

As the Begin Government presents its policies in greater detail, the gulf between its approach to Middle East problems and that of the Carter Administration appears to grow. Mr. Dayan himself summed up the difference between the U.S. and Israeli governments in two key points:

1. American insistence on Israeli withdrawals to the 1949 armistice borders with only minor adjustments.
2. Giving the Palestinian Arabs the right to self-determination.

This second difference of opinion was made even more clear by the State Department's demand on September 12 that the Palestinians must be involved in the peace-making process, including the Geneva talks, and that they must become a party to

Israel as a result of such an Arab stand, it said.

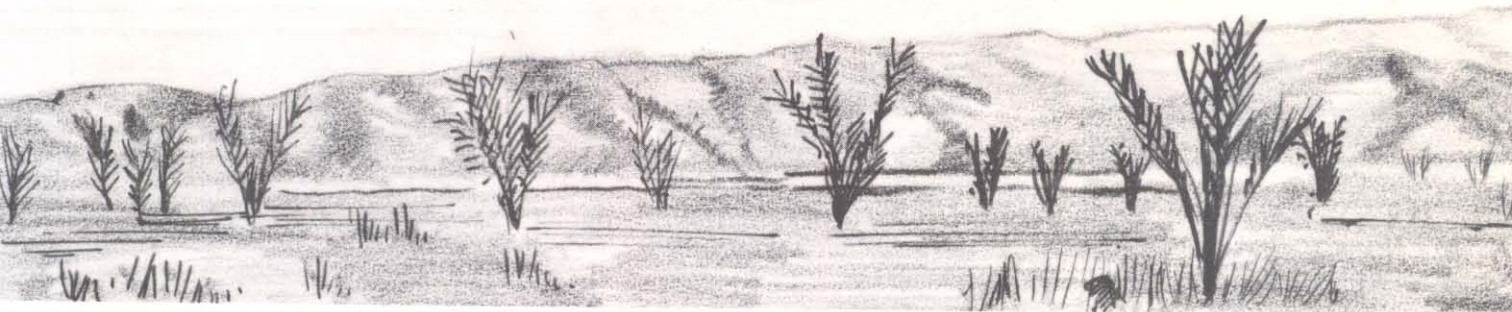
The Foreign Ministry of Israel also referred to "the existence of explicit agreements between the Israeli government and the U.S. administration to the effect that any change in the composition of the parties participating in the Geneva Conference had to be agreed upon by all original participants." The PLO was not one of them.

Some of the editorial comment concerning prospects for a Middle East peace settlement not only challenges Israeli West Bank policies but, in addition, calls for President Carter to place increased pressure upon the Israelis in this and other areas. *The Christian Science Monitor*, for example, carried an editorial in its September 15 issue entitled "Mideast cul-de-sac." *The Monitor* declared that, "Prospects for a peace negotiation in the Middle East appear to be steadily diminishing"



Israeli authorities wrested land for agriculture from Bedouin families, now detained southeast of the Gaza Strip. Milton Taam/LNS

Agricultural Minister Sharon has gone so far as to unveil a sweeping plan for the development of a 400-mile stretch from the Golan Heights in the north to Sharm el Sheikh at the southern end of Sinai The fact is that all past as well as new Jewish settlements set up in the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are unlawful under the 1949 Geneva Conventions, which state that an occupying power shall not transfer its own civilian population into occupied territories. Israel is acting as if these were not occupied lands. Yet, in an obvious contradiction, it is a signatory to U.N. Resolution 242 which calls for Israeli
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Israel's Expanding Borders Threaten Peace

By David G. Nes

The new Begin Government's position on the future of the territories occupied during the June 1967 War and on Palestinian self-determination has quite clearly embarrassed the Carter Administration and compromised its efforts to promote a negotiated Arab-Israeli settlement. That position is, however, entirely consistent with the territorial objectives of the Zionist movement throughout this century.

Since 1967, the basic assumption of four American administrations, of moderate Arabs, as well as many Israeli and American Jews and most U.N. members, was that a settlement could be achieved within the framework of U.N. Resolution 242, which called for Arab acceptance of Israel in return for Israeli withdrawal from unspecified portions of the territories conquered in 1967. More recently, a "homeland" for Palestinians has been added to this prescription for peace.

The bizarre aspect of this "peace consensus" has been the failure of its proponents to read and understand history.

For those conversant with the development of the Zionist movement from Theodor Herzl through the background of the 1917 Balfour Declaration, and especially the memorandum and map submitted by Chaim Weizmann at the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, there has never been any question as to the borders considered essential for an economically viable and militarily defensible Jewish state in the Middle East. While reference is often made to the historical and biblical Jewish

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"Homeland," the area set forth definitively in 1919 embraced all of British Mandated Palestine west of the Jordan River, plus the Lebanese area south of the Litani River to include the headwaters of the Jordan River and Mount Hermon, most of the Syrian Golan Heights and part of the Sinai from El-Arish to the Gulf of Aqaba. All of this is now under Israeli control, excepting southern Lebanon where Israeli military activity has been limited to "search and destroy" operations against Palestinian guerrillas.

The 1919 territorial objectives were reaffirmed during the 1942 "Biltmore Meeting" of the World Zionist Congress, which called for a Jewish "Commonwealth" in all of Palestine.

When, in 1946, the Jewish Agency debated anew the territorial requirements of a Jewish state, the moderates, led by David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann, obtained approval of a "partition" formula, subsequently recommended by the U.N. General Assembly, by assuring such "militants" as Rabbi Abba Silver and Menachem Begin that this was merely an essential first step in achieving eventual control of "historic Israel." The military campaigns of 1948-49 and 1967 fulfilled this objective and more, and are so described in Menachem Begin's highly revealing, *The Revolt*, and by General Yigal Allon in his excellent military history, *The Making of Israel's Army*.

Recorded statements and writings of the current Israeli leadership makes it clear that there has never been any question of military withdrawal from the West Bank, including Jerusalem, from Gaza or from most of the Golan Heights. Only in the Sinai have significant territorial withdrawals been envisaged. The peace plan Foreign Minister Dayan brought to

Washington was entirely consistent with these long-held territorial imperatives. Furthermore, they are shared by two-thirds of Israel's Jewish population, according to a Tel Aviv University survey, and by a growing majority of American Jews as reported by *Time*, September 5.

The key problem inherent in these borders (aside from never being acceptable to the Arabs) is that they would embrace a Palestinian minority of some 1.5 million, or roughly 34 percent of Israel's total population. As Israel journalist Ruth Cales has pointed out, the demographic reality of a Palestinian birthrate almost double that of the Jewish will inevitably lead to a Palestinian majority in another generation or two. The whole Zionist concept of a Jewish state is thereby undermined, and the Jerusalem government will be faced with an increasingly hostile and ever-growing non-Jewish minority. Many Israeli moderates fear that such a development will lead to a situation comparable to Northern Ireland and South Africa and thereby consider the Dayan formula (for greater local autonomy in Arab areas while retaining military control) dangerous and unrealistic. However, hard opposition is not discernible, and there remains a gut-feeling that in one way or another, the Jews have a rightful claim to all of "historic Israel."

The tragedy of Jewish nationalism is that it has flowered in a century of decolonization; its territorial imperatives will never be accepted by the dispossessed Palestinians, by Arab governments, by the world community at large, nor by the U.S. Through Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford and now Carter, Washington has consistently contested Israel's right to colonize the territories conquered in 1967.

Both the Begin Government and the American Jewish leadership, as represented in the Conference of Presidents, are confident that in time the Carter Administration, the Congress and the American people can be persuaded of the "rightness" of their position on both territory and the Palestinians. It is also fully realized that continued American sympathy and support is the vital requirement for Israel's survival as a Jewish state in the Middle East.

Accordingly, Israel, through its official representation and the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, has mounted the most extensive "educational" effort ever conducted by a foreign government in the U.S. This campaign seeks to equate the Arabs with the Nazis; thus, no accommodation is possible. Its success will be measured by the positions Washington takes during the present United Nations General Assembly debates, by editorial comment and by the Congressional attitude towards Israel's 1978 financial and military requests totalling nearly \$3 billion. There is no evidence thus far that support for Israel is waning. Whether or not this support will come to include the Begin position on "borders and the Palestinians" is not yet clear.

What is certain is Israel's intractable position on military coloni-

zation of the West Bank. The Sharon plan, awaiting Cabinet approval, envisages the settlement there of 2 million Jews. As the Agricultural Minister said recently, "Anyone who thinks that this government is going to withdraw from the West Bank, is suffering delusions."

It now appears that the quest for a negotiated Arab-Israeli settlement, with the U.S. as the key mediator, is no longer a realizable objective. President Carter, in a recent interview with Trude Feldman, hinted that efforts to promote a settlement might have to be suspended. This conclusion is entirely acceptable to the Begin Government, which is confident that a continuing "no war, no peace" situation is advantageous in providing time for the consolidation of Israel's territorial imperatives, for fomenting greater disunity among the frustrated Arabs and for a gradual weakening of PLO leadership. It is also hoped that U.S. dependence on Arab oil will decrease, thus eliminating this "conflicting" American interest in the Middle East. At worst, the present "moderate" regimes in the neighboring states of Egypt, Jordan and Syria may, in a continuing stalemate, fall to more radical leadership with a consequent return of Soviet influence in the area. However, so long as overwhelming Israeli military superiority is maintained, this

in itself is not seen as presenting an unacceptable risk.

As Michael Parks has pointed out in the *Baltimore Sun*, the Arabs lack a "credible alternative strategy" to continued American mediation. Were it not for its history of the "unexpected," one could predict an era of "stable disequilibrium" in the Middle East.

Nevertheless, U.S. interests in the area are now so great, in its far-reaching commitments to Israel, its ever-growing dependence on Arab oil, its trade now reaching \$15 billion a year in the area, and its concern with the return of Soviet influence there, that the Carter Administration cannot sit on its hands.

We are therefore, likely to see a continuing minuet — around some formula for bringing the Palestinians to a Geneva Conference, perhaps through an amended U.N. Resolution 242, to identify Israeli borders with Lebanon, Syria and Egypt — which would compromise current positions — and to treat the West Bank as something less than part of a "greater Israel." For those familiar with the historical record, these efforts seem more of an intellectual exercise than an actual step towards true peace in the Middle East. Since none of the parties want war, the "illusion" of movement may be an acceptable alternative for the next year or two.

Vatican Paper Critical of New Israeli Settlements

By John Muthig

VATICAN CITY (NC, October 7, 1977) — In a prominent front-page article, the Vatican daily newspaper said October 7 that Israel's decision to establish new settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan River makes progress in Middle East peace negotiations "impossible."

L'Osservatore Romano's unusually frank appraisal of such a controversial political issue indicated the Vatican's great concern over Israel's plan to construct 12 new settlements in the territories seized from Jordan in 1967.

"The decisions taken by Israel appear to be accomplished facts which put obstacles to efforts being made to advance negotiations for peace in the Middle East," said the paper.

"In substance it is impossible to advance negotiations while initiatives are going on which prejudice a solution."

The paper cited two speeches made by Pope Paul in 1974 and 1975 in which he indicated his concern for the "fate of the Palestinian population" and his desire that the "rights and legitimate aspirations" of the Palestinians be recognized by Israel.

The West Bank has been mentioned in peace proposals as a possible homeland for Palestinian refugees.

"It is clear," said *L'Osservatore*, "that a massive Jewish presence in the occupied territories would make their return to the Arabs unrealizable.

"As regards the West Bank," continued the newspaper, "sending in the Jewish population would uproot plans to construct there a Palestinian homeland to solve the Palestinian problem.

Resolution of the problem of a Palestinian homeland is the "most complex and fundamental knot in the intricate Middle East tangle," it said.

In recent years, the Vatican has moved from its calls to internationalize the city of Jerusalem and has concentrated instead on urging respect of the rights of all communities in Israel.

Violations of Human Rights in the West Bank

Report by a Swiss League for Human Rights observation mission, undertaken June 26 - July 2, 1977

In going to the West Bank, our delegation had no other purpose but to form a concrete idea concerning the situation of the inhabitants of the occupied territories. Therefore, our objective here is not to develop theories or make legalistic or political evaluations, but to re-state, as faithfully as possible, the evidence collected by us and the observations noted.

If the great similarity in the evidence gathered has led to some generalizations on our part, the reader should take note that the present report is no more than an account of facts that have been described and verified.

We have categorically rejected cases of isolated testimony, assertions lacking certainty, developments uncorroborated by actual and verifiable facts, and we have only retained the facts that we ourselves were able to observe, or those concerning which we heard testimony and which we were able to verify by cross-checking the evidence several times.

Thus, we were forced to discard important information which we were not in a position to verify.

If the present report contains practically no names of persons, the reasons are quite obvious and are due to our concern for the safety of our witnesses; nevertheless, our delegation has retained only evidence submitted by persons whose identity was known to it.

We draw the reader's attention to the fact that the present report concerns itself only with the situation affecting human rights in the occupied West Bank, and not with the situation in Israel proper.

We have adopted United Nations terminology insofar as the term

"occupied territories" is concerned, as well as with regard to the appropriate vocabulary used to describe the situation of the Palestinians living in the West Bank.

West Bank Municipalities

Our delegation was able to talk with various municipal officials in the towns of West Jordan; in particular, it was received by the mayor of Jericho, the mayor of Ramallah, the mayor of El-Bira and the deputy mayor of Bethlehem.



Palestinian home in Rafah Refugee Camp, Gaza Strip, marked for demolition. *Milton Taam/LNS*

From these conversations, the following stands out:

1. The authority of the mayors of Arab towns in the West Bank extends only over municipal questions, the real power being in the hands of the Israeli military governor.

2. The municipalities have practically no funds to dispose of,

except for the assistance extended for social ends by various Arab states. Additionally, it should be emphasized that entry into Israel of such funds is extremely difficult, and that substantial sums are lying dormant in Jordanian banks, awaiting the possibility of being transferred to municipalities in the West Bank, if authorization can be obtained from the military authorities.

3. The social infra-structure is largely missing and the municipalities lack the means of acquiring the necessary equipment. To cite an example, the town of Bethlehem (population 35,000) has no fire-fighting vehicles.

4. The mayors are often denied permits to leave the occupied territories, even to respond to invitations from foreign countries or municipalities, or to travel abroad to raise funds for assistance. It is to be noted that the majority of towns in the West Bank are "twinned" with foreign towns and that the occupying authorities prohibit exchanges between the twin localities.

5. The function of mayor or that of municipal councillor does not provide immunity, for those who hold it, against arbitrary arrest, pressure of all sorts or even deportation. The same applies to candidates for office in municipal elections.

6. During the period when the now-occupied territories were under Jordanian sovereignty, the mayor who has inherited ancient traditions exercised the customary power of conciliating or settling family disputes. This judiciary function has been abolished by the occupying power.

Territorial Expansion

From various depositions, as well as on-the-spot observations which we ourselves were able to make directly,

it is evident that expropriation of numerous houses or of land owned by Arabs is a current practice in the West Bank, and is of such magnitude as to lead one to think that the underlying motive is a political one, that is confiscation, pure and simple, of the occupied territories by the Israeli authorities.

The following examples may be cited:

1. An inhabitant from Bethany found himself notified by official letter of the expropriation of his land against indemnification. No useful public service was cited as the reason for the act of expropriation. He was left with no choice but to either accept it, and to risk being regarded as a traitor in the eyes of his compatriots, or to refuse it as more and more Palestinians are doing.

2. For over three months, the village of Deir Abu Mishal, the geographic location of which is strategically important, has been the target of violent incursions by Israeli troops, who shoot automatic rifles into the air and break windows and doors. The terrorized inhabitants, who seek refuge on the rooftops are unable to sleep at night and are forced to rest a few hours during the day, which puts them in a state wherein they are unable to pursue their daily chores. The obvious objective of this operation is to coerce the inhabitants into evacuating the village, or to justify using force to evict them should they react violently to the nocturnal raids by the Israeli troops.

3. A neighborhood of Arab houses, situated between Jericho and the Jordan River, was occupied by the Israeli Army in 1967, and again in 1973. During the latter occupation, the Israeli Army totally destroyed the interior of the houses, even carrying off the furniture, leaving nothing in place except walls and roofs. All the inhabitants have departed, fearing a renewed occupation.

4. In the proximity of the town of Ramallah, the Army has taken over a hill which abuts the water reservoir belonging to the town of El-Bira.

5. Starting at Bethlehem Hill, the view of the Old City of Jerusalem, encircled following expropriation by buildings constructed for Jews only, is indicative of the determination of the Jewish State to retain the West Bank.

6. Near Hebron we visited the town of Qiryat Arba, which is a typical

example of the Jewish settlements established in the West Bank.

7. Several persons confirmed to us, by citing precise cases, that not only have lands and houses been confiscated, but many houses in the occupied territories, owned by people who have been arrested or who were suspected of sympathizing with Palestinian organizations, have been demolished since 1968.

The various facts cited above, as well as observations made by the United Nations, attest to the State of



Israeli patrol in Nablus enforces curfew on May 15, 1977, annual Palestinian protest day and birthdate of Israeli state. *Milton Taam/LNS*

Israel's determination to appropriate or annex the occupied territories.

In particular, the objective of the expropriation, the confiscation and the demolition of houses is to coerce the inhabitants into leaving the West Bank.

Prisons

In light of the numerous depositions gathered by our delegation, it is in a position to affirm the following with regard to detention of Palestinian prisoners:

1. In extremely frequent cases, the crowded conditions in prisons reach dramatic proportions; detainees are so crammed together that, for lack of space, they cannot stretch on the floor to sleep. As an example, Ramallah Prison houses 200 inmates, of whom 10 percent may be described as common law prisoners, although its capacity does not exceed 40 inmates.

2. Several detainees have been driven to insanity under the effect of torture practiced on them before or after their trials.

3. Arrested persons are not allowed

to be in touch, either with their families or their lawyers, so long as their interrogators remain unsatisfied with the statements obtained from them. We encountered families that remained for weeks ignorant of the whereabouts of some of their members.

4. Serious discrimination exists between Jewish and Palestinian detainees. For example, in Beersheba Prison: Jews have beds while the Arabs must sleep on the bare floor; Jews receive 4 visitors a month, while

the Arabs receive only 1; Jews may use 10 blankets, while the Arabs can only use 5 or 6, particularly during the rigorous winter months.

5. Medical and dental care are almost non-existent, or often too late, because a detained person must inscribe his name in a list for a visit, and then await his turn to see the doctor or dentist — usually several days later, or even weeks.

6. Imprisoned children and students have no possibility of pursuing their studies in prison. However, the families can, in the meantime and as a general rule, send them books through the sole intermediary of the Red Cross.

7. We gathered a great deal of evidence on cases of detention lasting several months, without interrogation, a trial or sentence.

Military Trials

On June 29, 1977, one of us — Me. Moutinot — was accorded the opportunity of witnessing the trial of four Arab youths before a military court which met at Lod.

The facts, acknowledged by all, were as follows: four young Arabs, aged 16 to 17, had prepared six bottles filled with gasoline, which they had intended to hurl at the Jews. In fact, they only threw two bottles, which caused minor wounds to two Arabs.

The charges against the defendants, according to the 1945 Emergency Defense Act promulgated by the British, were:

1. Military training: punishable by a seven-year prison sentence.
2. Preparation of explosive devices: punishable by a life sentence or death.
3. Transporting explosive devices: punishable by a life sentence or death.
4. Hurling explosive devices: punishable by a life sentence or death.

The court was composed of three judges, of whom one only had had a

translated for the benefit of the defendants, from Hebrew into Arabic. The proceedings were conducted entirely in Hebrew.

The dossier, which was a very thin one, contained mainly the confessions of the defendants, in Hebrew, a language which the said defendants neither speak nor understand.

The language of the document reflects the foregoing: phrases such as "I am a terrorist" are put into the mouth of a defendant who would never have used such terms, but rather would have said something like "I am a fighter for the liberation of Palestine."

The personal dossier is almost non-existent, except for a brief *curriculum vitae*.

The defendants were interrogated by the court. The only witnesses were

bottles were not explosive, but rather incendiary devices; she insisted that the four charges against the defendants sprang from one and the same act.

The session was adjourned at 12:15 p.m. for lunch and for deliberation by the court.

It returned at 14:15 and the four defendants were pronounced guilty of all the charges, the verdict being as follows:

1. One of the defendants was sentenced to a 6-year prison term of which 2 were suspended.
2. Two of the defendants were sentenced to 5 years of which 2 and a half were suspended.
3. The last defendant was sentenced to 2 years of which one was suspended.

It is noteworthy that there is no penitentiary in Israel for youthful offenders, at least insofar as Arabs are concerned, and during their period of detention, all the defendants had been raped by their co-detainees.

Preliminary Inquiry

The defendants were apprehended on April 3 and 4. Three of them were arrested in school. All were beaten and brutalized by interrogators from the security forces.

It is relevant to state that the inquiry is conducted entirely by the police without any legal supervision, or the right of resort to legal aid.

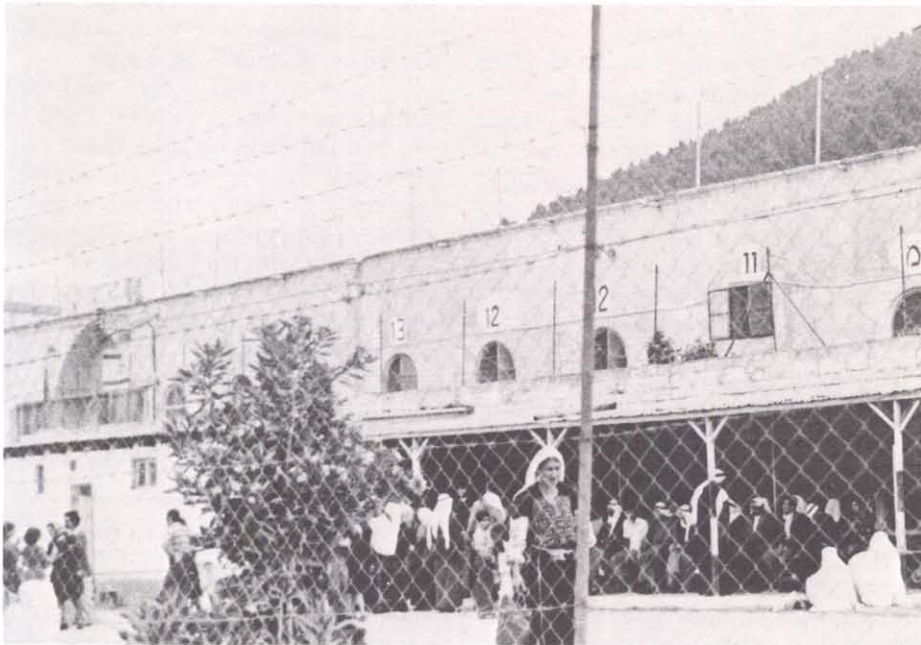
The attorney may not see his client except after he has confessed, which happened in this case, on April 17, 1977, approximately two weeks after the arrest.

It would be pertinent to point out that the 1947 Emergency Defense Act was passed by Great Britain during its struggle against the Jews, who at that time described it as "Nazi-like, inhumane and contradicts all human rights," and that currently they are enforcing this same law against the Palestinians.

Torture

We have gathered concurrent testimony from former prisoners, attorneys, prisoners' families and from members of municipal authorities, attesting to the fact that the use of torture in the West Bank is a systematic practice.

Following is a list of the different forms of torture practiced on persons



Palestinians visit family members in Nablus prison. Milton Taam/LNS

legal education; two of the judges were lieutenants and one a major.

Proceedings at the Trial

At 9:50 a.m., the four defendants were brought into the hall handcuffed to each other. The handcuffs were removed as soon as they were seated in the dock.

The trial took place inside a military camp. Thirty seats, allotted to the public, were practically all occupied by relatives of the defendants.

About a dozen armed soldiers from the military police stood guard inside the hall.

A military interpreter sporadically

the security agent, who had taken down their confessions and who affirmed that the defendants made the statements which he had recorded of their own free will, in addition to the father and uncle of each of the defendants, who testified as to the good character of the youths.

In an indictment lasting five minutes, the prosecution called for "a severe penalty." The defense, undertaken by Me. Lea Tsemel, pleaded for 30 minutes, asking for the indulgence of the court in view of the youth of the defendants. The defense introduced the expert opinion of a chemist who demonstrated that the

previously apprehended by the occupying authorities. It is not an exhaustive one, and includes only the forms described to us as the most common.

Locations Where Torture Takes Place

1. Sarafand (near Tel-Aviv)
2. Hebron
3. The Russian Compound (near Jerusalem)

It appears that if torture is a common practice, these three locations are, sad to say, famous as centers that specialize in the use of torture, as we were told by numerous prisoners.

Forms of Torture

1. Burning by applying lighted cigarette butts to any part of the body.
2. Using irritants (powders or sprays), which cause itching or sharpen the pain brought on by other forms of torture.
3. Beatings by sticks, canes or bludgeons.
4. Electric shocks applied to all parts of the body, especially and particularly to sensitive parts (ears, genitals).
5. Forcing bottles or other objects up the rectum or the vagina.
6. Pulling finger nails.
7. A form of torture known as "the water drop," which consists of causing a drop of water to fall at regular intervals, and for hours on end, over an individual who cannot escape it. This form of torture frequently leads to insanity.
8. Exposing an individual, in the nude, to full sunlight for hours on end.
9. The so-called "balance" torture, which consists of balancing an individual for hours on end, either by strapping him to a swing or by suspending him.
10. The so-called "tiger cage," which consists of locking the individual inside a cage too small for standing up or for stretching, so that he is forced to crouch. The floor of the cage may be encrusted with sharp spikes.
11. Depriving an individual of sleep for several days.
12. Suspending by the feet or hands.
13. Plunging an individual in an icy bath, then plunging him in a boiling one, and repeating the process.
14. Locking the individual inside a

place with wild dogs and cats.

15. Prolonged and systematic use of lacrimatory agents.

16. Forcing an individual to lap his food directly off the floor.

These forms of torture are used mostly to obtain confessions from the apprehended person, and they continue for as long as necessary until the desired statement is obtained. Equally, these forms of torture may be practiced with the simple purpose of breaking the tortured person both physically and morally.

It is relevant to note, as the above demonstrates, that when conditions during detention are particularly bad, they tend to be the equivalent of torture.

Restrictions on Movement

West Bank inhabitants cannot move freely from place to place. The following situation prevails:

1. Even within the West Bank itself restrictions on movement can be found, either through forced residence inside a given area or, in a more general way, by making moving to another place subject to authorization.
2. Several persons, especially mayors of Arab towns, complained to us that they were denied permits allowing them to travel abroad, even if such travel was to be undertaken in response to an invitation from abroad.
3. It can happen also that certain persons may receive permits to leave the country, along with an interdiction prohibiting them from returning to the West Bank.
4. We were even apprised of cases where certain persons were escorted to the frontier, without hope of return; in particular, two Arab doctors were arrested and taken during the night to southern Lebanon by helicopter.
5. Travel between Jordan and Israel via the Allenby Bridge has been made difficult by the very fact that travelers must pay a high tax.
6. This measure hinders families separated by the frontier from seeing each other often enough, if they happen to lack the necessary financial means.
7. Visits abroad are encouraged if the person does not wish to return to the West Bank, but they are prohibited if the voyage is simply a round trip. This latter policy favors emigration by prohibiting contacts with the outside. We are aware of the case of a young student who obtained

a permit to travel to the United States. To return to his homeland, he was required to make the trip back within a year, something he was unable to do. He was not allowed to rejoin his family.

Conclusion

Our inquiry leads one to the conclusion that the occupation of the West Bank has brought about repeated violation of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

1. The numerous arbitrary arrests, prolonged cases of detention without legal supervision, and the deportations are flagrant violations of the provisions of *Article 3* of the Declaration.

2. Cases of enforced residence, serious restrictions on border crossing, and prohibiting certain Palestinians from returning are all violations of the provisions of *Article 13*, which guarantees the right of free movement and of free choice of residence and which stipulate in particular that "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

3. The numerous violations of property rights, such as arbitrary expropriation, the prohibiting of construction, and the demolition of buildings are inconsistent with the provisions of *Article 17* of the Declaration, which guarantees the right to property and stipulates that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property."

4. Torture is commonly and systematically practiced, in contradiction of the principles of law, and in particular *Article 5* of the Universal Declaration.

5. The flagrant inequalities between Jews and Arabs in the West Bank are in contravention of *Article 2, Paragraph 2*, which stipulates that "no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty."

Finally, our delgation cannot but feel concern with respect to the right to a nationality, cited in *Article 15* of the Declaration. In effect, the very state of an occupied territory results in the denial of a nationality to its inhabitant.

The Sealing Up of an Arab Home



Felicia Langer holds the youngest member of the homeless El-Hudur family.

*Report delivered in Tel-Aviv in
October by Advocate Felicia Langer*

On September 30, 1977, Abd-elAssali and myself, accompanied by journalist Raimonda Tawil from Ramallah, visited the village Biddu in the Ramallah Region (occupied West Bank). The purpose of our visit was to look at the sealed-up house of the El-Hudur family. The family consists of six children, the youngest being one year old and the oldest, a boy of 8. Their mother is in her eight month of pregnancy.

I am serving as attorney to the family's father, Harbi, who has been arrested and detained, since the hold-up at the "Russian Compound" in Jerusalem, under the suspicion of "hostile activity," as claimed by the occupation authorities. So far no indictment whatsoever has been presented against him. (He was arrested on 23.7.1977.)

When we arrived at the place, after a hard journey over an unpaved and hilly road and a narrow path to the house, the following scene unfolded before our eyes: A small pink-colored house, with all the windows and the door sealed up by concrete fillings. Even the little room at the ground floor, looking like a small storeroom,

used by the family as a kitchen, was sealed up. Moreover, the well in the yard, the sole source of water for the whole family, was also sealed up by concrete. On the face of the well, as well as on the sealed windows, the soldiers had painted the Star of David (the symbol in the Israeli flag) and the date of the sealing — September 18, 1977.

Harbi's wife, Nashte, told us, that on that day, without any previous announcement, an Israeli officer whom she did not know, arrived at her home. Only later did she discover that this officer was the military governor himself. He ordered her and her children to evacuate the house within a half hour and to take with them all their belongings; otherwise everything would be destroyed. The woman, who was sick that day, fainted on the spot when she heard the order. After recovering and realizing the problem facing her family, she asked for mercy from the officer, the Israeli army, and even the mercy of Prime Minister Menachem Begin. She presented her six small children and pleaded that neither they, nor she herself, were involved in anything against the authorities, although those who detained her husband were free to judge him to their liking. She appealed to the officer's conscience,

pleading that he probably had children of his own, and therefore, could not possibly look on while her children became homeless. The officer did not respond at all. When she announced that she would rather die than move from her home, the officer turned to the village mukhtar who had accompanied him, and ordered him to bring men from the village. After they arrived, he ordered them to remove the women, her children, and their belongings, from the house by force and without delay. This was done. When the one-year-old boy was brought out into the burning sunshine, the woman again pleaded with the bystanding soldiers and asked for mercy, but to no avail. After that, several dozen soldiers — some working, others guarding with pointed guns — pulled out window sills from their sockets, sealed up windows and doors, and then the well.

The woman and her children found shelter in a nearby dark pit, where the day's light does not reach them. They suffer intolerably from thirst, since bringing water to that place is very difficult because of the unpaved road and the winding, steep path. The children want to drink and to wash themselves. When we arrived at the spot, one of them asked us to give him some water.

Sometime before I saw the sealed-up house, the woman came to see me and told me of her plight. I sent a letter to the military governor of the Yehuda-and-Samaria district (the official name given to the occupied West Bank by the Israeli authorities) protesting the inhuman deed and demanding that the house and the well should be opened immediately, so as to put an end to the unbearable sufferings of that innocent family, which have become the victims of collective punishment, contradicting elementary principles of justice.

I intend to appeal to the High Court of Justice against this injustice. I shall turn to public opinion in Israel and the world in order to reveal this case of brutality, alien to human feelings and representing a severe breach of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

I very much hope that everybody with conscientious feelings will lend his hand in order to save human dignity and the right of people in their homeland to have a roof top over their heads.

United Nations General Assembly Censures Israel

32nd Session, Agenda Item 126

Recent Illegal Israeli Measures In The Occupied Arab Territories Designed To Change The Legal Status, Geographical Nature And Demographic Composition Of Those Territories In Contravention Of The Principles Of The Charter Of The United Nations, Of Israel's International Obligations Under The Fourth Geneva Convention Of 1949 And Of United Nations Resolutions, And Obstruction Of Efforts Aimed At Achieving A Just And Lasting Peace In The Middle East.

The General Assembly,

Stressing the urgent need to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

Expressing grave anxiety and concern over the present serious situation in the occupied Arab territories as a result of the continued Israeli occupation and the measures and actions taken by the Government of Israel as the occupying Power and designed to change the legal status, geographical nature and demographic composition of those territories,

Considering that the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,¹ is applicable to all the Arab territories occupied since 5 June 1967,

1. *Determines* that all such measures and actions taken by Israel in the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967 have no legal validity and constitute a serious obstruction of efforts aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

2. *Strongly deplores* the persistence of Israel in carrying out such measures, in particular the establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories;

3. *Calls upon* Israel to comply strictly with its international obligations in accordance with the principles of international law and the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949;

4. *Calls once more upon* the Government of Israel as the occupying Power to desist forthwith from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status, geographical nature or demographic composition of the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem;

5. *Urges* all States parties to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War to ensure respect for and compliance with its provisions in all the Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General:

(a) To undertake urgent contacts with the Government of Israel to ensure the prompt implementation of the present resolution;

(b) To submit a report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, not later than 31 December 1977, on the results of his contacts;

7. *Requests* the Security Council to review the situation in the light of the present resolution and of the report of the Secretary-General.

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 287.

Resolution Vote

130 for 1 against 8 abstained

Belgium Speaks for European Community

Mr. President: The question which is presently being examined is not new to the International Community. It was already examined several times within the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has taken on a new meaning, however, because of the attitude of the new Israeli Government regarding settlements in the occupied territories.

This attitude comes at a time when delicate efforts are being undertaken to achieve a renewed peacemaking process.

The Nine [Member States of the European Community] take advantage of this present debate, requested by Egypt, to specify their views on this subject.

On many occasions, the Nine have

U.S. Explains Position on Resolution

Mr. Young: The issue under consideration by this Assembly has been a matter of deep concern to my Government since 1967. The representatives of the United States have, on many occasions in the United Nations and elsewhere, stated our position in regard to Israeli civilian settlements in the territories occupied in 1967.

There are two elements in our position. First, we are opposed to

Canada Makes Resolution Statement

Miss Campbell: Canada's position on the establishment of settlements in the occupied territories is very clear. It was set forth at the time we voted to support a resolution very similar to this one at last year's General

clearly reiterated their basic conviction that the Fourth Geneva Convention concerning the protection of civilians in wartime, applies to all territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem.

The Nine have also stated that they consider to be illegal, all unilateral measures violating the physical and demographic status of the occupied territories. It follows that, in this opinion, the establishment of settlements is contrary to the norms of international law. The Nine recall that they voted in favour of several resolutions of the General Assembly to this effect.

The Nine are all the more concerned about these measures, that, in their opinion, one of the essential elements in a negotiated settlement between parties to the conflict is the necessity for Israel to put an end to its territorial occupation, which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967. The policy of settlements in occupied territory is such that it would clearly

those settlements because they could be perceived as prejudging the outcome of negotiations to deal with the territorial aspects of final peace treaties. The settlements thus inevitably complicate the already difficult process of negotiation.

Secondly, we believe that Israeli civilian settlements in occupied territories are inconsistent with international law as defined in the Fourth Geneva Convention. In March 1976 my predecessor, Ambassador Scranton, speaking to the Security Council, described the United States position as follows:

“... my Government believes that international law sets the appropriate standards. An occupier

Assembly, and our Secretary of State for External Affairs re-emphasized in the general debate this year our concern about Israeli settlements policy and its implications for prospects of an early resumption of constructive negotiations for peace. Our position has not changed; we continue to oppose the establishment of settlements in occupied territories, principally because we believe that it will make more difficult the realization of a negotiated solution in conformity with the framework

complicate the negotiating process.

Whatever the justifications put forward, such practices rightly cause apprehension among parties concerned.

They also aggravate tensions in the area. It is for those reasons that the Nine informed the Israeli authorities of their concern in view of the recent illegal measures of the Government of Israel.

They regret that, in spite of all these considerations and repeated appeals of numerous countries which have been committed to the existence and security of Israel since its creation, Israel pursues its policy of establishing settlements in occupied territory.

The Nine wish to confirm here that they remain firmly committed to the security of Israel. They consider that to be one of the essential elements in an overall agreement. But this security can only properly be guaranteed in the framework of an agreement which takes into consideration the rights of

must maintain the occupied areas as intact and unaltered as possible, without interfering with the customary life of the area, and any changes must be necessitated by the immediate needs of the occupation and be consistent with international law. The Fourth Geneva Convention speaks directly to the issue of population transfer in article 49: The occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.’

“Clearly, then, substantial resettlement of the Israeli civilian population in occupied territories, including East Jerusalem, is illegal under the Convention and cannot be considered to have prejudged

established by Security Council Resolution 242 (1967).

We do have certain reservations about the last two operative paragraphs of this resolution, although the fact that the text now calls for the Secretary-General to report in December rather than next month certainly represents an improvement. We still wonder, however, whether the Security Council will be able to contribute to our common efforts for peace by considering this single aspect of the

all parties concerned. In prejudging future overall negotiations, every unilateral initiative could eventually harm Israel’s security.

For all these reasons, the Nine will vote in favour of the draft resolution which has been submitted to us. They wish to specify that in their view the expression “Palestinian territories” in the first operative paragraph, has a purely geographical connotation in the present context.

We are living through moments of crucial importance for the Middle East. For the first time in many years, there is a real chance of ending a long period of hostility between Israel and all its Arab neighbours, hostility which has threatened international peace for thirty years.

We cannot afford to let this opportunity go by. Together with the entire International Community, we express the hope that nothing may be undertaken which might hamper the efforts currently underway to achieve conciliation and peace.

the outcome of future negotiations between the parties on the location of the borders of States of the Middle East.”

I have stated our position in the clearest possible terms. The resolution before us today is consistent in most respects with the position of the United States. However, the United States has accepted a special responsibility as Co-Chairman of the Geneva Middle East Peace Conference. That responsibility requires that we remain impartial and stand apart in any effort of this sort which could be understood as involving the complex issues which will be considered at Geneva. Thus, we have abstained on this resolution.

Middle East problem in public debate at a time when we hope that preparations for a new Geneva conference will be nearing completion. It is on the prospect of these negotiations that we believe our attention should be focused.

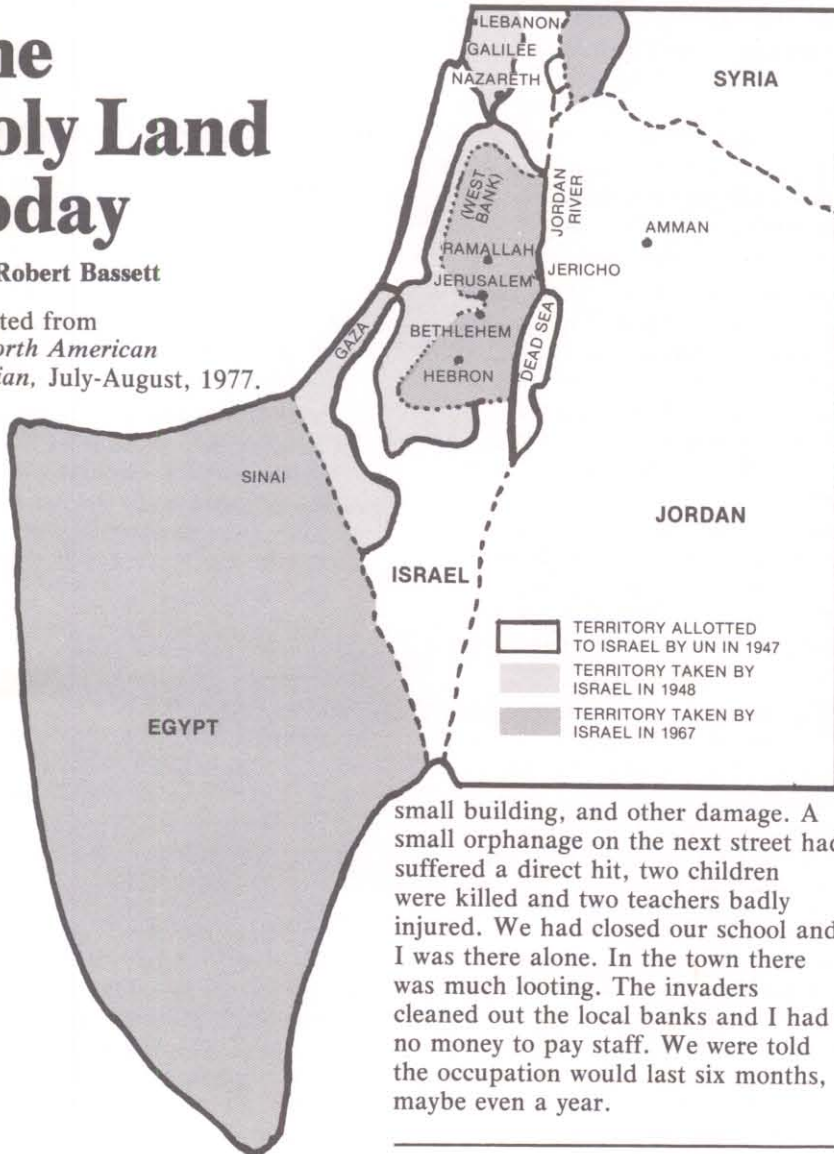
Despite this reservation, the resolution is consistent with Canadian policy on settlements in the occupied territories and we have therefore voted for it.

Ten years ago I was in Ramallah, Jordan, when Israel attacked and invaded Jordan, Egypt and Syria. That was the "June War" and it ended in a few days with Israel's occupation of the West Bank, the Golan Heights, Gaza and the Sinai. Ramallah is ten miles north of Jerusalem; the Moravian Leper Home is nearby. In my stone house at Friends Boys School, of which I was principal, I felt oddly safe even while Israeli shells volleyed and thundered, spraying shrapnel into the house, shattering most of the windows, and battering my eardrums. Afterward I counted twenty-five craters on the campus amidst splintered trees, a crippled station wagon, a demolished

The Holy Land Today

By T. Robert Bassett

Reprinted from
The North American Moravian, July-August, 1977.



small building, and other damage. A small orphanage on the next street had suffered a direct hit, two children were killed and two teachers badly injured. We had closed our school and I was there alone. In the town there was much looting. The invaders cleaned out the local banks and I had no money to pay staff. We were told the occupation would last six months, maybe even a year.

The Rev. T. Robert Bassett is a former Moravian pastor and educator. His personal comments and views are drawn from many years spent in Ramallah and Beirut.

It's been ten years now and the future is still clouded. One thing, however, stands out with stark clarity: If some resolution of the stalemate is not soon reached—specifically, if the Israelis don't withdraw from the occupied territories—another war will break out, "raising the specter of United States involvement, the likelihood of an oil cutoff, and the threat of a Soviet confrontation." (Richard Nolte, former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt.)

It is this grim prospect that makes our understanding of the Arab-Israeli problem urgent, for as Christian-Americans we not only have a stake in the outcome, but may well hold the key to it in our hands. Understanding is not easy to come by, given media distortion (however innocent) of the issues, and essential facts little known and less publicized. As a result, misconceptions abound. Here are a few, compressed by limitations of space.

Myth: That God's promises to Abraham (e.g., Genesis 12:7 — "Unto thy seed will I give this land") justify Zionist claims to the whole of Palestine today.

Fact: The promises encompassed all descendants of Abraham including Ishmael, the father of the Arabs and the oldest son of Abraham by his second wife, Egyptian-born Hagar.

Myth: That Jewish occupation of Palestine in ancient times gives Israel the right to occupy the Bible lands today.

Fact: Palestine never was an exclusively Jewish state. The Philistines, for example, whence the name "Palestine," occupied the coastal area, which was never part of a Jewish kingdom. Moreover, the kingdom that did exist was set upon a land "with great and goodly cities, which you did not build, and houses full of all good things, which you did not fill, the cisterns hewn out, which you did not hew, and vineyards and olive trees, which you did not plant" (Deuteronomy 6:10-11). This also describes Israel's occupation of Palestine today. Its "right" to do so is only the "right" of conquest.

Myth: That Israel is the Holy Land.

Fact: Except for Nazareth and Galilee, virtually all "holy places" are not in Israel but in the occupied West Bank. Thus references by Israel's tourism office to Bethlehem, the

Mount of Olives, Jericho, and Jacob's Well, for instance, as "in Israel" are deceptive advertising aimed at the lucrative tourist trade.

Myth: That any criticism of Israel or Zionism is a form of anti-Semitism.

Fact: There are many anti-Zionist Jews and Jewish critics of Israel both inside and outside of Israel. They can hardly be called anti-Semitic. Well-meaning people who cautiously avoid saying anything not laudatory of Israel for fear of being tagged as anti-Semitic are easy prey to propaganda equating Israeli political interests with Jewish religious and ethnic interests.

Myth: That Arabs hate Jews.

Fact: Jews and Arabs are racially

Another: a shopkeeper who was waiting on me ran out to the sidewalk to embrace a former (Jewish) customer passing his shop. The third, an Arab banker went with me to see an old (Jewish) banker friend of his in the Israeli section of Jerusalem to help me get some money for my school needs. What the Arabs hate is not Jews but injustice — from any source.

Myth: That Palestinians are better off under the Israeli occupation than they were before and regard Israeli rule as "benevolent."

Fact: At first most Palestinians who remained (500,000 fled in fear) kept quiet and were therefore described as satisfied. Those who did not keep quiet were deported or im-

Myth: That the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) does not truly represent the Palestinian people or have their support.

Fact: Polls, statements by leading mayors in the West Bank—and the Arab mayor of Nazareth in Israel—and much other evidence prove the opposite.

Myth: That continued occupation is essential to Israel's security.

Fact: In modern warfare, security cannot be measured in geographical terms. The occupation must therefore have other aims, such as the tourist dollar. Meanwhile, Arabs ask, "What about *our* security?"

Myth: That Israel wants peace but the Arabs refuse to negotiate.

Fact: On the contrary, it is the Arabs who are asking for peace talks and offering concessions while Israel says no. If Israel wants peace, its policy of erecting eighty-odd Jewish settlements in Arab territory, a flagrant breach of international pacts such as the Fourth Geneva Convention, to which Israel is a signatory, is hardly an indication of its desire. No one thinks for a moment that a peace agreement is possible without Israeli withdrawal from the occupied areas. The Israelis know this and they are not likely to be setting up housing for the future use of Arabs. Thus the settlements must represent deliberate territorial annexation—and a rejection of peace.

Myth: That peace cannot be imposed by outside powers.

Fact: Israel was created in the first place by the United Nations, which imposed it upon the unconsulted indigenous population. By the same token, peace can be imposed now. The alternative is more and bloodier fighting. If the current American insistence upon morality and human rights in the conduct of world affairs were to be applied with equal justice to all in the Middle East, the basic problem could be settled overnight. Since Israel is almost completely dependent on the United States for its existence, past and continued, the President has only to say the word, and Israel must comply. In short, peace in the Middle East lies in President Carter's lap. But he must have the backing of informed citizens, and the Christian community, if it has the understanding and the will, can do much to provide that support.

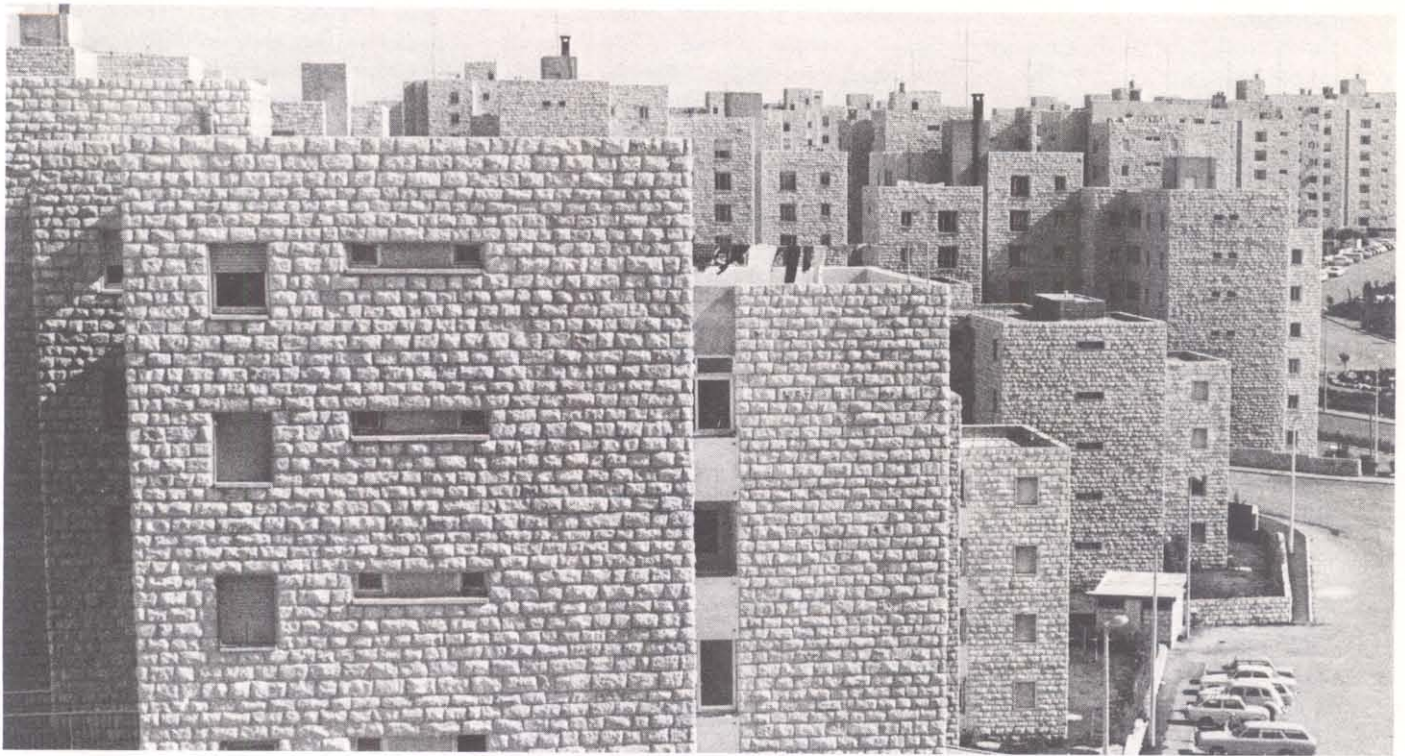


A rooftop view of Jerusalem centers on the Dome of the Rock Mosque, one of many holy places in the holy city. UNRWA

related. In June 1967, after the war when Israelis flooded into Ramallah to buy products not available in Israel — and to see people and places shut off from them for nineteen years — I stopped to chat with some of my students passing in the throng on the sidewalk. I asked them if they could tell Jews from Arabs. They said, "We can't tell. Anyway, we're all cousins." I personally witnessed three moving scenes of Arab-Jew reunion (there must have been thousands more). One, a teacher of Arabic in my school was visited at his home by a former student, a Jew then teaching Arabic in Israel. How they hugged each other, tears streaming down their cheeks!

prisoned—without charges or trial. At least 1500 West Bank people have been deported—mayors (one the mayor of Ramallah, whom I knew as a man of integrity and refinement), teachers, doctors, businessmen, college presidents (such as the head of Bir Zeit University)—and 14,000 imprisoned. Israelis themselves are now saying, "The quiet Palestinians are beginning to revolt."

The Palestinians are saying, "We are not going to keep quiet: we are fed up with the occupation." Demonstrations, general strikes, and riots are so frequent and large-scale as to leave no doubt about the Palestinians' real feelings.



The French Hill housing project is one of many newly-built Israeli settlements, which surround Jerusalem and which will house 35,000 people. *Milton Taam/LNS*

continued from page 2,

withdrawal from territories 'occupied' in the 1967 war"

All of this has produced increasing discussion, in the press and in Washington, about the role being played by Israel's American friends, what is more and more being called Washington's "Israeli lobby."

In a front-page article concerning the "Israeli lobby" in its issue of July 5, *The Wall Street Journal* stated that, "It may well be the most effective of the many pressure groups in Washington — variously admired and feared. It zealously guards Israeli interests against the vicissitudes of U.S. Presidents and legislators whose perceptions don't always square with those of Jerusalem or of the influential American Jewish community. Its main goal is to get the maximum possible political, economic, and military support for Israel."

The *Journal's* correspondent, Robert Keatley, declared that, "Critics contend that it sometimes undermines broader U.S. goals by its fervent backing of one side in the long-running Middle East dispute and thus hinders the cause of peace. There are also complaints that the lobby's tactics can be abrasive, eroding sympathy for the Israeli cause."

The current goal of the "Israeli lobby," Mr. Keatley writes, "is to convince the White House, Congress

and the U.S. public that neither Mr. Begin nor his policies are really outlandish and that he is a moderate man with broad support at home. Although he once led a violent urban guerrilla force, Israel's friends insist that Mr. Begin isn't a bomb-thrower who will sabotage peace efforts."

Mr. Keatley notes, in addition, that, "The pro-Israel operatives here (in Washington) are working closely with the new government in Israel" and reports that, "Several congressional sources contend that opposition to a particular pro-Israeli measure, such as a plan to send deadly concussion bombs to the Jerusalem government, can bring suggestions that the opponents are secretly anti-Semitic. Several legislators and staffers strongly resent such suggestions. 'That's the pervasive fear they strike in the hearts of members up here,' one Capitol Hill aide says. 'If you're in opposition, you get a big white paintbrush that says you're anti-Semitic.'"

Rep. David Obey (D-Wisconsin) said, in this connection, that "If you question their programs, they say you are their enemies and against them I defend Israel but not irrational policies that will lead to war for both of us."

A new element in the equation is that there is significant evidence that

the so-called "Israeli lobby" does not, by any means, speak for a majority of Americans of the Jewish faith. This has been made clear by the emergence of groups such as Breira, as well as by the many criticisms of Mr. Begin and his approach which have come from Jewish spokesmen. Writing in *Commentary*, the journal of the American Jewish Committee, Joseph Shattan notes that, "the once solid front of American Jewry is beginning to show serious signs of a split. If the economic and geopolitical interests of the U.S. in the Middle East and the interests of Israel should diverge further, that split may become more pronounced."

The fact is that, although Zionist groups seek to present a picture of American Jews as united in support of the Begin Government, such unity is less real than at any time since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. The idea of Jewish unity on the question of either Israel's creation or its policies has always been an illusion. That illusion is greater today than ever before and precisely because this is the case, the proponents of such unity are more vocal than ever before in proclaiming it.

The United States and Israel are now on a collision course over Middle East policy. Writing in *The New York Times* during Secretary of State

Vance's August trip to the Middle East, Bernard Gwertzman stated that, "from conversations with members of the Vance party, it seems evident that they believe that the Israelis are the ones who need to show more flexibility. . . . On this trip, Mr. Vance said he had found greater willingness on the part of the Arabs to have a 'real peace' with Israel."

When President Carter was asked in an August *Time Magazine* interview what he would do if the Israelis would still not budge, he replied, "I would try to marshal the support of the leader, first of all. Secondly, the opinion of his people back home, the constituency that might exist in our country that would have influence around the world, opinion that exists in the European community, and in the Arab nations as well."

Clearly, Israel and the U.S. are today at odds on the major points at issue in the Middle East.

Concerning territory, the U.S. has called upon Israel to return all but minor parts of the Arab territory it captured in 1967 as part of a peace agreement. Israel has thus far refused and has, in addition, begun to initiate settlements in the areas in question.

Concerning the Palestinians, the

U.S. wants to see them drawn into the negotiating process and eventually settled in some kind of homeland. Israel thus far rejects both proposals.

With regard to the West Bank settlements, Israel has established more than 70 settlements in the occupied territories. President Carter has not hesitated to call them "illegal" and "an unnecessary obstacle for peace."

In the case of Jerusalem, the U.S. has never recognized Israel's formal annexation of the former Jordanian sector and the surrounding Arab villages.

Terence Smith, writing in *The New York Times*, noted that, "the leaders of the two countries have sharply different interpretations of the shifting moods in the Middle East. President Carter believes the Arab states are now willing to reach an agreement with Israel. Prime Minister Begin clearly does not. Mr. Carter believes that the time is ripe for bold attempts at peace, Mr. Begin does not. Mr. Carter believes time is working against Israel. Mr. Begin does not."

Whether a major confrontation between Israel and the U.S. lies ahead is difficult to say. What the Arab states do will have some effect upon this. If they appear willing to

recognize the legitimacy of Israel if Israel withdraws from the occupied territories, their good will is certain to have an effect upon American attitudes. If, on the other hand, the Arab moderates are overruled by radicals and no acceptance of Israel, even if it does withdraw, is forthcoming, the Begin Government will be viewed as one which understood the Arab mood better than did Mr. Carter.

It is clear, however, that the insistence of Mr. Begin upon building settlements in the occupied territories, thereby making less likely the return of such territories as part of a future peace agreement, is viewed with almost total disfavor in Washington, in the American press, and among substantial numbers of American Jewish friends of Israel. Whether Mr. Begin can afford the enmity of traditional supporters of Israel in all three of these groups is difficult to say. Perhaps for the first time since the state's creation in 1948, however, it is now Israel which is perceived by an increasing number of Americans as the intransigent party which stands in the way of peace. It is unlikely that continued total support can go hand in hand with such altered perceptions.

Books to Order

Aharon Cohen, *ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD*, Funk & Wagnalls. 575 pp. \$15.00. Comprehensive study of relationships between Arabs and Jews from ancient times to present day. Our price, \$4.50.

John H. Davis, *THE EVASIVE PEACE*, revised 1976, Dillon/Liederbach Inc. 136 pp. \$5.95 Factual background to present Arab-Israeli dilemma, with a prescription for peace in Middle East. Our price, \$3.50.

Alistair Duncan, *THE NOBLE SANCTUARY*, Longman Group, Ltd. 80 pp. 2.00 pounds. Appreciative look by text and picture at Jerusalem and the Dome of the Rock. Our price, \$3.00.

F.H. Epp, *THE PALESTINIANS, PORTRAIT OF A PEOPLE IN CONFLICT*, Herald Press. 240 pp. \$10.00. Tells a story not widely heard in the West—the Palestinian side of the present Middle East conflict. Our price, \$6.25.

Sabri Jiryis, *THE ARABS IN ISRAEL*, Monthly Review Press. 314 pp. \$12.50. Expanded version of Jiryis' original authoritative account of the deprivation of Arabs living in Israel. Our price, \$7.75.

Felicia Langer, *WITH MY OWN EYES*, Ithaca Press. 192 pp. 2.50 pounds (paperback). Noted Israeli Communist lawyer documents case histories of land seizure, property confiscation, deportations, etc., in the West Bank, Gaza strip and Golan Heights. Our price, \$3.00.

D. Magnetti & M.A. Sigler, *AN INTRODUCTION TO THE NEAR EAST*, Our Sunday Visitor, Inc. 240 pp. \$3.95 (paperback). General history of Near East from ancient times to 1967, with factual studies of each Near Eastern country and of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Our price, \$2.25.

C. Mayhew & M. Adams, *PUBLISH IT NOT . . . THE MIDDLE EAST COVER-UP*, Longman Group, Ltd. 193 pp. 5.00 pounds. Documents difficulty in England in publishing any material, even proven facts, critical of Israel and favorable to Arabs. Our price, \$10.00

Moshe Menuhin, *THE DECADENCE OF JUDAISM IN OUR TIME*, The Institute of Palestine Studies. 589 pp. \$12.00. A protest against the identification of Judaism with Zionism, emphasizing that Judaism as a faith must not be equated with a national movement. Our price, \$7.00.

E.R.F. Sheehan, *THE ARABS, ISRAELIS AND KISSINGER*, Reader's Digest Press. 287 pp. \$8.95. A secret history of recent American diplomacy in the Middle East. Our price, \$5.50.

R.P. Stevens & A.M. Elmessiri, *ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: THE PROGRESSION OF A RELATIONSHIP*, New World Press. 214 pp. \$6.00 (paperback). Traces historical framework of relations between these two countries, both believers in racial and cultural superiority over the "native population." Our price, \$3.25.

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From Our Mailbag

Advocating peace through understanding, AMEU, founded in 1967, has consistently offered Americans in-depth commentary on the Arab peoples, their history, religions, mores, social and economic conditions. We are grateful to those who through generous contributions have enabled

us to fulfill our mission. What now follows are some thoughts and comments recently received in the mail. We hope they will inspire readers of The Link to join the ranks of those who have financially supported AMEU's endeavors over the years.

"As an educator I find your service offers the necessary balance to gain and form a proper perspective concerning the issues involved in the Middle East Best wishes for every success in gaining the funds needed to continue your valuable service."

"Enclosed is a check for a donation to your worthwhile organization. Although I am a graduate student on a very limited income, I feel that your group is doing a Herculean task in trying to present a fair and comprehensive picture of *all* issues concerning the politics, culture, and religions of that troubled area of the world known as the Middle East."

"You do an excellent job with your publication. I wish I were a wealthy person, so I could help you. But I am poor and just about make it on my own. But it is fortunate that one's mind and sense of justice don't depend on whether one is rich or not."

"I would like to commend you on the scholarly and very useful work which you came out with in your latest *Link* issue. We will be sending this special issue to the libraries of various schools and universities, to organizations and individuals."

"Your letter is indeed unique — since we have been receiving *The Link* for several years — and never once were asked for a contribution! We value its information, admire its spirit of fairness and marvel at your courage even under extreme provocation."

"As a teacher of global education subjects (United Nations and International Relations) I am interested in your organization and its activities I am also seeking insight into the problems of the Middle East as an individual American Jew."

"I wish to express my satisfaction with the materials published by AMEU. I have found the articles to be enlightening from a personal standpoint as well as helpful in business dealings."

"The detailed account of AMEU's achievements and expectations, as stated in your letter, is yet another manifestation of the valuable and indispensable effort AMEU makes towards the promotion of factual material about the Middle East. We do believe that what you do at AMEU is important and, therefore, we wish you continued progress and success."

"The Social Justice Seminar that I chair (20 members) are anxious to know the Arab side of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

"I am very much interested in staying in touch with what is happening in the Middle East, and somehow the American media does not fulfill these needs. My professor suggested that I write to you for more detailed information on the Arab world."

The Link aims at maintaining contacts among Americans who believe that friendship with the people of the Middle East is essential to world peace, who would contribute to this goal by spreading understanding of the history, values, religions, culture and economic conditions of the Middle East, and who would — in this context — press for greater fairness, consistency and integrity in U.S. policy toward that area.

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The views expressed in **The Link** are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinion of Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc.

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