

Palestinians and Their Days in Court

Unequal Before the Law

By Lynda Brayer

On May 11, 1990, as I was coming out of a Friday night mass in Jerusalem's Jesuit Pontifical Biblical Institute, I saw the presiding priest, Father Frank Serjeant, S.J. In a not uncharacteristic manner, I swept around and said, "And what, Father Frank, is the Catholic Church doing for the poor and the oppressed?" deliberately drawing on the language used by the church to describe its mission of social action.

I continued in a torrent: "Here we have killings, shootings, riots, beatings, tear gas, rounding up of Palestinian youth, more beatings, house demolitions, raids on villages. Palestinians are being smashed to smithereens by the Israeli army, children are having their bones broken and being violently hit with clubs. I want to know where the *h—* is the Catholic Church? Why is there no legal aid for these people? Why has the Catholic Church not provided an agency to see what help can be given?"

He looked at me in bewilderment and I stopped dead in my tracks, taken aback at the unexpected force of my anger. "Oh my God," I said aloud, "where did that come from?"

We were standing at the entrance to the building, looking out at the flower garden in the center of the driveway with its solitary palm tree dwarfing the aloe and other multicolored flowers, while the pine grove on the grounds began to cast dark shadows. The King David Hotel rose above the wall beyond the Institute, with its palms and cedars slowly swaying

in a slight wind. The view is utterly idyllic, straight out of a Tuscan landscape.

The Biblicum and the King David Hotel are among the earliest buildings of modern Jerusalem. Their pink stone reflected the slow setting of the sun. The outside traffic had stopped as the Sabbath approached and only the twitter of a lone bird broke the silence. I gazed upward towards the sky in an almost automatic deference to Ignatian discernment of spirits and wondered whether the idea had come out of nowhere. Nowhere? No. I did not think so. But after years of vicarious suffering and emotional trauma at seeing Israeli treatment of Palestinians during the "benign" occupation, I felt that this suggestion had come from God. Finally an answer, after years of searching for a way to deal with this evil.

By May 1990, Palestine/Israel had been through two and one half years of the Palestinian intifada or "shrugging off"—the instinctive struggle of ordinary people against the Israeli occupation. Every Palestinian was affected—the old, the young, the women, children, everyone. They had been murdered, wounded, kidnapped, deported, beaten, imprisoned, tortured, made to vanish, curfewed, fined, harassed and humiliated repeatedly, continuously and unremittently.

(Continued on page 3)

Lynda Brayer is Executive Legal Director of the Society of St. Yves located in Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

AMEU Board of Directors

Hugh D. Auchincloss, Jr.
Attwater, Bradley & Partners, Inc.

Paul Findley
Author, Member of Congress, 1961-1982

Henry G. Fischer (Vice President)
Curator Emeritus, Department of Egyptian Art
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Bonnie Gehweiler
Coordinator, Bethlehem 2000 Project

Grace Halsell
Writer

Nell MacCracken
Consultant

Robert E. Marsh
Independent Consultant

Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.
Attorney

Robert L. Norberg

Lachlan Reed
President, Lachlan International

Talcott W. Seelye
Former U.S. Ambassador to Syria

Donald L. Snook

Jack B. Sunderland (President)
President, American Independent Oil Co.

L. Humphrey Walz
Associate Executive
H.R. Presbyterian Synod
of the Northeast

Mark R. Wellman (Treasurer)
Financial Consultant

Marshall W. Wiley
Attorney, Former U.S. Ambassador to Oman

AMEU National Council

*Hon. James E. Akins *Isabelle Bacon
*William R. Chandler *David S. Dodge
*Barbro Ek *Joseph C. Harsch *Dr.
Francis H. Horn *Dr. Cornelius B. Houk
*O. Kelly Ingram *Moorhead Kennedy *Ann
Kerr *John D. Law *Prof. George
Lenczowski *Dr. W. T. Mallison *David
Nes *Bishop John Nolan *C. Herbert Oliver
*George L. Parkhurst *Marie Petersen
*Donald L. Powers *Fr. Joseph Ryan S.J.
*John J. Slocum *Dr. John C. Trever *Don
W. Wagner, Jr. *Dr. George H. Weightman

About This Issue

From the start of the "peace process" in September 1993 up until May 1996, the estimates stand:

- 65,613 acres of Palestinian land confiscated;
- 87 Palestinian homes demolished;
- 189 notices of demolition of Palestinian homes;
- 30,754 trees uprooted from Palestinian lands;
- 6,192 acres of Palestinian land not officially confiscated but destroyed by Jewish settlers.

With the election of Binyamin Netanyahu as Prime Minister, these figures are expected to rise significantly.

"Wherever the Israelis go, they wreak desolation and call it peace," observed Lynda Brayer, paraphrasing Tacitus's description of the Roman conquerors. She was addressing an international conference held last January in Jerusalem sponsored by the Sabeel Theology Centre in consultation with the Middle East Council of Churches. The prestigious Centre had invited the Israeli lawyer to speak on the effects of the Israeli closure of Jerusalem.

Immediately following her address, we invited Ms. Brayer to write for *The Link*. She willingly accepted and readily complied with three separate requests for additional text. And all this at a time when her own quotidian battles with the Israeli legal system provide more than enough frustration.

Who is Lynda Brayer? *The Link* asks each feature author to submit a biography from which a thumbnail sketch is usually worked into this column. This time we have decided to reprint Lynda's bio in her own words, on the opposite page, because it helps to explain her passion and commitment. At a time when the world community is analyzing the impact of the Israeli elections on the peace process, Lynda reminds us that the root of the crisis is the ideology that produced both Mr. Peres and Mr. Netanyahu. And *that* ideology, as she points out on pages 8 and 9, is far from resolved.

Three photographs in this issue were provided by Maxine Kaufman Nunn, an Israeli Jew who joins frequently in protests against actions by Israel that deprive Palestinians of their civil and human rights. Her photo on page 13 is a wrenching depiction of the hardship and indignity forced upon a Palestinian family when, following the demolition of their home by the Israeli military, the 15 members of the household were reduced to living in two shipping crates.

John F. Mahoney
Executive Director

AMEU (ISSN 0024-4007) grants permission to reproduce material from *The Link* in part or in whole. We ask that credit be given to AMEU and that one copy be sent to our office at 475 Riverside Drive, Room 570, New York, New York 10115. Tel. 212-870-2053; Fax 212-870-2050; E-Mail AMEU@aol.com.

AMEU Staff

John F. Mahoney, Executive Director
Shibabaw Wubetu, Accounts Manager

Evolution of an Activist

Advocate Lynda Brayer

JERUSALEM, JUNE 1996—I was born in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1945 to a Jewish family. My mother's parents were from Palestine and her grandfather was one of the founders of the first Jewish modern settlement, Petah Tikvah. My grandfather served in the Jewish brigade attached to the British army in World War I. The family left Palestine in 1922 when the Arabs first rose up against the British when Britain was given the mandate by the League of Nations to control Palestine and create a homeland for the Jews. During the uprising, my grandfather's concession store in the British army camp of Sarafand was burned.

My father's family left Poland for South Africa during the 1930's. I went mainly to Jewish day schools, was familiar with the Hebrew liturgical services in the synagogue and came to Israel on "aliya" in 1965. I made that choice not only because I was unhappy in South Africa but because it marked a return to the home of my mother's family—the natural homeland for the Jews, or so I believed then.

I married, my three children are grown, and I have one grandchild. I graduated cum laude in liberal arts from the Hebrew University and then continued on to obtain my law degree there. I entered private practice in 1986, dealing mainly with civil and family law.

In December 1987 the intifada broke out. My world was shattered as I witnessed the terrible destruction the Israeli army wielded against this civil uprising of people in search of their freedom. I found myself facing the void of the lie of Zionism: the fact that the 1948 war was a catastrophe for Palestinians and not the "War of Independence" for Jews. Jews, of course, were not the native nation seeking independence from the British, but rather colonialists in cohorts with the British imperialists. I suddenly became aware that the Jewish state of Israel was built on the ruins of Palestinian society. Deep depression overtook me as I realized that I had been, and was, part of this most terrible destruction of a human community, and that this destruction had been administered



Lynda Brayer
in East Jerusalem

(Continued from page 1)

Israelis, too, were affected. Soldiers were forced to act as policemen and not as soldiers, and they behaved at times like unleashed, sadistic, wild animals. They, and even more so the Jewish settlers of "Judea and Samaria," looked upon the Palestinians as free prey. In the early 80's, a lawyer from the Ministry of Justice had conducted research on the violence of Jewish settlers towards Palestinians. The report was not released—the findings were too shocking.

The soldiers were aggressive foreign occupiers, most of whom had no idea of the logic of the uprising and who pathetically repeated that they were "forced" to shoot unarmed civilian Palestinians because Palestinian children had thrown stones at them. This was, and remains, the sum total of understanding of the situation by the Israeli soldiers and virtually the whole Israeli Jewish population. Nearly all Israelis felt victimized by the "stone-throwing children," who, they claimed, threatened the existence of the nuclear-armed State of Israel.

The Israeli-Jewish viewpoint was so twisted and perverted, with all blame being attributed to the "stones" of the children, that there were times that I just wanted to burst out in an insane rage and run amok.

Where, I wondered, was Israel's guilt for the 1948 destruction of Palestinian society, the expulsion of about 90 percent of the indigenous population, the theft of land and personal property? Where was the remorse for the ongoing

(Continued on page 4)

in the name of an ideological lie—that the Jews were "returning" to the land God had given them and from which they had been expelled, a thesis developed by secular Jews.

In 1988, at the age of 43, I was baptized into the Catholic Church, the result of a long maturation of an idea that first came to me when I was 14. Despite the long road, which included the observance of Jewish halacha, Christianity was completely liberating for me. I had left the tribe and found the human family and could react in a natural way in sympathy for those who were oppressed, deprived, tortured and attacked. I became the driving force for the establishment of the Society of St. Yves and serve now as its Executive Legal Director. I live in Jerusalem and work in both Jerusalem and Bethlehem. —Lynda Brayer

(Continued from page 3)

destruction of Arab society within Israel itself between 1948 and 1967, and for the further pillage and human debris following the 1967 war? All was and is seen as defense by Jews of their land.

Jews just did not see, or want to know, about life from a Palestinian perspective. The genocide of Palestinian society was interpreted as a fitting response to intransigence regarding a Jewish homeland in Palestinian territory. The Jews never gave a fitting explanation as to where Palestinians were to put themselves after the Jews had taken the land. After all, the Jews "only" wanted what God had promised them—this tiny strip of land, the final borders of which they have not revealed to the world, while the Arabs had 22 countries of their own. Palestinians and their history simply did not exist in the Jewish mind.

It was in response to the relentless, remorseless Zionist colonization of Arab Palestine that the Palestinians finally exploded in the intifada in 1987. They came together in an intense manifestation of rejection of the continuing Israeli military and civilian presence inflicted on them since 1967, ordinary citizens from all walks of life rising against a ruthless, cruel and destructive rule. During that time, their leaders had been murdered, maimed or deported; their political organizations infiltrated, outlawed and destroyed; and their social and civil life fragmented, suppressed and crushed.

Israel has made every effort to nullify any semblance of normal civil-

ian life. Attempts to create or restore social institutions were extinguished on sight. Even hospitals, old age homes, and orphanages were targeted for ruin. In general, the entire Palestinian population had been under constant assault, with families impoverished, the civil infrastructure left to decay, and a policy of development pursued.

To say that Palestinians lived in constant fear, humiliation and rejection would be to understate their mis-

a political activist, but it suddenly struck me that I should protest in the manner of the Black Sash women in South Africa who demonstrated non-violently against apartheid. I felt I should wear the black sash and stand vigil at the building with a placard condemning Sharon's action as an act of incitement, almost an act of war.

I knew intuitively that a red line had been crossed, that Sharon had deliberately chosen to challenge the Arabs by taking over a home in the

Muslim Quarter of the Old City. It was as if he had lifted his fingers in a rude gesture saying that the Arabs could object as much as they liked, but the Jews would do whatever they pleased in "Greater Israel," a phrase coined during the Likud regime. Sharon's action set off a siege of illegal takeovers of Muslim property by Jewish thugs posing as "reborn" Orthodox Jews. (Now, with the recent Likud victory, Ariel Sharon is back again.)

The "Peace Process"

The "peace process" is in fact a combination of two processes: the full realization of apartheid in Palestine, and the application of the doctrine of State Terror to keep the apartheid in place. We are witnessing the apartheid division of Palestine into Jewish areas, and Arab or non-Jewish areas, the model for which is the bantustans in South Africa. The doctrine of State Terror predicated the use of local leaders as the instruments of political oppression to maintain the apartheid system. The local leadership thus becomes the *real terrorist group* serving both its own interests and those of the controlling party. In this regard it is well to remember that the relationship of strength between Israel and the Palestinians is more grotesquely unequal than that between an elephant and an ant. The elephant can't destroy the world, while the crypts of Demona [Israel's nuclear facility] can put an end to world history.

—Lynda Brayer

ery. Their very humanity continues to be denied by many Israeli Jews today, Oslo and the embrace of Arafat notwithstanding.

On December 7, 1987, an Arab stabbed an Israeli in Gaza. The following day an Israeli drove a truck into a wall killing four Arabs in a manner that appeared deliberate. The Arabs began to riot and that began the intifada. Less than a month later, then Defense Minister Ariel Sharon initiated a blatant provocation by moving into a building occupied by Palestinians in East Jerusalem.

My immediate reaction was one of shock and horror. I had never been

When I told my family of my desire to protest, they laughed at me and I melted in embarrassment at my "stupidity." I had done the same thing in 1986 when the most shocking scandal in Israel's legal history was uncovered. After an attack on an Israeli bus by four Palestinians on the Ashdod road in 1984, the Israeli authorities announced that all four had been killed when the army was trying to release the hostages.

However, soon afterwards the news leaked out that two of the attackers were killed after being taken into custody, a fact which only came to light because they had been photographed alive on capture. Such

(Continued from page 4)

killings are, of course, murder, as the criminal has already surrendered his weapons. And the killing of prisoners of war, to use another analogy, is a war crime. The army was blamed.

The truth was to emerge 18 months later when a leak from within the General Secret Services, or Shabak as it is known from its Hebrew acronym, was directed to the media. The two Palestinians had actually been killed by the Shabak, and all the evidence presented before two national commissions of inquiry incriminating the army had been fabricated and forged by the GSS.

The government responded by firing the three GSS men who broke the story and dismissing the Attorney General who wanted to call for an inquiry. A complete ruckus arose in the Ministry of Justice with nearly half of the top people leaving in the wake of the government's attempt to cover up the truth.

It also came out that the Shabak had lied consistently to the courts for the previous 15 years when they requested pre-trial detentions and criminal hearings without making evidence available to defense lawyers—their argument always being "for the sake of security." This is the favorite ouster clause in the Israeli legal system, an excuse never questioned by the High Court of Justice—not surprising when one sees clearly that the High Court is merely the justicial branch of the Zionist colonial regime, and not, despite claims to the contrary, a court constituted to uphold the Rule of Law.

I remember that I was completely overwhelmed and stupefied by the behavior of the government. I told the head of the Jerusalem Bar Association that the Bar should take some action. When he asked what I thought should be done, I said that we should demonstrate in front of the Prime Minister's home against the summary dismissal of those lawyers and the Attorney General, who were being smeared in their attempt to help uncover the truth.

The Closure of Jerusalem

This stringent closure began on March 30, 1993, following a rash of car burnings in Jerusalem. I represented Palestinians charged in two of these burnings. The evidence was so inconsistent and bizarre that the court had to ignore most of it, but my clients still were found guilty. I believe most of the arsons were committed by unidentified forces to implicate Palestinian "terrorists" and thereby justify the closure on "security" grounds. Today, Palestinian Jerusalemites are cut off from their hinterland. Their businesses are failing for lack of customers, their hospitals half empty and slowly collapsing, their educational facilities frozen, if not collapsing as well. Christian religious life is dwindling for lack of people, much of the community having emigrated, with the rest divided between Jerusalem and the Occupied Territories. From observing only my employees in St. Yves, I see people who have not been in Jerusalem for more than seven years. Jerusalem Arab life is dying on the vine.

—Lynda Brayer

He became sarcastic and spoke to me as if I was not quite in full control of my wits. I told him that had the judges and lawyers in Nazi Germany chained themselves to the fences of the Ministry of Justice at the time Hitler was formulating his anti-Jewish legislation, the Nuremberg Laws, legislated in 1935, might never have come into being and that the "Final Solution" might not have taken place. He treated such a comparison with contempt.

Yet here we are, some ten years later, with Israel having blockaded

the West Bank and Gaza, creating one huge prison with no wardens to provide for the needs of the people. The Palestinian population is slowly starving. Malnutrition and stunted growth are rife. Is one really exaggerating when one compares the practices of the Israeli government towards these non-Jews to those of the Nazi government towards the Jews? Comparisons might be odious, but remaining silent about the slow genocide of a population seems a worse offense.

I never had the courage to actually protest against these actions, but I have learned over time that I should have acted on my intuition. Yet the idea of legal aid for the Palestinians took root. After an exploratory trip to South Africa and contacts with the Catholic Bishops' Justice and Peace Committee, I was able to formulate a legal resource project, The Society of St. Yves. The name is taken from the 14th century French saint honored as the patron of lawyers.

Since its founding in January, 1991, St. Yves has handled more than 100 land cases, 75 home demolitions and 250 permit cases—some 800 cases in all. The staff includes three lawyers, a social worker, a town planner to assist with home demolition cases, an articulated law clerk and support staff—no more than a dozen in all. I have trained two clerks who have been granted bar accreditation, and we hope to train more.

Our first case before the High

(Continued on page 6)

(Continued from page 5)

Court was a petition to the Israeli government at the beginning of the Gulf War to distribute gas masks to the Palestinian population under occupation. The government already had distributed gas masks to Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza. The High Court requested a response to our petition from the state, which replied that because the settlers in the territories had familial and social ties to Jews inside Israel proper, who had received gas masks, then the settlers had an axiomatic right to the same treatment. Counsel for the state did not consider the issue as equal protection for all human beings at risk, but rather as protecting Jewish lives exclusively.

The High Court, in its declared concern for the Rule of Law, actually ordered a distribution of gas masks to the Palestinian population. However, the entire venture was a *fasco*—typical of the Jewish state's behavior towards non-Jews, as I was to observe time and again. At least 800,000 masks were required for the Palestinian population. By its own admission, the government had only

170,000 gas masks to meet this demand, and even these were defective.

To discourage Palestinians from seeking masks, the authorities required applicants to first present their identity cards, which were then torn up on the grounds that they were "worn out." A new card cost \$20, which had to be paid before a gas mask would be issued. We received no satisfaction when I pursued a contempt of court citation. The court's concern is appearances, not reality and justice, and the high calling of the Rule of Law was thereby abandoned.

One of the more grotesque court experiences occurred at a hearing which Advocate Jonathan Kuttub and I had sought in an attempt to force the issuance of gas masks to Palestinian prisoners held in Israel proper, where everyone else in the population had received them. During our hearing, the High Court tribunal was also discussing a petition both to make and distribute special gas masks for religious Jewish men, whose beards prevented standard masks from adhering to the skin, rendering them ineffective.

For three quarters of an hour, Justice Menahem Elon attempted to explain to counsel for the state that the religious men were entitled to special masks, not on the grounds of *pikuah nefesh*, i.e. for the sake of saving their lives, but rather on the grounds of religious freedom. Because the growing of a beard was a religious precept in certain Orthodox circles, the judge was saying the state had to respect this religious practice and make allowances for it in the Jewish democracy. Counsel for the state was not religious and had no idea what the judge was talking about. I rather enjoyed the judge's argument and tended to agree with him, comparing the situation to that of a Sikh, who cannot be ordered to cut his hair for secular utilitarian reasons of efficiency of the state.

When the Justice came to deal with our petition, he dismissed it with a wave of a hand on the mere statement—not even a sworn affidavit—that the state would "take care of the problem." To my knowledge, no Palestinian prisoner ever received a gas mask before or after that hearing.

(Continued on page 7)

Update on the Christian Peacemakers in Hebron

The subjects of this *Link* and our issue of January-March on Hebron intersected on May 30 when four Americans of the Christian Peacemakers Team (CPT) in Hebron were arrested by Israeli authorities and the Society of St. Yves became involved in their legal defense.

The CPT had on two previous occasions responded to pleas for help from a Palestinian farmer when Jewish settlers from Susia interfered with his farming operations. First the settlers fenced his newly planted wheat field, then they harassed him during harvesting.

On May 30, the Peacemakers went to the Palestinian's farm to remove tree seedlings planted illegally on his property by the settlers.

The Israeli police were informed the day before of the plans to uproot the seedlings; they expressed no objections because the farmer holds legal title to the land.

Nevertheless all four Americans were arrested and jailed. Wendy Lehman of Kidron, OH, is in Ashkelon Prison, and Robert Naiman, Chicago, Randy Bond, Grand Rapids, MI, and Tom

Malthaner, Rochester, NY, were taken to the Hebron district prison.

The Israeli settlement of Susia is some 30 minutes south of Hebron. The farmer's plight was initially called to CPT's attention by an American woman residing in Hebron.

CPT is based in Chicago. Readers wishing to keep abreast of developments and learn what they can do to support the team members can contact the organization at P.O. Box 6508, Chicago, IL 60680, by telephone at 312-455-1199, and by e-mail at cpt@igc.apc.org. — Ed.

Likud or Labor: Does It Matter?

[We asked our author, Lynda Brayer, to comment on the May 29 election in which Israeli voters rejected Shimon Peres, the incumbent Labor Party candidate for Prime Minister, and narrowly elected Likud's Binyamin Netanyahu. — Ed.]

In my opinion, both Labor and Likud are Zionist. Both want a Palestine as Arab-free as possible. Both use methods of emptying out the land—house demolitions for "terrorists" and for homes built "illegally." These are simply means of making people homeless and persuading them to want to "wander" out of Palestine west of the Jordan, although there is really nowhere for them to go. And losing one's home brings on all kinds of physical, social and psychological complications that affect and weaken the family.

Then there are the indiscriminate taking of political prisoners, long imprisonments, and terrible torture—with little distinction between Likud and Labor. Mr. Begin, Likud, once stopped torture. Mr. Rabin, Labor, reinstated it—and now torture is absolutely rife after being judicially approved by the High Court. The de-

struction of agricultural land and the constant theft of land are characteristic of both major parties. There is no difference except in style. Likud's governance will be accompanied by the absurdities of reactionary, regressive Jewish fundamentalism. The strangulation of Palestinian society through closure of the West Bank and Gaza will continue.

In pondering the future under Likud, several possibilities exist:

1. Likud might deport itself so crudely that it will once again present Israel to the world as Goliath killing the innocent David. I hope this would induce the world community to examine Palestinian grievances and Israel's repressive policies with more determination.

2. Likud might make some really provocative moves in East Jerusalem like inserting small Jewish neighborhoods into the middle of Arab ones. This would ignite a firestorm of protest and Palestinians would begin to see only duplicity in Jewish overtures for peace.

3. The Labor and Meretz parties will want to appear modern and lib-

eral and will at times block Likud actions. Because Labor often went in a direction that Likud approved, only maybe not far enough, Likud was less inclined to intervene.

4. Secular Jews see in the election returns a disturbing trend toward more power in the hands of the fundamentally religious. Conflicts may arise as these elements attempt to work their will on European Jews (Ashkenazim), whose life styles are inclined to imitate American yuppies.

5. It is quite probable that there will be much social discontent and instability in Israel. I do not foresee a civil war, but the level of tension and turmoil will increase.

Some political observers on the extreme left feel that the Likud government will at least expose to the world that there never was a peace process but merely the legitimization of Israeli colonization under the guise of peace. The Likud are out-and-out colonialists, while colonialism is forbidden in international law because it contradicts the right to self-determination. Will Likud overplay its hand and parade its true colors to an appalled world? Let us hope so. □

(Continued from page 6)

ing. The irony, which was lost on the Jewish public in the courtroom, was that Justice Elon spent three-quarters of an hour elucidating the principle of religious freedom for Jews whose lives were in no danger as they had received ordinary gas masks, while immediately dismissing our request that gas masks be issued for the purpose of protecting human lives. But, of course, these were non-Jewish Palestinian lives. Thoughts of Nazi Germany and a legal system based only on technicalities were not lost on me. I did not know whether to laugh at the absurdity or cry out of despair.

In Israel and the territories, law is

politics, and the politics is the politics of colonization—unremitting, unceasing and unrelenting colonialism. The Israeli body politic wants to take over as much of Palestine as it can.

Even with half of the Palestinians now in the diaspora, the millions who remain in Palestine cannot simply stand up and make way for the Jews. This is their home, this is where they were born and where they live. Where are they supposed to go and why should they go?

This remains the continuing confrontation—the Jews want what the Palestinians have, simply because they want it. Zionist ideology is merely the fig leaf to cover the brig-

andage, theft and piracy. The tragedy is that it is all continuing today with no change in Zionist goals. □

Notice

Mr. Omer Bin Abdullah, managing editor of *Islamic Horizons*, invites readers of *The Link* to receive a complimentary copy of his magazine by writing to the Subscription Department, Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), P.O. Box 38, Plainfield, IN 46168. The telephone number is 317-839-8157, extension 811, and the facsimile number is 317-839-1840. *Islamic Horizons* is the oldest and largest circulation Muslim news magazine in North America.

Apartheid and Zionism . . .

Human rights and the laws protecting them are political issues because the way a person is governed by law reflects the basic philosophy or ideology of his or her government. Because the Nationalist Party in South Africa held the view that blacks were inferior to whites, this gave rise to laws that denied blacks their human rights. Blacks, treated unequally before the law, and in a manner inferior to whites, suffered the daily impoverishments of outcasts in their own country.

In this case the policy of apartheid gave rise to apartheid law. The only way such law could be abolished was by changing the political structure. Once South Africans realized that apartheid had no future, the laws were repealed and a new political dispensation arose, that of one person, one vote. As a tool, then, laws can promote either equality or inequality, democracy or racism—all depending on the political system that spawns them.

Israel's latest assault into Lebanon epitomizes its attitude towards human beings who are not Jewish. Their lives are worth nothing. A Reuter wire service report on May 10 quoted Israeli gunners as saying they had no regrets over killing about 100 civilians who had sought shelter in a United Nations base in Southern Lebanon. The dead were "just a bunch of Arabs," said one soldier. In my work with Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza I come upon this attitude daily. I see an occupying power doing everything it can to destroy Palestinian society.

It's not that Jews have an endemic hatred for Arabs, they just don't want them in "their" country, and by "their" country they mean not only Israel but "Greater Israel," encompassing Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem. There are political parties in Israel whose main platform is the "transfer" of Palestinians out of this "Greater Israel." At the end of the June 1967 war, the former President of Israel, Chaim Herzog, proudly admitted that he had been responsible for transferring approximately 280,000 Palestinians out of Jerusalem and the Occupied Territories.

Still, the problem remains, how do you get rid of 3.5 or 4 million Palestinians? You can't kill them en masse as that would be political suicide for Israel. And expelling them en masse—a method used successfully in 1948 and in 1967—seems impractical in the Occupied Territories. What you must do and can do to remove these Palestini-

ans is to use a combination of methods that, when taken together, can create such conditions as to make life unbearable.

I am convinced that such measures are genocidal. I use that term judiciously, according to the intent of the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, as it appears in Article II of U.N. Resolution 96 (1) of December 1945:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- a) *Killing members of the group;*
- b) *Causing serious bodily harm or mental harm to members of the group;*
- c) *Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;*
- d) *Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;*
- e) *Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.*

As a lawyer, I have personal knowledge of Israeli atrocities against Palestinians that certainly conform to subgroups a) through d). The question that should be asked—even if asking it means being labeled anti-semitic—is what is the political mindset that promotes such genocidal policies? And here we are led back to a Zionist concept of reality invented by many Jews in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Zionism holds that Jews cannot live with non-Jews because of the non-Jew's hatred of the Jew. This anti-semitism, being endemic to the non-Jewish world and proven by the Holocaust, requires that for their very survival the Jewish people need a state of their own in which they may create a safe place on this planet. That Jewish state must exist in Palestine, as this is the land promised by God to his chosen people as an eternal inheritance, and to which all Jews have an unconditional right to return.

Zionism also posits that all the Jewish communities in the world constitute the Jewish political nation, in the 19th-century sense of the term, namely that each nation is entitled to a state of its own on the presumption that there is only one nation per state. Therefore the Jews are entitled to a state of their own. Zionism makes no reference as to whether Palestinians are entitled to a state of their

... Law in the Service of Racism

own. I shall not comment on these ideas but rather bring them forward as the working material upon which Israeli policy makers rely. I also make no claim that they themselves believe all this, but no public figure has denied this premise.

A Zionist Israel wants to retain control of all of Mandate Palestine and achieve as much "ethnic cleansing" of the land as possible by removing by any means as many of the local indigenous non-Jewish Arab Palestinian population as it can. This is the state's underlying motivation and no matter what information it puts out, the test must always be not what it says, but what it does.

What it is doing is colonizing. Israel will continue to administer the Occupied Territories as a colonial power, and it will try to do so without incurring the world's condemnation. It now claims that it is progressing toward a peace agreement with the Palestinians. Yet it will not withdraw from the Occupied Territories, a *sine qua non* for peace. Rather, it will create non-contiguous enclaves for Palestinian control, depriving Palestinians of their resources such as water, land, and social unity. These enclaves will be equivalent to the fragmented bantustans of the hated apartheid regime of South Africa.

What Israel is doing is maintaining a long-term, belligerent occupation. Actions such as deportations, home demolitions, land confiscations, importation and transfer of Jewish Israelis and foreign Jews into new Jewish towns and villages, illegal racist Jewish settlements built on stolen land, and death squads are all examples of a long-term occupation that is profoundly belligerent towards the local population. In addition, Israeli occupational policies have militarized criminal law, abolished the laws of evidence and due process in all respects, and destroyed the local judiciary and judicial system.

Israel's long-term intentions are reflected in the fact that Palestinians are denied the protection of the *jus soli*, the law of the soil, which guarantees that anyone born to

a native in a country is entitled to live in that country as a citizen. Ironically, both Israel and Germany reject this principle, subscribing instead to the *jus sanguine*, the law of blood, whereby descent is the determining fact granting entitlement to citizenship. In the case of the State of Israel, it is obvious why it had to adopt such a basis for citizenship—nearly the entire Jewish population has come from abroad and is not indigenous, whereas the Palestinians are the indigenous population of Palestine. According to the *jus soli*, they are the rightful citizens of Palestine.

What Israel is doing is legalizing a racist system. Israel doesn't have a U.S.-type constitution that ensures equality before the law. Israel has adopted a constitutional framework based on the German system of *Grundgesetz*, or Basic Laws.

The Basic Law that represents Israel's Bill of Rights states clearly that the purpose of the law is to guard the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. This article highlights one of the basic characteristics of the Israeli legal system: the presence of universals and particulars that contradict each other in either one particular or the whole system itself.

Democracy posits universal equality for all people in a society, the absence of discrimination and the protection against awarding privileges and benefits to one group over or against other groups. Yet it is the very nature of the Jewish state, with its majority Jewish population, to discriminate and to deliberately treat people unequally, awarding privileges and benefits to Jews only.

In such a political dispensation, non-Jews, particularly those non-Jews from whom the land was looted, are not desirable persons within the Jewish State of Israel. The problem for Israeli authorities with such a policy is that the consequences cannot be articulated clearly to the world because a political regime openly incorporating racism might suffer the opprobrium and sanctions that South Africa did.

South Africa had acknowledged its racism, passing laws that explicitly banned blacks from living in "white"



Israel's closing of Jerusalem to virtually all Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza has limited drastically the Palestinians' access to modern hospitals and specialized health care. Here human rights activists protest closure at Augusta Victoria Hospital in East Jerusalem.—Photo by Maxine Kaufman Nunn.

In October 1993, a few men from the Jahalin bedouin tribe came to the office of St. Yves, which is in Jerusalem in the Notre Dame complex on the seam between West and East Jerusalem. They showed me court records and told me of the Israeli military's attempt to remove them from land they had been living on for more than 40 years.

The Jahalin originate from the Tel Arad area, now the town of Arad in the Negev, or Naqab as it is called in Arabic. After 1948, the Haganah—the Zionist militia that came to be known as the Israeli Defense Forces—began "cleansing" the area of all non-Jews. The Jahalin did not respond to Haganah's initial requests to leave the area until at least two members of the tribe were killed by the Israeli authorities as a warning of what was to come for the Jahalin who persisted in resistance. It was then, in the early 1950's, that the Jahalin fled their ancestral lands. Migrating northward, they settled on land owned by residents of the Jerusalem villages of Abu-Dis and al-Azzariyyah. There the women and children remained the year round while the men shepherded their herds.

In the late 1970's, the Israeli government designated the area for a new Jewish settlement, *Ma'ale Adumim*, the Red Heights. Construction began and many of the bedouin removed themselves from the area during the years that followed. The men who came to my office in October 1993 were not prepared to move.

In examining the court papers, I discovered that the court had no jurisdiction because *Ma'ale Adumim* was not in Israel. I petitioned the High Court stating that the Jahalin had resided in the area for more than forty years, pre-dating Israel's occupation of 1967, and thus the Israeli military authorities had no right to remove them. The army then suggested an alternative dwelling site, some 50 acres upon which to settle approximately 3,500 bedouin, many of whom still had herds. The area was rocky and hilly, totally unsuitable from every aspect.

I removed the first petition because I understood the court was interested only in form and not substance, and that it would seize on the army's "alternative site" to permit the forced transfer of my clients together with the rest of the tribe. The nature of the site would be irrelevant to the Court, as I had observed in many other cases. In oral argument I pointed out that the concept of "state land" was the invention of Justice Barak when he was attorney general and legal advisor to the government. Now that Barak was on the Supreme Court, I argued, the court could not act without prejudice to the state's invocation of "state land" in the case of the Jahalin.

My leaving the court with the petition withdrawn caused no end of consternation to the authorities as I had precluded a court decision allowing forced removal. However, the army never let up and returned to harass my clients.

This time I submitted a petition supported by an expert's environmental report. The alternative site constituted a hazard of the first order. The Jerusalem dump, a putrid mountain of untreated garbage, was no more than 500 yards distant and radioactive waste from hospitals was being deposited there as well. This, however, was the West Bank—occupied territory—and once again only non-Jews were in peril and nothing needed to be done to minimize the danger.

The Israeli authorities ignored the report from an Israeli environmentalist and insisted that the "alternative site" was an adequate response justifying the forced removal of the bedouin. The court was furious with the report, fining us \$2,000—presumably for presenting it. But it could not yet find grounds to force the removal of the bedouin.

Then the army authorities realized we had stymied them. After a couple of months they issued eviction orders against our clients, which meant we had to appeal to the military court. In doing this, we insisted on seeing the military court records which had declared the area "state land" under the Barak criteria. I searched the archives for files which would define the exact parameters of the "state land" but I could not find them. And they were never presented to the court by any Israeli authority.

'Justice' and the Jahalin

"The Jerusalem dump, a putrid mountain of untreated garbage, was no more than 500 yards distant and radioactive waste from hospitals was being deposited there as well. This, however, was the West Bank—occupied territory—and once again only non-Jews were in peril . . ."

Without holding a hearing, where opposing views could be heard, the lawyer heading the military tribunal, "Justice" Isaakson, rendered a decision in which he said he was "impressed" that the lands were state lands and therefore the bedouin had to vacate them. I returned to the High Court with a petition to cancel the decision of the military tribunal on the grounds that the judge had no evidence before him. That petition was submitted on 11 May 1995.

At a hearing on 30 October 1995, the state dropped a bombshell. For the first time, a Jewish judge asked counsel for the state on what grounds the state wanted to remove the bedouin, on the presumption that they had been

been declared "state land." I said we wanted those records and that the burden was on the state to produce that proof.

Then, in one of those totally unpredictable moments, Mr. Sheffer, with a flustered look, told the judge that those records "had been destroyed." I was completely taken aback; the judge looked as if she had been struck, and she leaned forward and asked him to repeat himself. "They have been destroyed," he reiterated.

Silence fell on the court. I could not believe my ears. This was the worst offense a lawyer could be party to—destroying evidence to obstruct justice. The protocol was being typed, but my colleague, Advocate Allegra Pacheco, and I were not sure that this piece of information was inserted into the official record. Justice Barak entered the discussion and tried to divert the proceedings away from the announcement. We left the court expecting that the army would be berated, their response thrown out of court, and a decree issued forbidding the state to remove my clients. As a precaution, we submitted a notice to the court concerning the admission of the destruction of evidence and held a press conference.

Even lacking a court decision, the state sold the disputed land to private Jewish contractors and the building of homes for Jews in an expanded Ma'ale Adumim has proceeded apace. The State Attorney permitted contractors to enclose the bedouin encampments with fences, openly defying the High Court order forbidding construction within a 100-yard radius of the camps until the petition restoring the original confiscation was resolved.

Then on May 28, the High Court again rendered justice to fit the need. It approved the eviction of the Jahalin, some 3,500 men, women and children, to clear the area for Jewish settlers. Within three months, the Jahalin must either relocate to the site near the garbage dump or accept compensation in an amount left unspecified by the court.

The decision made no mention of the destruction of crucial evidence. This is Israeli justice. The judges know exactly what is going on, but their hands are tied, or they excuse themselves to merely represent the interests of the state—a state whose aim anyway is to ethnically cleanse as much of Palestine as possible. This cleansing is continuing without pause in Ma'ale Adumim.

And what of the people, the bedouin? They have been thrown onto the refuse heap of history, the "peace process" having overtaken them. □



Demonstrations in support of the Jahalin bedouin tribe began in September, 1993. Signs in English, Hebrew and Arabic express solidarity with the Jahalin in their struggle to remain on land they have occupied for more than 40 years. On May 28, Israel's High Court of Justice ordered eviction of the 3,500 Jahalin to make way for expansion of the Jewish settlement of Ma'aleh Adumim.—Photo by Maxine Kaufman Nunn.

there prior to 1967. She pointed out that Israel had occupied the area in 1967 and therefore was subject to the laws of war. How come, she wanted to know, the state was asking these people to move?

Advocate Yehuda Sheffer, the lawyer representing the state in the case for more than two years, gave the reason that the land was "state land." She corrected him and said that the land was only "state land" subsequent to Israel's conquest. She stressed that she was talking about prior rights. Mr. Sheffer did not take up her question, but merely repeated, three times, that the land was state land. I told the judge that we were not even sure it is "state land" as we were not shown the records of the military tribunal hearings in which the state was claiming that the land had

Profiles in Misery—Five Cases

The five descriptions below are typical of the cases handled at the Society of St. Yves:

1. In 1986, Mohammed Abu Sneineh was charged with building his house illegally in the Jerusalem Arab neighborhood of Issawiya. He had been hounded out of his original home in the Old City of Jerusalem by religious students who put up a yeshiva in the Muslim Quarter. To get the Arabs to move, young Jewish vigilantes constantly attacked their homes. One day Mr. Abu Sneineh came home to find his furniture and personal belongings out in the street. He went to the police. Ten years later the trial is still pending.

Mr. Abu Sneineh then took his family to Hebron where he, his three grown sons and their wives occupied one room of a relative's home. When these conditions became unbearable, he bought a plot in Jerusalem and began to build without a permit, which costs \$30,000 and is virtually impossible for Arabs to obtain in any event. He was put on trial, as are hundreds of other Arabs for whom no public housing or land is made available by the Jewish municipality. The city forced him to destroy the home and demanded a fine of \$33,000, representing "double value" of the home. Our expert witness testified that this fine was intended solely for commercial buildings. I was fortunate to win this case, but the city has done nothing about the home and property stolen from him. The Jewish yeshiva is still there and its Arab neighbors live in constant fear. Jewish attacks on Arab homeowners will be stepped up under the new Likud government.

Shaker Dana's house borders the

fence around the Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba in Hebron. For 22 years his house has been under attack. Jewish settlers have fired shots through his windows. Rocks are constantly being thrown on the roof. He is unable to keep his water heater and water tank working because each repair is followed by another attack. His eight daughters live in constant fear. At night they cannot switch on the bathroom light as this will provoke the settlers. Psychologists say the children may have suffered severe emotional damage because of this cruel hooliganism, which is usually accompanied by screams of "Death to the Arabs."

2. More than eight months ago we applied to Israel's High Court for a temporary injunction against Kiryat Arba. No injunction was granted and no hearing date set.

3. Mr. Abu Nijme came to us three years ago after the Jerusalem municipality destroyed his home and fined him \$7,500. His wife went into depression and has not recovered. Instead of their four-room home which the Israelis blew up, fifteen family members find themselves confined to a makeshift home fabricated from two wood shipping crates. Their kitchen, bathroom and toilet are outdoors, and their sons live on the streets for lack of space in the containers. During winter rains, which penetrate the crates and soak the food tent outside, the family is forced to cook inside.

Members of the Abu Salah family live in sub-human conditions in the Shuafat refugee camp run by

4. The United Nations. They became homeless when Israel cleared out the Old City in 1968 to make way for the new Jewish quarter. Each family is given a room no bigger than 15 square feet. The camp has open sewage, no roads, no sidewalks, no garbage collection. The Abu Salehs bought a piece of land adjacent to the camp, not realizing that the land was unplanned, and began building out of desperation. The city evicted the Abu Salehs and today they are reduced to living like rats.

The Abu Salehs originally came from a village in Israel proper, which they fled under duress in 1948. Their expulsion from the Old City in 1968 made them double refugees.

5. Jerusalem authorities ordered the Ghaneim family of al-Woloja village to submit their home to demolition, charging it was built without a license. There is only one problem. The Ghaneim family lived in the West Bank between 1948 and 1967 under Jordanian rule. The family has identity cards and birth certificates issued by the West Bank Civil Administration. Their house was built with a license from the West Bank Civil Administration. Mr. Ghaneim cannot work in or enter Jerusalem because he lacks the necessary permission, and he cannot go to Jerusalem for his court hearing. Israel is stealing his land by changing Jerusalem's borders and applying town planning laws. A petition was submitted asking the High Court to stop the trial and force the government to inform the Ghaneim family when their home became part of Jerusalem. □

(Continued from page 9)

neighborhoods, or blacks from taking "white" jobs, and making very little public funding available for black schools, housing, transport and health care. Yet the same discrimination exists in Israel, only it's not explicit.

And herein lies the difference. Israel invented Orwellian legalese to cover its tracks. In 1980, it legislated the Foundation of Law, which explicitly states that if no remedy is available in the existing legal system for a particular problem or case, then Jewish heritage may be brought in to fill the gap. "Jewish heritage"—a delib-

erate euphemism—has provided the pipeline for Talmudic casuistry and the entire Jewish law, or halacha, that now influences precedent-setting decisions affecting a religiously heterogeneous society.

Israel also came up with its "ex-serviceman" condition. Rather than openly denying Arabs certain mortgages, apartments, loans, educational benefits, and national insurance benefits, which are provided to Jews through public funding, it inserted the interesting phrase "ex-serviceman" as a necessary condition for receiving many of these benefits. It did this knowing full well that Arab Moslems and Arab Christians are not

called up to the army for what the Jewish government terms "security reasons," therefore they can never ever be "ex-servicemen" entitled to these benefits and services.

This systematic, legal discrimination characterizes all of Israeli society. As such it both rests upon and is supported by Jewish Law, which is immutable if found in the Torah. Ultimately, this is the profound difference between an apartheid state such as Israel and the former South Africa. South Africa's apartheid, founded on skin color, was mutable, as we have seen. But what of an apartheid founded on sacred canons? □



When the Abu Nijmeh home was demolished in 1993 by the Jerusalem Municipality, shelter for 15 family members became the two shipping crates seen in the

background. The sign pleading to "Let Us Rebuild" is directed to Ehud Olmert, the mayor of Jerusalem.—Photo by Maxine Kaufman Nunn

AMEU Books

Check Box and Return with Order Form on Page 16. Prices include postage. For international orders, add \$5.50 per book.



Recommended Resources for This Link's Feature Article



IMAGE AND REALITY OF THE ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT by N. Finkelstein, 1995, 244 pp., paper.

Major critique of Zionism and the PLO-Israel accords. "Must reading."—William Quandt.

List: \$18.95
AMEU: \$17.95



TORTURE, HUMAN RIGHTS, MEDICAL ETHICS, AND THE CASE OF ISRAEL, by Gordon & Marton, 1995, 280 pp., paper.

A detailed account, compiled by physicians, of Israel's calculated use of torture.

List: \$29.95
AMEU: \$22.95



JEWISH HISTORY, JEWISH RELIGION: THE WEIGHT OF 3,000 YEARS, by Israel Shahak, 1994, 127 pp., paper.

Renowned Israeli argues that unless his country confronts its Talmudic past, it will remain an apartheid state.

List: \$17.95
AMEU: \$15.50



ANTI-ZIONISM: ANALYTICAL REFLECTIONS. R. Tekiner, ed., 1988, 358 pp., cloth.

Essays by N. Aruri (Zionism vs. Democracy), C. Rubenberg (Zionist Policy on Peace Initiatives), et al.

List: \$19.95
AMEU: \$9.50

HANAN ASHRAWI: A WOMAN OF HER TIMES

List: \$55.00
AMEU: \$58.00



HANAN ASHRAWI: A WOMAN OF HER TIMES, Mai Masri Production, 1995, 50-minute video.

Palestinian Legislative Council member shows why Israel's post-Oslo occupation is far from over and far from benign. Gripping footage of elderly West Bank couple pleading in vain to pass the

blockade of Jerusalem to reach the only hospital that can care for the man's wife; of a Palestinian family being dragged from its home while a bulldozer levels the area for another Jewish settlement; and of other human and civil rights violations committed not only by the Israelis but by the Palestine Authority.



PALESTINE IN CRISIS: THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE & POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AFTER OSLO, by G. Usher, 1995, 146 pp., paper.

Reporter for Middle East International examines pitfalls of Oslo accords.

List: \$15.95
AMEU: \$14.95



BEN GURION'S SCANDALS: HOW THE HAGANAH AND THE MOSSAD ELIMINATED JEWS, by N. Gladi, 1992, 281 pp., cloth.

Former member of Jewish underground describes acts of terrorism by Jews against Jews.

List: \$19.50
AMEU: \$14.95



ISRAEL: OPPOSING VIEWPOINTS. Bender & Leone, eds., 1994, 288 pp., paper.

Is a Homeland for Jews Necessary? (Herzl vs. Antonius); Does Israel Need Zionism? (Netanyahu vs. Hadawi); Should U.S. Support Israel? (Dine vs. Ball).

List: \$14.45 AMEU: \$12.50.



MEMORIES OF REVOLT: THE 1938-39 REBELLION AND THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL PAST, by T. Swedenburg, 1995, 258 pp., paper.

Author shows how popular memory is a web of Palestinian nationalism, Zionist discourse, and political aspirations.

List: \$19.95 AMEU: \$19.50.

Other Books Related to This Issue's Feature Article



- ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM IN THE WEST BANK & GAZA: MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND ISLAMIC JIHAD**, by Z. Abu-Amr, 1994, 169 pp., paper.

An insider's view of the challenge posed by these two organizations to the PLO-Israeli accords.

List: \$10.95 AMEU: \$9.75.



- ORIGINAL SINS: REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF ZIONISM AND ISRAEL**, by B. Beit-Hallahmi, 1993, 227 pp., paper.

Psychology professor at Haifa University analyzes how Zionism's dream became both a living reality and a terrible nightmare.

List: \$14.95 AMEU: \$13.95.



- ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM. I.** Nakhleh, ed., 2 vols., 1991, 1131 pp., cloth.

One of the most thorough accounts of terrorism by Zionists against Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians, Jordanians and Egyptians. Forward by Francis Boyle and John Quigley.

List: \$69.95 (for 2-vol. set) AMEU: \$45.00.



- THE PALESTINE PROBLEM IN INTERNATIONAL LAW AND WORLD ORDER**, by W.T. and S. Mallison, 1986, 564 pp., cloth.

One of the best studies of the legal aspects of the Palestine issue.

List: \$49.50 AMEU: \$10.00.



- EXPULSION OF THE PALESTINIANS: THE CONCEPT OF "TRANSFER" IN ZIONIST POLITICAL THOUGHT, 1882-1948**, by N. Masalha, 1993, 235 pp., paper.

Based on recently declassified documents, author establishes how "transfer"—a euphemism for expulsion—has been an

integral part of Zionist aims to "clean the land" of its Arab inhabitants in order to make Palestine "as Jewish as England is England."

List: \$11.95
AMEU: \$9.75



- FALSE INHERITANCE: ISRAEL IN PALESTINE AND THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION**, by M. Rice, 1994, 237 pp., cloth.

Author, an historian and archaeologist, concludes that a lasting peace will come only with the de-Zionization of Israel.

List: \$34.00 AMEU: \$24.00.



- THE SAMSON OPTION: ISRAEL'S NUCLEAR ARSENAL & AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**, by Seymour Hersh, 1991, 362 pp., paper.

How Israel, with U.S. complicity, introduced nuclear weapons into the Middle East.

List: \$12.00. AMEU: \$9.95.



- BEFORE THEIR DIASPORA** by Walid Khalidi, 1991, 351 pp., 9x11, paper, illustrated.

474 family photos capture the history of Palestine from 1876 to 1948. Detailed maps trace the Zionist colonization during this period.

List: \$29.00. AMEU: \$24.95.



- THE COLONIZATION OF PALESTINE: LEST THE CIVILIZED WORLD FORGET**. J. Fayed, ed., 1992, 48 pp., paper.

A complete listing of all 394 Palestinian cities, towns and villages destroyed by the Zionists.

List: \$9.95 AMEU: \$4.50.

KEEP OUR VOICE STRONG

AMEU's work for the past 29 years has grown because supporters have remembered us in their wills.

The bequest of a fixed sum or a percentage of an estate ensures that our voice on behalf of peace and justice will remain strong.

AMEU is a tax-deductible, educational organization. The amount of your bequest is deductible from the amount of money that is subject to estate and inheritance taxes.

Our official name is: Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc., 475 Riverside Drive, Room 570, N.Y., N.Y., 10115. For further information, please call John Mahoney at 212-870-2053.

To Support *The Link*

A \$35 voluntary annual subscription is requested to defray cost of publishing and distributing *The Link* and AMEU's Public Affairs Series.

- Contribution to AMEU (tax deductible)
 Please Send Free Pamphlet Collection

A check or money order for \$ _____ is enclosed, payable to AMEU.

Name _____

Address _____

Zip+4 _____

7-1-96

Rush Order Form

Place ✓ next to the book you are ordering and indicate if you wish more than one copy. Postage and handling are included in AMEU's prices. For international orders, add 50¢ per book. For UPS delivery, add \$2.00 per order. Make checks payable to AMEU.

No. of Books and Videos Ordered _____

Total Price _____

Add \$2.00 for UPS delivery, if desired _____

Add 50¢ per book for international delivery _____

Total Amount Enclosed _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip+4 _____

MAIL ORDER WITH CHECK TO:

AMEU, Room 570, 475 Riverside Drive,
New York, NY 10115-0241

Or Telephone 212-870-2053, Fax 212-870-2050, or
E-Mail AMEU@aol.com

- Please send me your complete book catalogue.

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Americans For
Middle East
Understanding, Inc.

Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc.
Room 570, 475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115-0241

