

THE LINK

PUBLISHED BY AMERICANS FOR MIDDLE EAST UNDERSTANDING

Room 538, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., N.Y. 10027

Volume 8, Number 2

SPRING 1975

SPECIAL
ISSUE

THE WEST BANK AND GAZA



The West Bank and Gaza Strip (hereafter "Gaza") were the only two portions of historic Palestine to remain under Arab sovereignty following the Arab-Israeli war of 1948. The West Bank was subsequently incorporated into Jordan; Gaza was administered by Egypt pending resolution of the conflict.

In 1967 Israel invaded and conquered the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula. For the past eight years these regions have been under Israeli military rule, and the occupying authorities have pursued a systematic policy of colonizing and transforming them economically into extensions of Israel.

The question of occupation alone makes the West Bank/Gaza situation explosive, but their importance is increased because an independent Palestinian state may yet be established there, following Israeli withdrawal. The future of the West Bank and Gaza is by no means resolved, but peace will necessitate major change from the present and the past.

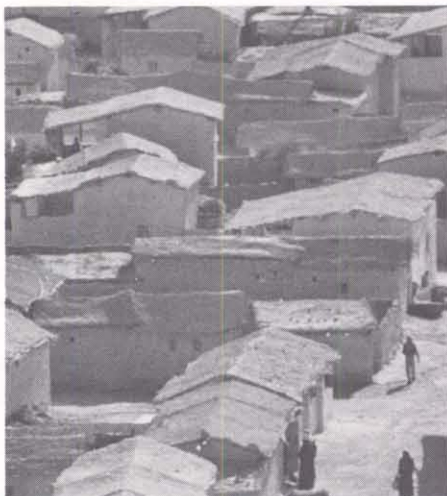
For all the importance of the region to Middle East and even world peace, surprisingly little is known in the United States about the major characteristics of the West Bank and Gaza. The purpose of this special issue of *Link* is to begin to remedy that informational gap for concerned Americans.

An important statement by Dr. Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human Rights, has been appended, since it treats questions pertaining to Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. A list of major references on the subject at the end of issue may guide the interested reader.

The author/editor of this issue is John P. Richardson, who has lived and travelled in the Middle East over a number of years. Mr. Richardson is President of American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA), which provides assistance to a number of West Bank educational and philanthropic institutions. He also writes and lectures on the Middle East situation.

Layout and design were done by Kamal Boullata, a Palestinian artist living in Washington. Mr. Boullata is currently preparing a book on Arab women's poetry.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION



Israel established itself in the fertile coastal plain of Palestine in 1948, leaving the Arabs only hilly, arid Eastern Palestine, bounded on the East by the Jordan River. This region, annexed by Jordan in 1950 and known as the West Bank, is dotted with towns and patchy farm lands. It is now home to large numbers of Palestinian refugees from the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, who settled into an uncertain existence following their dispossession from the coastal areas.

The West Bank took second place in Jordanian development priorities and has had to rely on limited local capital for industrialization and development, resulting in numerous small entrepreneurial establishments. The West Bank economy has developed on a base of agriculture, tourism (Jerusalem and the Holy Places), and light industry. Major West Bank agricultural commodities are olives, other fruits, and vegetables; industry emphasizes food processing (particularly olive oil), soap, cigarettes, and other light products.

Gaza was a hot stretch of Mediterranean littoral in 1948, with a citrus industry and a shortage of water. Gaza farmers relied heavily on dry farming of land east toward Beersheba as well. Gaza was cut off from the rest of Palestine by the creation of Israel in 1948, and its problems were compounded by a flood of refugees from southern and western portions of Palestine. Refugees soon dominated the Gaza population, and the economy fell apart. UNRWA, the UN agency established to assist the refugees, became the dominant economic and administrative force in Gaza. The economy of Gaza was boosted by the arrival of UN troops to police the border after Israel's invasion of Egypt in 1956, and the Egyptian government made Gaza a free port for imports and currency transactions.

Seizure by Israel of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967 brought economic chaos. In the West Bank, tourism revenues quickly shifted to Israeli pockets, Jordanian banks were closed, markets were blocked, and the loss of several hundred thousand Palestinians who fled to East Jordan left great gaps in economic patterns. In Gaza the economic impact of occupation was not so drastic, since UNRWA, still the dominant economic force, maintained its program uninterrupted.

Israel moved quickly to integrate the West Bank and Gaza into its economy.

An Israeli Defense Ministry document has stated the relationship between Israel and the Occupied Territories bluntly:

"The areas are a supplementary market for Israeli goods and services on the one hand and a source of factors of production, especially unskilled labor, for the Israeli economy on the other."*

The Israeli victory in 1967 created a boom condition in its economy. The West Bank and Gaza represented economic opportunity, and investment capital from the West flowed into Israel in unprecedented amounts. An intensive construction program was launched, both in Israel and in the Occupied Territories, creating an open-ended demand for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. By 1972 some 52,000 West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, attracted by high wages, were commuting legally into Israel for jobs, with perhaps half again as many commuting illegally. Thirty-five thousand of the legal workers were from the West Bank. 50% of the West Bank/Gaza work force in Israel is in construction trades; about 20% is in agriculture. (The number of West Bankers employed in the West Bank actually *declined* by 10% from 1970 to 1972, since Palestinian employers were unable to compete successfully with the Israeli wage scale.)

The Israeli government established a network of short-term vocational schools in the Occupied Territories, offering premiums to construction trainees. These short courses are intended to develop semi-skilled Palestinian workers for the Israeli labor market. (UNRWA training courses, by contrast, last two years and train young people to much higher levels of competence.)

One result of the re-structuring of West Bank/Gaza employment patterns has been a financial boost to the laboring class and relative impoverishment of the Palestinian middle class and professionals. Many educated Palestinians have become "economic refugees", further depleting the pool of talent remaining under occupation.

West Bank agriculture has now been almost entirely geared to Israel's needs, under the concept of a "single overall planning framework", resulting in development of crops suited for Israeli export and/or processing, and replacement of previous export crops (such as melons favored in dry Arab countries). Israel's

(Continued on page 5)

Prior to 1948 the West Bank and Gaza were part of a traditional, predominantly agricultural Palestine. Major West Bank cities were (from north to south) Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Beersheba; Gaza was the only city in what became the Gaza Strip. Today the West Bank population is 70% rural, as opposed to 20% in Gaza. The West Bank population is 40% refugee, while Gaza is about 70% refugee. West Bank/Gaza society is predominantly Muslim, with a significant Christian population only in Jerusalem and in West Bank cities like Bethlehem and Ramallah.

Social patterns in the West Bank and Gaza have long been conservative. Strong local allegiances, coupled with alienation of the refugee population, have resulted in contiguous but loosely allied population areas. Traditional social/political patterns still dominate, with local authority vested in "notables", usually landowners, merchants, or religious men.

One indicator of the changing character of the West Bank and Gaza is the high rate of literacy and school enrollment among the young. An estimated 95% of school-age children receive schooling in government, UNRWA, or private institutions. Jordanian educational practice in the West Bank (still in effect) called for nine years of mandatory, free education, with three voluntary years of secondary education. Two hundred fifty thousand West Bank (including East Jerusalem) students attend local schools. 67% are educated in government schools, 24% in UNRWA schools; and 9% in private schools. Most of the private schools are religiously sponsored, many Christian, although student bodies usually reflect the general population makeup. The school population in Gaza is 127,000, of whom 60% attend UNRWA schools and 40% attend government schools (private school attendance is negligible).

Israeli occupation in 1967 brought direct interference in the educational process. Students in East Jerusalem public schools are required to study the curriculum used by Israel's Palestinian minority, although at the secondary level they can also take the curriculum leading to the *tawjihi*, the matriculation exam used by most Arab universities. Imposition of the Israeli curriculum in East Jerusalem led to a major exodus of students into private schools (where Israeli intrusion has been more limited), since it emphasized Israeli/Jewish accomplishments and denigrated Arab history. Israeli educational interference in the West Bank and Gaza extends to textbooks, many of which Israel rejected after 1967 on the grounds that they contained material critical of Israel and/or the Jews. The solution most frequently arrived at has been to reprint the books without the offending material. Each year more than 6,000 West Bank/Gaza students pass the *tawjihi*, but only a few are able to find places in one of the local institutions of higher learning or in universities outside. Many of these young people accept jobs in the Israeli economy and become part of a growing population with limited skills and opportunities.

(Continued on page 4)

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL PATTERNS



The story of the West Bank and Gaza is ultimately the story of a people. To be a Palestinian in the West Bank or Gaza today is to lead a precarious existence in the land of one's forefathers, uncertain from one day to the next whether a knock on the door will mean exile across a border in the night. Occupation is a generic condition, inherently brutalizing of both oppressors and oppressed.

An estimated 1500 West Bank and Gaza Palestinians have been expelled since 1967 without formal charges, presentation of evidence, or a trial. Most of these expellees have been doctors, teachers, and other professional people—the group most capable of leadership.

Aside from the 1500 expellees, there are an estimated 5,000 Palestinians now in Israeli prisons, many being held under "administrative detention" without formal charges or a trial. The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, Amnesty International, and other human rights groups have taken testimony outside the Occupied Territories from victims of torture, being denied the right to examine the prisons and prisoners in the West Bank and Gaza.

Thousands of Palestinian homes have been blown up or bulldozed by the Israelis since 1967, either as retaliation for housing a suspected commando or (as in Gaza) destroyed *en masse* to permit military vehicles freer access to crowded residential areas.

In addition to expulsion, imprisonment, and destruction of their homes, the Palestinians have watched helplessly as Israeli housing developments, agricultural settlements, and industrial centers have been established on Palestinian land in the West Bank and Gaza. The number of

LIFE UNDER OCCUPATION



Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza alone is estimated at more than 40, and high Israeli officials have pledged that no place inhabited by Jews would be returned to Arab sovereignty. East Jerusalem is now ringed by high-rise apartment complexes built to establish irreversible "facts" and to attract Western Jewish immigrants to settle in Jerusalem. Late last fall the Israeli government announced plans to construct a major industrial center halfway between Jerusalem and Jericho, on part of a 20,000 acre parcel of land

already expropriated by the occupying authorities.

The list of enumerated Israeli actions in the West Bank and Gaza is only the most visible part of the story of the occupation. More difficult to document is the conqueror's attitude toward the conquered. The population is at the mercy of the soldiers and the tourists, Israeli and non-Israeli, who are given tours of the conquered areas. A car arbitrarily stopped and searched, a pedestrian challenged by a policeman, a permit delayed

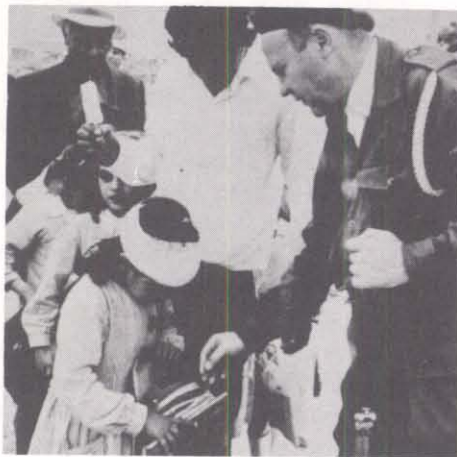
(Continued from page 3)

One strength of West Bank/Gaza society is the wide variety of non-governmental institutions serving the social and educational needs of the people. These range from kindergarten to post-secondary schools; vocational and teacher-training centers; women's programs encompassing child care, literacy, and job skills; social welfare organizations; and clubs which have preserved literary traditions. Most of these activities are locally sponsored, although international voluntary organizations also supervise programs staffed by Palestinians. There is a growing trend in the area toward self-reliance and local initiative. Not only are more people becoming involved in direct social action; the range and sophistication of programs are growing.

Nonetheless, occupation has had a corrosive effect on

West Bank/Gaza society. In a situation where political and human rights are denied, it is more difficult to maintain traditional lines of authority within Palestinian society. The more cosmopolitan Israeli life style has influenced the young people under occupation, and Israel's farflung spy system has inhibited social intercourse.

Of the two Palestinian regions occupied in 1967, Gaza showed more resistance to occupation in the early years due to its generally more desperate condition and to the presence of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA), which had been trained and armed by the Egyptians. Ruthless repression by the Israelis eventually brought the situation under control. The West Bank, more developed and with more to lose, has seen only sporadic outbursts of protest, most recently at the time of the PLO appearance at the United Nations. □



(Continued from top of page 4)

time and time again—these are the daily humiliations of occupation for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza.

Several Geneva Conventions intended for the protection of civilians in occupied territories and strengthened in 1949 to reflect excesses of Nazi Germany during World War II specifically prohibit many practices of the occupying authorities in the West Bank and Gaza, including:

1. deportation of inhabitants
2. collective (neighborhood) punishments
3. destruction of homes and property
4. colonizing with occupier's population
5. coercion, including terror and torture.

Americans have had access only to sporadic information about the West Bank and Gaza since they were occupied in 1967. Increasingly, voices, including Jewish voices, are being raised in protest against the actions of the occupying authorities in the West Bank and Gaza. Sympathy for Israel has tended to inhibit public discussion of the occupation in the United States, but, growing public awareness of occupation policies should further the cause of human rights and justice. □

(Continued from page 2)

"open bridges" policy across the Jordan River has meant that West Bank farmers and manufacturers could market products undesired by Israel in Arab countries and keep a steady flow of hard currency coming into the Occupied Territories. Israeli agricultural specialists have directed the changes in West Bank agriculture, introducing better techniques to the local farmers. Field crops, vegetables, fruits, and livestock have all increased during the past five years, although production costs have risen as well. Gaza's citrus industry has also grown, although it is now entirely in the hands of Israeli marketing agencies.

Since occupation, Israeli manufacturers have developed extensive sub-contracting in Palestinian shops and factories. This activity is centered in low capital-intensity enterprises, particularly clothing, building materials, foam rubber, and furniture. Israel now controls 80% of total West Bank/Gaza trade, regulating items exported and imported by the Occupied Territories to insure that manufactured

BASIC FACTS: WEST BANK/GAZA

I. WEST BANK

- A. Population: 725,000
(incl. E. Jerusalem)
1. Refugee: 290,000
 2. Non-Refugee: 435,000
- B. Area: 2,000 Sq. Miles
C. Per capita Income: \$356
D. Religious Makeup: 94% Muslim,
6% Christian

II. GAZA STRIP

- A. Population: 475,000
1. Refugee: 325,000
 2. Non-refugee: 150,000
- B. Area: 135 Sq. Miles
C. Per capita Income: \$220
D. Religious Makeup: 99% Muslim,
1% Christian

goods are bought from Israel while industrial goods from the West Bank and Gaza are geared toward Israel's manufacturing needs. Lower wages in the Occupied Territories provide an additional incentive for Israeli industrialists to utilize Palestinian workers and plant capacity.

Palestinian workers in Israel have become a vital element in Israel's economy. They are 45% cheaper to employ than Israelis, and they are available in large numbers to do the menial work that Israelis are learning to disdain. In 1972 more than 20% of all construction work in Israel was done by Palestinians. Despite a growing debate within Israel about the wisdom of becoming dependent on non-Jewish labor for building the Jewish state, the process of integration of Palestinian workers in the Israeli economy continues apace. □

*Quoted in MERIP REPORT No. 24, "Israeli Economic Policy in the Occupied Areas", January 1974, by Sheila Ryan. Ms. Ryan's excellent analysis is the source of much of the information in this section.



The most significant new development affecting the Palestinians is the Palestinian national movement, dominated by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its head, Yasir Arafat. International recognition of the PLO was reflected in the invitation by 105 member states of the UN for Mr. Arafat to address the General Assembly session last fall; the PLO was also granted permanent observer status at the UN.

The PLO's official objective is the creation of a "secular, democratic state" in all of historic Palestine. This state, which would give equal rights to Jews, Muslims, and Christians, would replace the exclusive Jewish state of Israel. The PLO cannot achieve its objective without the support of key Arab states, most of whom want an end to the conflict and have been urging the PLO to accept a limited Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. There is opposition within the Palestinian movement to such a step. The "rejection front", headed by George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), argues that a West Bank/Gaza state would be dominated by Israel and would not solve the Palestine refugee problem, since most of the refugees are from areas that became Israel in 1948.

There is evidence of growing support within the PLO for a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza—in recognition of the fact that holding out for the secular, democratic state might mean that no Palestinian state would emerge. Of the 3 million Palestinians in the world, 1.2 million now live in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza. Palestinians in the *diaspora* would undoubtedly have the right to come to the new state as citizens; how many would do so initially is another matter. Most, even those living in difficult circumstances, would

need assurance that they could support their families if they did come.

Non-violent relations with Israel and Jordan would be vital to the new state. There are natural affinities between the East and West banks, not least because a majority of East Bank Jordanians are Palestinian refugees from pre-1967 Palestine/Israel. The new state would approach Jordan as a political equal, although eventual political linkage of the two banks is a possibility. Israeli opposition to an independent Palestinian state would very likely be overcome only through strong external pressure, and Israel's preponderant military strength might constitute an effective restraint on the military posture of the new state.

Political leadership for the state would likely come from the PLO, particularly in the early stages of state building. The West Bank/Gaza population appreciates PLO's paramount role in achieving international recognition of the Palestinians as a people with national aspirations, and they realize that Israeli suppression of local politics, coupled with regional antagonisms, would make it difficult for local leadership to assert itself initially. Political viability for the state would require a major Palestinian commitment to work together for a common objective; the Palestinian experience of centuries of occupation and exile could make that objective difficult to achieve. It is possible that the state's greatest problems to overcome would be internal political and managerial ones.

The Palestinians are the most highly-educated people in the Arab World. The skills of their people, if focused in the new state, could work near-miracles. There already exists in the West Bank and Gaza a large, experienced, and dedicated Palestinian bureaucracy in the form of

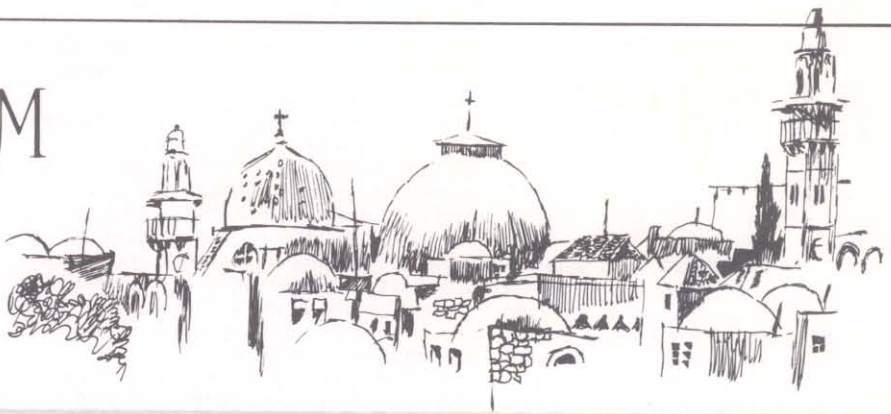
UNRWA, whose teachers, administrators, and technicians have been responsible for large-scale human engineering projects for the past 25 years. UNRWA facilities in the region include schools, offices, warehouses, and fleets of transport. If UNRWA's activities were phased out in the context of peace and development of an independent Palestinian state, its human and material legacy could be of invaluable service to the new state.

There also exists in the West Bank and Gaza a wide variety of private educational and social institutions, most run by Palestinians, which could play an important role in development of the state. This network of institutions is well established, possessing programs, physical plants, leadership, and acceptability to the people. With adequate funding and program expansion, many of them could become *nuclei* for key sectors of development in the new Palestinian state.

Establishment of a sound economy would have to overcome the relative neglect of the region over the years, as well as the colonial economic patterns developed by Israel during the occupation. A corridor would have to be established across the 22 miles separating the West Bank from the Gaza Strip, and a major port in Gaza would facilitate imports and exports by sea.

Major investment would be required in housing, communications, and water supply. Tourism, agriculture, and industry would all require extensive development, although the tourist industry was well established before 1967. The new state could develop a sound economy, provided it had access to human skills and development capital in abundance. There is evidence of willingness by Arab oil-producing states to assist generously in the latter regard. □

JERUSALEM



Jerusalem is the object of intense feeling on the part of both Jews and Arabs and must be commented on separately from other analysis of the West Bank situation. The United Nations acknowledged the special character of Jerusalem in 1947 by proposing that it be made a *corpus separatum* under international jurisdiction, while the rest of Palestine was to be divided into Arab and Jewish states.

Jerusalem holds a special place in the emotions of the world's 900 million Christians, 700 million Muslims and 15 million Jews. Here David established the Jewish capital about 1,000 B.C., Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac, and Solomon built the great Temple. Here, too, Christ preached and was crucified. And here, too, Muhammed began his night journey to heaven, and the magnificent mosque known as the Dome of the Rock was built in the 7th century. However, Jerusalem is much more than an abstract religious ideal; for centuries it has been home to its Arab and Jewish populations.

Jerusalem was divided by the 1947-48 fighting into Arab and Jewish sectors; the Arab Legion of Jordan held the eastern part of the city, and the predominantly Jewish, western part of the city came under Israeli control. The ancient walled city, predominantly Arab and containing most of the religious shrines, remained in Arab hands. A checkpoint between the two sectors permitted limited travel in both directions, but access to the other side was generally denied the respective populations.

Israel occupied East Jerusalem in June 1967 and immediately launched a campaign to tie the two sections of the city together. Water, sewage, and electricity systems were linked, and East Jerusalem's 70,000 Palestinian Arabs found their ancestral city annexed to West Jerusalem, with its 220,000 Jews, almost overnight.

Israeli actions in the occupied Arab part of Jerusalem have triggered a succession of official censures by the United Nations and the United States government protesting charges in the character of the city, contrary to Geneva Conventions protecting occupied areas. Of particular concern are expulsion of Palestinians from parts of the city desired by the Israelis; expropriation of property; large-scale construction projects on Arab land; and archaeological excavations related to the ancient Jewish Temple which threaten the physical and spiritual integrity of Muslim Holy Places.

The Arabs have been equally adamant in insisting that East Jerusalem be returned to Arab sovereignty in the context of peace. King Hussein of Jordan has been the principal spokesman representing the Arab view of Jerusalem, since East Jerusalem was part of the Hashemite Kingdom until 1967. Since the Rabat Conference in fall 1974, which recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as spokesman for the Palestinians, the Jordanians have acknowledged the paramount role of the PLO in matters concerning occupied Palestine. Jerusalem's future is made more complex by the fact that the Israelis have stated their categorical opposition to dealing with the PLO.

In the event of creation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, it is likely that sovereignty in Jerusalem would have to be shared between Israel and the Palestinians. Palestinian associations with Jerusalem have been developed in an unbroken pattern over the past thirteen centuries, and Jerusalem is of central political and emotional significance to them as well as to Israeli Jews. Unilateral political control of the old city has proved inadequate historically; a peaceful future will necessitate a more creative response to Jerusalem's unique role.

MAJOR REFERENCES FOR THIS ISSUE

1. **Report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA** (1 July 1973-30 June 1974), United Nations General Assembly, 29th Session (New York, 1974).
2. **Jerusalem, Key to Peace**, Evan M. Wilson (Washington, 1970).
3. **Jerusalem: Keystone of an Arab-Israeli Settlement**, Richard Pfaff (Washington, 1969).
4. **UNESCO: Report on the Situation of National Education and Cultural Life of Peoples in Occupied Arab Territories** (September 1974).
5. Materials prepared for "Seminar on the Future of Palestine", Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), (London, 1975).
6. "Israeli Economic Policy in the Occupied Areas", Sheila Ryan, MERIP REPORT #24 (January 1974).
7. "West Bank and Gaza Institutional Potential", John P. Richardson, Middle East Institute Conference (Washington, 1974).
8. **Israel and the Occupied Territories**, Bernard Reich, Dept. of State External Research Program (Washington, 1973).
9. **The Economy of the Administered Areas in 1972**, Bank of Israel Research Department (Jerusalem, 1974).
10. Unpublished manuscript on the economic viability of a future Palestinian state, Elizabeth Collard and Rodney Wilson (London, 1974).

IN BRIEF

99 Audiotapes

Of special interest to the readers of *The Link* will be a collection of 99 audiotapes encompassing a broad spectrum of viewpoints on issues in the Middle East which has been released for purchase by the University of California Extension Media Center, Berkeley. Collected from several different sources and representing the outlooks of a diverse array of individuals, groups, institutions and governments, the tapes deal with such subjects as the background of events that led to current problems, social and political trends in the area and relationships between the Middle Eastern nations and the United States.

The tapes are available in either open-reel or cassette form and are for sale only; rental and audition services are not offered. Prices are from \$8 to \$16 per tape, depending on the length of the tape. For detailed descriptions and order forms write to AUDIOTAPES, Department A1, University of California Extension Media Center, Berkeley, Ca. 94720.

Service Rendered

Since 1967 AMEU has sought to foster increased understanding in America of the history, goals and values of all the peoples in the Middle East and broader understanding of their religious beliefs, economic conditions and social customs. Recently two publications which we wanted to share with you came to our attention. We believe that both of these further our established aims. Therefore, AMEU arranged with the National Council of Churches for you to receive a copy of their *Middle East Briefing* and with the Pontifical Mission for Palestine to send you the Spring 1975 issue of the *Catholic Near East Magazine*. AMEU believes that our friends and the readers of *The Link* will find both of these publications valuable additions to their collections of material which increases and broadens knowledge and understanding of the Middle East today.

New Book Available

A new book has been added to *The Link* list. *Christians in the Arab East* (Lycabettus Press, 1975; 293 pp.) is a comprehensive study of the varying roles which Arabic-speaking Christians have played in Islamic society since the Muslim conquests and in the states of the Arab East since independence. Except for Lebanon where they are an official

majority and where they dominate all areas of society and government, these Christian communities are a minority conspicuous for their affluence, education, and Western orientation, whose influence in the contemporary Middle East greatly exceeds their numerical strength. Detailed demographic statistics, many made available here for the first time in English, the power structure and political involvement of the various churches, Christian participation in the Palestinian nationalists movement — all are examined in the light of the growing importance of the Middle East in world affairs.

Published in and imported from Greece, this book is offered by AMEU at \$10.00

Your Help Needed

In several recent news stories, AMEU has been described as a well-financed and highly effective organization. The truth is embarrassing but the fact is when the first story appeared, our expenditures were running ahead of our income. Energy and effort needed for project development were being devoted to fund raising. So much for the first charge.

We would like to think that AMEU is a highly effective organization. We do not doubt that those who oppose what AMEU stands for think that we are. We are aware that we could be much more effective if additional funds were available.

AMEU's financial support comes entirely from those who think that it is important for the American people to receive information about Middle Eastern matters from a wide variety of sources. We believe that the material we publish and distribute proves that ours is a unique and independent voice. Our statement of purpose is well known. If you endorse these aims and value our services, please help us to do our work. Contrary to what our opponents say, your gift is needed now.

Postal Troubles

Letters are often delayed in reaching us. Sometimes they do not come at all. At times, checks, money orders and cash fail to arrive. AMEU continues to send receipts for all contributions within 24 hours after arrival. Book orders are normally filled within the same period. Letters which require acknowledgement are answered promptly. If you do not hear from us within a reasonable time, please investigate immediately.

Letters For Our Files

Many friends of AMEU send us copies of letters they write to the president, secretary of state, senators, representatives and editors. Many of these letters have endorsed the

reassessment of America's Middle East foreign policy; others have written to commend or defend columnists or TV news analysts who have dared to depart from the established pro-Zionist line. AMEU does not attempt to organize or to direct letter-writing campaigns. However, we do welcome reports of what our readers are doing and thinking. Copies of your letters keep us informed about what you are doing and the kind of information which has proved valuable.

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.

It is published by A.M.E.U. (Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc.) whose directors are:

John V. Chapple, former CARE director, Gaza Strip Project;

John H. Davis, former Commissioner General of UNRWA, International Consultant;

Harry G. Dorman, Jr., former Director, Middle East and Europe Department, National Council of Churches;

Henry G. Fischer, Curator in Egyptology, Metropolitan Museum of Art. (v.p.);

Helen C. Hilling, Professor, U. of Fla. Carl Max Kortepeter, Assoc. Prof. Middle East History, NYU (sec.).

John G. Nolan, National Secretary, Catholic Near East Welfare Association;

Joseph L. Ryan, S.J., St. Joseph's University, Beirut;

Jack B. Sunderland, President of American Independent Oil Company—(pres.);

L. Humphrey Walz, Associate Synod Executive, HR, United Presbyterian Synod of the Northeast;

Charles T. White, former Financial Executive, Near East Foundation and AID—(treas.).

John M. Sutton, Executive Director;
Mrs. E. Kelly, Administrative Assistant;
Miss H. Cassile, Distribution & Travel.

All correspondence should be addressed to Room 538, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.



Americans for
Middle East Understanding, Inc.
Room 538, 475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

Return postage guaranteed.

SUPPLEMENT

Israel Shahak, a professor of organic chemistry at the Hebrew University and a survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto and the Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp, was shocked when he observed, as a soldier in the occupied West Bank after the June 1967 War, the deportation of thousands of Palestinians across the Jordan River. Upon further investigation Israel Shahak came to oppose the Zionist establishment in Israel primarily for injustices committed against Palestinians. He became the chairman

of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and publicly — both inside and outside of Israel — opposed certain, official, Israeli policies. In the fall of 1974, vicious attacks upon Israel Shahak and his troublesome views arose in Israeli society. Herzl Rosenblum, the editor of *Yediot Ahronot*, a leading daily, Hebrew-language newspaper, denounced Israel Shahak in point as “a plague which should be wiped out for the good of society.” Others, including Amnon Rubinstein, the prestigious, sometimes critic of the Israeli establishment, dean of law at Tel Aviv University, and contributing editor of *Haaretz*, another leading daily newspaper in

Israel, attacked as well. Rubinstein, regarded as somewhat of a dove in Israeli society, demanded that Shahak be relieved of his position at the Hebrew University and lose his passport. Various Knesset (Israeli Parliament) leaders called for Israel Shahak to be tried in court for treason against the state. Commentators over Israeli radio and television uttered similar statements and leveled similar attacks. The following piece, written and translated by Israel Shahak, distributed privately in Israel, and printed in a somewhat shortened version in the Israeli weekly publication, *Zu Haderech*, presents Israel Shahak’s “troublesome” views.

Norton Metzvinsky

from *ZU HADERECH*, the weekly newspaper of Israel's Rakah Party

November 27, 1974

What Are My Opinions?

by Israel Shahak

During my visit abroad to Western-Europe, a concerted attack on my activities was made in the Israeli press especially in Haaretz, but also in Maariv, Yediot Ahronot, Davar, Jerusalem Post and other papers. [See SWASIA I, 42, for translations of several articles attacking Shahak.] No attempt was made by any paper to check (with me or my friends) any item of the many lies they published about me personally, and likewise nothing of my opinions was explained in detail. I was only accused in general terms of being a “slanderer,” “poisoner of the wells of peace,” etc.

I have tried to offer the following article to Haaretz. It was accepted and I was asked to shorten it. I did so to the prescribed length, and was then put off by a succession of ridiculous excuses, the last of which was that the manuscript was lost. Finally after more than three weeks I was told that no article of mine will be published by Haaretz. The decision was made by the editor, Gershon Shoken. The article in its original version is given below:

There is a fact which should have really interested the Israeli public in the affair of the witch-hunt leveled against me by Herzl Rosenblum, editor of *Yediot Ahronot*; by the editor of *Maariv*; Amnon Rubinstein [Dean of Tel Aviv University's Law School] and Uri Avneri [editor of *Haolam Haze'h*]. It is the plain fact that none of them said exactly what are the “terrible” things, what are the so-called “lies,” which even Rubinstein sometimes can't deny. In short, what is it that I really say, here in Israel as well as abroad?

Since I consider it beneath my dignity to conduct a discussion with people who do not even care to check the most elementary facts about me, I do not intend to answer here any of the “charges” levelled against me. I do not

see myself as a defendant, but as an accuser; I want to explain exactly about what I accuse the state of Israel; I mean by this term especially the Jewish community of the state of Israel and only after that the government, which fulfills the will of that public.

Space lacking, I will confine myself to the occupied territories. I shall not enter into my claims concerning discrimination within Israel itself.

The Occupied Territories

In my opinion, the Israeli occupation regime in the conquered territories is not only not a liberal one; it is in fact one of the most cruel and repressive regimes in modern times. Maybe we can start with a simple problem: The number of Palestinians living now in the occupied territories is slightly above a million. Before the Israeli conquest the number of Palestinians living there was a one and one-half million, plus some three hundred thousand more relatives working temporarily in various countries.

The first thing done by the occupation authorities was to organize by all means, both by cruel coercion and in supposedly “humane” ways, a mass-expulsion of Palestinians from their motherland. This mass-expulsion (unlike the expulsion of individuals, about which I'll speak later) was carried out until August, 1968, and was only interrupted because the government of King Hussein shut the bridges for further expulsion. In almost all Palestinian families that “policy” has caused separation of parents from children, of brothers from brothers and sisters; in short human suffering that it is hard to describe. But for the government of Israel, for all the Zionist parties and for undercover servants of the government like Uri Avneri, this is not a human problem, this is not a gross and cynical trampling underfoot of the most

elementary values of justice—this is only the well-known “demographic problem.” In the “united” Jerusalem of today, the very same situation also prevails. The Israeli government speaks of “reunion of families” when it comes to Russian Jews, but does not allow the “reunion of families” when it comes to Palestinians of Jerusalem. And I talk of *right*, not of some act of charity, sometimes accomplished as a measure of favouritism.

People who were born, and lived most of their life in Jerusalem are not allowed to come back and to settle *in their own city*, if they are not Jews; of course, if a Dutchman converts to Judaism tomorrow (by way of Orthodox Jewish conversion) he will not only be allowed to do so at once, he will also get an apartment in Ramat-Eshkol (all-Jewish suburb of Jerusalem, built on Arab land conquered in 1967).

All the arrangements known as “summer visits”, so praised by all sorts of hypocrites, is essentially meant to aggravate the problem: Brother is allowed to see brother, children to see their father. Of course, nostalgia becomes overwhelming, and then they are told: You want to reunite? Please do so—but on the other side of the Jordan river! Thus does false liberalism serve the real aim of the Israeli government: the expulsion of Palestinians from their country.

Democratic Rights

More than seven years have elapsed since the conquest. Let us consider what was the situation of Nazi Germany and Japan seven years after they were conquered and occupied by the Allies. In 1952, there were already Japanese and German states. They were not spontaneously generated. They were established by Germans and Japanese, because, shortly after the war, the residents of occupied territories in Germany and in Japan were granted basic democratic rights, rights that were constantly enlarged. These were the right to create political parties, to write political programs, to hold non-violent demonstra-

tions, in short, the right to debate and to decide about their future. The situation in the territories occupied by Israel is just the opposite. Not only are political parties—all political parties—totally forbidden; even unions, such as trade-unions, student-unions or cultural associations, are forbidden. It is not only forbidden for Palestinians to demonstrate; it also is forbidden to go on strike; it is even forbidden to close one's own shop in sign of protest, even though it is hard to imagine a more peaceful way of protesting.

I recall those facts, not only because I condemn and oppose them very deeply, but also in order to stress that here lies the root of Palestinian terrorism. And even though I condemn all terrorism, be it Palestinian terrorism or Israeli terrorism—the later being bigger from the standpoint of view of the number of innocents who fall victim to it—I place the heaviest responsibility upon the shoulders of the Israeli government. It is only natural that a people whose existence is denied, whose most basic family and human rights are denied, and who are denied any right to wage a political struggle—should choose another form of struggle, some manifestations of which certainly deserve to be firmly condemned.

Violations of the Geneva Conference

Moreover, Israel shamelessly and cynically violates, in the conquered territories, all the Geneva conventions. The same people who have the audacity to recall the Geneva convention on prisoners of war when it is violated by the Syrians (and I have no doubt that it was indeed violated by the Syrians in regards to our prisoners, just as I have no doubt that Israel violated that convention in regards to Syrian prisoners), the same people were silent, and are still silent when Israel violates overtly, through acts committed in broad daylight, the 4th section of the set of Geneva conventions 1949, the section which deals with the status of the residents of occupied territories. Out of the many violations I shall quote only three, which are committed overtly, on the basis of an almost unanimous agreement inside Israel.

Let us take as an example the blowing up of houses and other collective punishments. The facts are well known: When the occupation authorities arrest a suspect, even before he is put on trial, sometimes even before he is "officially" indicted, an order is issued to destroy the house in which the suspect lived. Sometimes it is the house of his family, sometimes not. Sometimes "refinements" are introduced. All the inhabitants of the

village are forcibly concentrated on a nearby hill, so as to watch the "educative show". It must be stressed that such an act is fundamentally barbaric. People who even in the eyes of the authorities, are innocent are ousted. Children, old people, women, sick, cripples, and all of them together are thrown onto the street, regardless of weather. This is one example of collective punishment such as is expressly prohibited by the Geneva conventions, as well as by any notion of natural justice. More than once in the course of my functions, I had the privilege of sitting, together with one of such families, on the ruins of their house, and nothing convinced me more of the barbaric character of our occupation than the sight of children on the ruins of their house. Aside from that punishment, there is a whole set of different collective punishments. Does one want to punish the area of Hebron? Grapes are not allowed to be transported on the roads during picking time, until the "notables" finally fall on their knees before the military governor. Does one want to punish the city of Ramallah? The sale of mutton is forbidden in that town for two months, or the municipality is not allowed to receive contributions coming from natives of Ramallah abroad and sent for purposes of municipal development. Does one want to punish the town of El-Bireh? An order is issued to take pictures of Palestinian folklore off the walls of the city hall, and to hide them in a cellar! I could go on indefinitely, and give innumerable examples of this kind.

Learning from Antisemites

As a Jew, I must say that all this is quite familiar to me. Collective punishments inflicted upon Jews, the belief all the Jews in the neighborhood are "guilty" of this or that deed committed by one Jew, and that they must therefore be collectively punished, all this is quite well-known in Jewish history. All the collective punishments and the "justifications" raised to rationalize them only demonstrate in my opinion, to what extent the state of Israel is adopting progressively all the values and opinions of antisemitism. The discussion between the Israeli government and false liberals is only about the question of knowing whether "it helps" or not. In Israel one is not allowed to say that to take an innocent child and inflict a cruel "punishment" upon him is a barbaric and horrible act in itself. This is "calumny", for to say this is to relate to Palestinians, to non-Jews, as to human beings, while false liberals only deal with the "interest of the Jews"; they only deal with the hypocritical question: Is the oppression of Palestinians a good or a bad thing for the Jews, in the short and in the long run?

Individual Expulsions

I have spoken of the mass expulsion that was interrupted in 1968 after King Hussein refused to cooperate. But the expulsion of individuals is taking place all the time. Here again, the story is simple. The authorities come to a man's house in the middle of the night. They give him a half-hour or an hour to pack up a few things, while making sure that neither he nor his family get in touch with the outside. A group of such people is taken to the Jordan Valley, and with the help of blows, shots (and even wounds provoked by the blows) they are simply forced to pass to Jordan. The majority of the expelled belong to the leadership of the Palestinian nation: mayors of towns, lawyers, engineers and intellectuals. Of course, they are not officially charged with anything, so that they have no possibility to defend themselves. The day after, the Israeli government announces that they had "incited" the population; the Israeli intellectuals, the judges, the lawyers, the writers and others, who shout, for instance, about the harassment of "immigration activists" in the USSR, do not pronounce a single word of condemnation against that barbaric act, in which a person is uprooted from his motherland, a father from his family, without a legal charge. And, of course, to a family thus orphaned of its father, they say simply: Why don't you also go and reunite outside? In many cases the family rejects this sentence of "liberal" occupation, and stays, and suffers, only so as to prevent the success of the Israeli authorities' plot, to expell as many Palestinians as it can from their country. And the well-known "calumniator", Israel Shahak, with his "primitive style" (according to Amnon Rubinstein) hereby announces that he has more respect for those families than for the whole Israeli government together with its overt and covert servants, and that he will continue to struggle, in Israel and abroad, in order that those people obtain justice!

Jewish Settlement in the Conquered Territories

At the time of the sterile discussion about "legal" or "illegal" settlement, there is a tendency in Israel to forget that any settlement of civilians of a conquering power in the occupied territories is a violation of section IV of the Geneva conventions. I consider with much greater opposition the "legal" settlements authorized by the Israeli government than the illegal settlements. Not only because of the Geneva convention, and not only because it prevents or does not prevent peace (what peace?), but also because of more essential motives: the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, by their very nature, constitute a dispossession

sion, a discrimination and a system of apartheid. The territories confiscated, so acquired by pressure and deceit for settlement, become territories where only Jews are allowed to live, and where only Jews shall be allowed to live in the future. They are taken out of their natural geographical context, and become typical imperialist bases, serving the strategic needs of the colonialist power—in this case Israel—that has erected them. Thus, by the way of “legal” settlement, the “Jordan Valley” has become one half of the West Bank, and almost reaches to the eastern suburbs of Nablus. Thus the Gaza Strip constitutes a concentration camp (and just like a concentration camp it is surrounded by barbed wire) “guarded” by the settlements of the Rafah area, and the “Jewish fingers.” Those are the kibbutzim, which Moshe Dayan and Arik Sharon have planted in the strip. The function of those settlements, clear to anyone who consents to look at the map, is territorial expansion; it is the enslavement and proletarianization of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories.

I shall add a few words concerning the “principle of land acquisition.” First of all, the Israeli occupation regime confiscated all the government lands and devoted them to Jewish settlement. This, from any point of view, is really a theft. In most cases those had always been communal lands of the Palestinian village. They were registered, according to the regional custom, in the name of the Ottoman Sultan, then in the name of the British High Commissioner, and finally, in the name of the Jordanian king. In all cases, those lands were actually utilized by the local residents. Now the “Socialist” Israeli rule has come; it transfers land in a racist way to the use of exclusive members of one ethnic group: the Jews. By the way, this was not exclusively for use by Israeli citizens but for the use of Jews from all over the world. This is racism! Another form of land acquisition is by way of confiscation of that which is called “lands of absentees.” Once again it is a simple matter: More than one-third of the Palestinians in the territories were expelled, and among them many whose lands were registered in their own name. For example, if a family father was expelled and if his wife and children remained in the village, then they are living on an “absentee’s lands.” Next comes the “Socialist” Israeli government and expels them from that land, which it consecrates to Jewish settlement. Thus is the land of Israel “redeemed!” In this way a supplementary “socialist” result is obtained. In many villages the lands “belonging” to the Jordanian administration separate and cut the plots still in private hands. Then, pressure is exerted in direction of what is called “land concen-

tration,” i.e., that the remaining villagers shall become partners in the spoliation of widows and orphans of their village, by exchanging their lands for the confiscated lands, so as to create a “checker”—a continuous territory that shall be “cleared out” for Jewish settlement. That was the root of the problem in the famous case of the village of Akrah, and those were the means by which it was “redeemed.” On this land stands the kibbutz “Nahal Gittit” (which is, of course, in my view a kibbutz of robbers and oppressors). Together with the full kibbutz movement this represents looting!

Jewish Terrorism?

I condemn and oppose all terrorism. I have condemned in the firmest way every Palestinian act of terrorism, and I have done so in particular when in front of a public which sympathizes with the Palestinians. But unlike hypocrites, I really condemn *all* terror. Not only terror directed against Jews, but also terror committed by Jews and directed against Arabs. So as to save time, I shall not speak of the terrorism of all the Jewish underground organizations under the Mandate; I shall start with the existence of the state of Israel. It seems to me that it would be hard to find a man more worthy of the name of terrorist than Meir Har-Zion. In his diaries and in the many interviews with him in the Israeli press, that man revealed not only what an assassin he was, but also how much he enjoyed—purely and simply enjoyed—murder. How much he enjoys killing an Arab, particularly with a knife, because he can then feel that he is a “male.” [See *Haaretz Weekly Supplement*, November 9, 1969.] He asks of his commander the permission to kill an unarmed Arab shepherd, precisely with a knife, and then describes with sadistic enjoyment the way his comrade holds him, while Har-Zion plunges the knife in his back.” and the blood splashes from the wound” (See *Meir Har-Zion Diaries*). Are we in need of further description of Har-Zion’s deeds which appears in Moshe Sharett’s diary? [See *Maariv*, June 28, 1974.] Sharett tells how Har-Zion, with a group of terrorists like him, went across the borders of Israel, got a hold of six Arabs, and killed, with a knife, five of them. He felled them one after the other, while the others watched; he left the sixth one alive so that he could tell... That man is considered a national hero by the majority of Israeli Jews. That man was praised and was presented as a model to the youth by the defense minister of Israel and the general in charge of the southern command (Moshe Dayan and Arik Sharon). No protest was raised against that “model”, not even among many people who talk of peace!

I will add to this the “Beirut expedition” of April 1973, an operation in which were murdered, not only PLO leaders, but also women whose sole crime was that they lived next to PLO leaders. (This was a murder lauded by Uri Avneri.) I will add to this the napalm bombings in Irbid, Es-Salt and other Jordanian towns in the summer of 1968. I will add to this the summer, 1974, habit of bombing refugee camps in Lebanon, and on top of ordinary bombs, dropping delayed-action bombs, which only explode after one hour or two, i.e., when the families and medical squads are searching through the ruins to rescue the wounded. And one can add much more to the list. Is not all that terror? Isn’t it just as bad as Kyrat-Shmoneh? Do those who are not ready to condemn the sadistic declarations of Meir Har-Zion, and the transformation of such a character into a “model for the youth” have any right at all to condemn Ahmed Jibril? My answer is: I have the right to do so. They don’t. Murderers and accomplices of murderers had rather not pose as moralists. And to those who justify (and even enjoy) the murder of non-Jews, to those for whom only Jewish children shed blood, and for whom, so it seems, Arab children have water in their veins, I will simply say: It is not you who can preach morality to me.

Torture

My considered opinion is that people are tortured in Israel and in the conquered territories. I confess: I have in the matter no hard evidence, and I do not expect to obtain any. I am not so naive as to believe that a torturer will stand up and announce: I have tortured!—Or that he will introduce two witnesses into the torture-room so that they can testify afterwards. But such is the situation in all the countries. There are no *such* testimonies about Brazil, none about Greece under the Colonels’ rule. Moreover, there are no such testimonies about that which was inflicted upon the Israeli prisoners in Egypt and in Syria. Most of the claims, which I believe, are exclusively based upon the testimony of the victims of torture. Therefore *it is not* a matter of “proofs”, or of “unchecked allegations.” It is a matter of Jewish racism. The majority of the Jewish public in Israel (and also out of it) believes that only Jews are human beings, and, therefore, deserve to be trusted, while the Gentiles usually lie, as stated in most cases throughout Talmudic Law. Hence, when a Jew claims that the Syrians tortured him, we must believe him at once, on the basis of his testimony. But when a Palestinian claims that Jews tortured him, we must not believe him in any way, because he is a gentile.

I, on the other hand, claim that all men are worthy of minimal trust, especially men who suffer, and I tend to believe the testimonies about tortures both when they come from Israeli prisoners in Syria and when they come from Palestinians in the conquered territories. I consider it my duty to publicize them and to demand an inquiry. I see the most striking evidence that the Israeli government and its agents torture systematically thousands of people in the fact that all the supporters of the Israeli government, be they vocal or hidden, refuse to demand an independent inquiry on the subject.

The Right To Check

What is in my opinion even more appalling than the tortures themselves, a fact which I do not doubt, is the attitude of the majority of the Israeli public vis-a-vis the *complaints about tortures*, and especially the arrogant claim that facts haven't been sufficiently checked. How do Rubinstein and Avneri "check?" They never get in touch with the claimants or with their lawyers. They do not answer letters demanding an interview with them, letters demanding a chance to give the opportunity to hear what the man himself cries from his own pain. The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from this is that when Rubinstein and/or Avneri claim that they have "checked," they mean they consulted someone in one of the "security branches," and consider that the answer they got is the truth, without hearing the other side, without hearing the claimant at all. The political conclusion is clear, but the human conclusion is worse than that: In the state of Israel the majority of the judges, the jurists and the intellectuals, not to mention politicians, are indifferent to the most basic human rule that the claim of a man who says he's been mistreated must be listened to, and must be examined *objectively*. That is, in my eyes, infinitely more important than the tortures themselves, for the majority of the public, and especially the heads of the public have been and are guilty of

that sin. Even though I am convinced that there were numerous cases of torture, I may be wrong. If my claims were checked, and the proof of the opposite was made, I would stand up and admit that I was wrong. But I am not mistaken, and I cannot be mistaken, when I claim that the majority of the Israeli public shut their ears to a simple human cry, that this ignores the most fundamental political duty—the duty of independent inquiry—and that this is the source of the corruption, which is being uncovered, and that will continue to be uncovered in many diverse places.

Nazification

Therefore, I am not afraid—neither in that field, nor in other fields, even though certainly not in all the fields—of the comparison with "that which befell the German people between the two world wars." I am not afraid to say publicly that Israeli Jews, and with them most Jews throughout the world, are undergoing a process of Nazification. Does a people whose official "hero" is Meir Har-Zion deserve any other title? Would we give another name to a people whose hero enjoys killing Jews with a knife and to see how the blood splashes? Isn't it the Nazi "Horst Wesel" who spoke of the pleasure of Jewish blood dripping from his knife?

But the silence concerning other claims is worse. It includes—exactly as it did in Germany—not only those among us who are in my opinion real Nazis, and there are a lot of those, but also those who do not protest against Jewish Nazism, so long as they think it serves Jewish interest. It is for instance a fact, that according to Jewish Talmudic law, legally valid in Israel today, any Gentile woman is considered as impure, slave, Gentile and whore; when she embraces the Jewish faith she stops being impure, slave, and gentile, but she remains a whore. The argumentation, provided by Talmudic law to back that judgment, when raised in the twentieth century can only be compared to Julius Streicher; for instance the judgment whereby all "Gentile women" must necessarily be prosti-

tutes. Did a jurist in Israel explain this sentence? Did anyone warn any of the "famous female convents" that together with conversion they undertook to be "whores"? Did anyone raise the question of knowing whether that law is wise and just or not? The answer is clear, and just for the same reason similar jurists in Nazi Germany accepted just for the the Nuremberg Laws (which are infinitely more moderate than the "Gentile" regulations in Talmudic Law). Exactly for the same reason, the leading Israeli jurists don't even want to examine the demand for inquiry on tortures raised by a non-Jew.

I can only conclude with the words of Hugh Trevor-Roper, at the end of his book *The Last Days of Hitler*, talking about Albert Speer: "He had the capacity to understand the forces of politics, and the courage to resist the master whom all others have declared irresistible. As an administrator he was undoubtedly a genius... His ambitions were peaceful and constructive: he wished to rebuild Berlin and Nuremberg, and had planned at the cost of no more than two months' expenditure to make them the greatest cities in the world. Nevertheless, in a political sense, Speer is the real criminal of Nazi Germany, for he, more than any other, represented that fatal philosophy which has made havoc of Germany and nearly shipwrecked the world. For ten years he sat at the very center of political power; his keen intelligence diagnosed the nature and observed the mutations of Nazi government and policy; he saw and despised the personalities around him; he heard their outrageous orders and understood their fantastic ambitions; but he did nothing. Supposing politics to be irrelevant he turned aside and built roads and bridges and factories while the logical consequences of government by madmen emerged. Ultimately when their emergence involved the ruin of all his work, Speer accepted the consequences and acted. Then it was too late; Germany had been destroyed."

So said Trevor-Roper. I am trying to act before it is too late.

THE LINK SUPPLEMENT

The above piece by Israel Shahak has been reprinted from an informative, weekly publication, *SWASIA*. *SWASIA* is published by the Middle East and Europe Working Group, Division of Overseas Ministries, of the National Council of Churches, Room 614, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027. Richard Butler, Director, MEEWG, James Fine, Norton Mezvinsky, Editors. *SWASIA*'s general business offices are located at 3631 39th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016. Subscription rates: U.S. and Canada, \$20/year. Overseas: Surface mail, \$25/year; Airmail, \$40/year.