

# Palestine Focus

NO. 10

NATIONAL NEWSLETTER OF THE NOVEMBER 29th COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE

JANUARY—FEBRUARY 1985

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## Editorial:

# The Middle East: Four More Years of Reagan's "Peace"

Ronald Reagan's re-election battle cry—"You ain't seen nothing yet"—provides little to celebrate, especially for the Middle East. What can we expect from the U.S. government? Reagan's re-election, we fear, points to a Middle East policy threatening to peace, a policy hostile to justice, and a policy we, the American people, will have to resist.

Reagan's second term threatens more wars in the Middle East. The Lebanese resistance and Palestinian fighters remaining in Lebanon are a constant reminder that key U.S. and Israeli military and political objectives were blocked. We are fearful that the long suffering of the inhabitants of Lebanon will continue. We expect the Israeli and U.S. governments to seek a misguided revenge and, more importantly, to seek to impose their will on Lebanon once more.

The Reagan administration will attempt to isolate and pressure Syria because of its opposition to Camp David. The danger of a repetition of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon—on a broader regional scale—cannot be discounted.

Four more years of Reagan means four more years of continued expansion of Israeli settlements funded by the United States. It means continued occupation of southern Lebanon, the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights without U.S. government opposition. And it means four more years of denial of Palestinian rights—including political imprisonment, torture, murder of demonstrators by police and soldiers, and toleration of settler terrorism.

The PLO itself will come under further attack. The Reagan administration will do its best to foment splitting, to fragment and destroy the effective role the PLO has played in defense of Palestinian rights.



On the USS Eisenhower off the Lebanese coast, fighters prepare for a bombing mission near Beirut.

We can already see the growth of strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel, not only in the Middle East, but also in Central America and South Africa. Also in the works are massive increases in U.S. aid to ease the effects of skyrocketing Israeli inflation—albeit linked to U.S. demands for austerity measures.

Reagan's re-election also means four more years of U.S. military buildup near the oilfields of the Gulf. It

means continued growth of the U.S. Central Command (formerly the Rapid Deployment Force) with its \$59 billion budget and five divisions of close to three hundred thousand troops in 1984. It also means continued deployment of nuclear-armed missiles aimed at the Middle East.

In the short run the balance of power in the Middle East will continue to tilt heavily toward the United States and Israel. However, this balance is as unstable and quick to

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## Update: Israel in Central America

By Steve Goldfield

In the last few years, many Americans, North and South, have been astonished at the extent of Israeli military prominence in Central America. The *Los Angeles Times* described Israel as "the major source of arms for the conflicts in Central America" in 1981. The *New York Times* cited Reagan administration officials saying, "Israel was assisting the United States in Central America... to oppose the Soviet Union, to combat reported PLO support for Nicaragua, and to expand the market for Israeli arms."

The same July 1983 *New York Times* article reported U.S. government officials saying the Reagan administration "had encouraged the Israeli activities as a means of supplementing American security assistance to friendly governments. In addition, the officials said, the administration wanted to establish new lines of support to Nicaraguan rebels in case Congress approved legislation that would cut off covert support for the insurgents."

The Reagan administration is, in fact, outright envious of Israel. An American official based in Honduras told *Time*, "Israel

***If Congress continues its prohibition on U.S. support for the contras, Israel is the obvious choice to fill the gap.***

operates without the restrictions imposed on us in this part of the world. It doesn't have to explore the abuse of human rights. It has arms to sell, and the governments in this region need them."

Fred Ikle, U.S. under secretary of defense for policy, asked Israel in May 1984 "to send military advisers to El Salvador openly as a demonstration of Israeli participation in the load the United States bears in Central America."

The Israeli government has tried to divert attention by outright denials that it is involved and by censorship of the Israeli press. Nevertheless, information continues to leak out, especially from the recipients, who have been particularly candid about the

help they are receiving. Yosef Amihod, speaking for the Israeli Foreign Ministry, denied to *Time* in April that Israel was supporting the *contras*. In the next sentence in the very same article, Edgar Chamorro, a recently removed leader of the largest *contra* group, the Honduran-based Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), admitted receiving two thousand automatic rifles from Israel in October of 1983.

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*Grantland Johnson, a long-time community activist in Sacramento, was elected to the City Council in November 1983. Mr. Johnson became active in the Rainbow Coalition and was a Jackson delegate to the Democratic Convention. In October 1984 Councilperson Johnson, in spite of considerable political pressure, spoke at a memorial service for the victims of the Sabra and Shatila massacre. Palestine Focus interviewed him in Sacramento in December.*

**"The lives of the Palestinians lost in the massacre at Sabra and Shatila are of equal value to the lives of any other human beings."**



Bill Ball/November 29, Sacramento

## Interview with Sacramento City Councilperson Grantland Johnson

**PF:** How did your views develop on Palestinian rights?

**GJ:** They stem from a basic outlook on politics. We need a politics that are centered around people, the dignity and human rights of people. In this world we have people who are affluent and people who are poor. We have people who are exploited. This country reflects that kind of division. There's no such thing as a nonpartisan or value-free approach to politics. I think one's politics are really based on where one stands in terms of the social, economic, and political scheme of things, on the class scheme of things. Domestically you see that breakdown; internationally you see that sort of breakdown.

The American people have to make a decision about the kind of governmental and international policies we want our government to project, as well as the kind of policies we want our government to pursue domestically. I've always felt that when it comes to the question of the Middle East, one of the forgotten people, consistently, have been the Palestinian people. I think that's unfortunate, and I think it's a situation that's extremely complex. And while it may be complex, we have to not lose sight of the basic dignity of people.

I've always been concerned that in this country we've had powerful forces who have been in the position to protect the interests of some of the players in the Middle East, particularly the state of Israel's rights and interests. I don't have a problem with that. But unfortunately there has been such a chill placed in this country on any efforts to project the legitimate rights of Arabs and Palestinian people, in particular. I always felt that was a significant injustice.

This question of what is right and what is just stems from people's material interests, people's material well-being and their right to the fulfillment of their self-determination and the fulfillment of their basic human dignity. It seems to me that American citizens ought not tolerate the slighting of the basic rights or dignity of any people.

**PF:** Why did you decide to speak at the Sabra and Shatila memorial event?

**GJ:** First of all, there was no hesitation that it was something that I should participate in. I felt that it was

important that we recognize that the lives of the Palestinians lost in the massacre at Sabra and Shatila are of equal value to the lives of any other human beings.

In this country, for example, look at the parallel. I've asked persons who are experts in criminal justice whether or not Black life in this country is equal to white life. And I've been told by the former district attorney and the current district attorney in our county at a public forum two years ago that, in their opinion, Black life was not viewed in this country, in this community, as equal to a white's.

Look at the situation that happened in Atlanta a few years ago, with the killing of young Black children and look at the way the Reagan administration and others postured themselves in relation to those atrocities. If those had been white children, I submit to you that the national outrage and the governmental response would have been much more decisive and much quicker than was the case. It doesn't make any difference whether we believe a white person or a nonwhite person was the perpetrator of those atrocities: the bottom line is that the viewpoint that is widely held is that the lives of those young Black children are not as significant as those of other children, children of other racial groups.

We have an unfortunate similar projection when it comes to Palestinian life in this country and internationally, that somehow their lives are not viewed as equal to those of other people. I felt it was important to acknowledge the fact that this atrocity ought not go unnoticed on its anniversary. We should have a memorial service, and it was important for elected officials, as representatives of a community viewpoint, of community morality, to make that statement.

So, for me, it was not a difficult decision. I think it was difficult for other people who tend not to factor in, as a primary variable, that reality. But rather they would want to trivialize the reality of the death of Palestinian people and project some other overriding concern when it comes to memorializing the atrocity which occurred over two years ago. For those persons, I feel very sad.

*After Mr. Johnson's participation in the Sabra and Shatila memorial event became public knowledge, he was approached by a Jewish fellow member of the City Council and asked to meet with establishment Jewish leaders. He agreed and told them he intended to participate.*

**GJ:** They, in turn, stated that they were not attempting to discourage me from participating but that they felt very concerned and disturbed that I was participating. They felt that it was inappropriate. They wished that I wouldn't participate. They indicated that I was the only elected official who had agreed to participate in an event that was sponsored by the November 29th Committee, which they stressed was pro-PLO, that I was in danger of being used by this group, that somehow my participation was equivalent to whites participating in an event held by the Ku Klux Klan. To participate was somehow not in my long-term political interest, in terms of higher office perhaps, although it was stressed that I was not being threatened in any way.

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# FOCUS On Action

By Steve Goldfield

The November 29th Committee for Palestine recently completed four successful regional conferences in San Francisco, New York, Chicago, and Austin, Texas. Hundreds of local activists attended from almost 30 cities, such as Dallas; Madison, Wisconsin; East Lansing, Michigan; San Diego, Seattle, Portland, Oregon; Youngstown, Ohio; Los Angeles; Iowa City; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Boston; Binghamton and Albany, New York; Jersey City, Hoboken, Princeton, and Plainfield, New Jersey; and Washington, D.C.



Victor Rubio of the FDR/FMLN of El Salvador receives the traditional Palestinian kaffiyeh (scarf) at November 29th's regional conference in Chicago.

The conferences, held in November and December, featured discussions on the state of the Palestinian liberation movement and our strategy for building a Palestine solidarity movement in the United States and a review of November 29th's bylaws and principles of unity. Workshops were held on such topics as fundraising, networking, public speaking, and media work. Each of the conferences also included a forum on building the Palestine solidarity movement and linking up with other movements for social change.

In San Francisco, we were joined by Serena Layoun from the ADC (Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee), Greg Lassonde of CISPE (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), and Phil Gardner of the Rainbow Coalition. In Austin, Essa Sackllah from the ADC, who was a Jackson delegate at the Democratic Convention and Alicia Torres of the Rainbow participated. In New York, Elombe Brath from the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, Carol Skyrn of the Women's Collective, Bonnie Ramawi of the ADC, Cliff Wright from the American Middle East Peace Research Institute, and Aubrey Nkomo from the Division of Palestinian Rights at the United Nations spoke. In Chicago, Victor Rubio, representative of the FMLN/FDR, Steve Ashby of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign, and Steve Feuerstein of CISPE spoke.

The four regional conferences were invaluable in the process of consolidating a fully functional national organization. Our activists were impressed by the viability of November 29th chapters nationwide. They were inspired not only by the presence of so many others working on Palestinian issues, but also by the broad agreement we shared. We are already looking ahead to our national founding convention.

The conferences were our major events marking November 29th, the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people. Some chapters also held receptions or other events. Our Sacramento chapter held a public program as did Chicago, which held a cultural event with folksinging, poetry readings, and dance during their conference. This year, November 29th was observed around the world, including on the occupied West Bank,

where many demonstrators were attacked by Israeli soldiers. The United Nations held a day-long program with solidarity messages from many governments. November 29th was invited to attend and sent a representative.

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We want to recognize the important contribution by Mobilization for Survival, particularly through its Deadly Connections conferences held throughout the United States, in introducing Middle East issues into the movement for peace and against U.S. intervention. In Berkeley, November 29th participated with ADC, New Jewish Agenda, and AFSC/WILPF in an early December panel on militarism and the Middle East.

We are encouraged by the growth of networking and joint activities concerning the Middle East, and we see the willingness to do so gaining momentum. Issues which may divide us are of little weight compared to our agreement on opposition to the threat of war triggered in the Middle East and to the role of the United States in promoting war and injustice.

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November 29th is participating in the four-day nationwide mobilization in April, including major demonstrations in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Denver, Seattle, and Los Angeles. The mobilization plans to focus on four issues: human freedom, dignity, self-determination, and nonintervention; social justice, cutting the military budget, creating new jobs, and meeting human needs; freezing and reversing the nuclear arms race; and opposing South African apartheid and racism in the United States. Mobilizations such as this one take on increasing urgency in light of Reagan's re-election.

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Israel's role in Central America is gradually drawing the attention and opposition it deserves. We are pleased to learn in *MERIP Reports* that the Israeli Committee of Solidarity with Nicaragua has launched a campaign to end Israeli support for the Nicaraguan *contras* and the dictatorships in Guatemala and Haiti. The committee's address is P. O. Box 37358, Tel Aviv 61373. □

# U.S.-Israeli Free Trade Agreement Aid to Israel Takes New Form

By Douglas Franks

The Free-Trade Area agreement (FTA) recently ratified by the United States and Israel is a handsome bonus on top of an already massive pledge of aid to an economically ailing Israel. The FTA also demonstrates that the U.S. and Israeli governments place so high a priority on firming up and widening their alliance that even the alienation of important friends in the process is no deterrent. Some normally pro-Israeli sectors in industry, agriculture, and labor have vehemently opposed the FTA legislation.

The accord will eliminate all tariffs and trade barriers—ceilings, standards, and buy-domestic provisions—on Israeli exports to the United States. In notable contrast, tariffs and limitations on U.S. exports to Israel will be dropped only over a period of many years.

The FTA represents a new level of aid and cooperation between Washington and Tel Aviv, acknowledges Dan Halperin, economic secretary at the Israeli embassy in Washington and head delegate in the FTA negotiations:

The free-trade arrangement with us marks a turning point in the Americans' foreign economic policy. They have never concluded such a pact before with any country—other than one with Canada limited to automobiles and spare parts.... It is a manifestation of the close ties which exist between the two countries.

The successful forging of preferential trade relations strengthens U.S./Israeli political relations, which override any other policy, principle, or alliance, notes *New York Times* economic analyst Clyde Farnsworth: "Washington is undertaking today exactly what it chided the Common Market for doing in the 1960s and 1970s when the Europeans established their own system of bilateral trade preferences with Mediterranean and African countries to reinforce political ties."

Harald Malmgren, a former high U.S. trade official, likewise points out the exceptional nature of the FTA. Ever since 1947, the United States has adhered to a multilateral most-favored-nation policy (MFN) whereby trade concessions made to one nation are automatically applied to all MFN members. The bilateral accord with Israel violates this longstanding policy.

## FTA Becomes Policy

Israel has been pressing for an FTA pact with the United States—Israel's largest trading partner—since the 1970s. The idea became a concrete proposal in November 1983 during a meeting between President Reagan and then Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. The FTA was handily propelled through the Senate and House, by a vote of 386 to 1, as all opposition caved in. The final agreement awaits finishing touches by the Reagan administration and its Israeli counterparts.

Under the FTA, Israeli-produced consumer goods—diamonds, textiles, fruits, vegetables, processed foods, pharmaceuticals, and chemicals—will for the first time enjoy completely unhindered access to lucrative U.S. markets. Israeli exports can now expand to include electronics, communications and office technology, medical supplies, solar energy and desalinization equipment, robotics, and computers. For the first time, services in

banking, finance, transportation, travel, tourism, accounting, medicine, education and law, construction and engineering, management consulting, motion-picture production, and advertising will enjoy unprecedented opportunities for export to the United States. Israeli Commerce and Industry Minister Gideon Patt predicts a six- or sevenfold increase in Israeli exports to the United States by the end of the decade.

Domestically, the FTA will provide Israel with significant trade opportunities it would not otherwise have. Israel hopes to attract foreign investment by offering better (i.e., dutyfree) access to the American market once a "made in Israel" label is affixed to the product, an easy technicality. The back door Israel provides to regimes such as South Africa will open wider.



Duty-free Israeli food products will flood the U.S. market under the new free-trade agreement.

The FTA comes at an opportune time for the Israeli economy. Since the midseventies, some 90 percent of Israel's exports to this country have already been entering dutyfree though subject to conditions and limitations under a 140-nation United Nations agreement (Generalized System of Preferences, or GSP), which establishes favorable trading terms between the United States and developing countries. Unpopular with a protectionist-minded Congress and administration, the GSP was scheduled to expire at the end of 1984. Had the GSP expired, the FTA would have protected these threatened Israeli exports.

The FTA also responds to competition threatening Israeli produce in Europe. Almost 95 percent of Israel's agricultural exports go to the ten-nation European Economic Community (EEC). But Spain and Portugal, largely agricultural exporters, are expected to join the EEC soon and jeopardize Israel's European market. "It could be a catastrophe for us," commented an Israeli official.

## Friends of Israel Oppose FTA

The FTA sailed through Congress despite that body's growing protectionism and strenuous objections from major U.S. industries and labor unions. Passage of the FTA—signifying U.S. political loyalty to Israel—overrode other political concerns. "In my district, they're worried about jobs," said Illinois Representative Marty Russo. "They're [the Israelis] putting some friends in a

difficult position that they ought not be doing at this time."

California Representative Pete Stark warned of "real trouble" if it passed. "When the California Chamber of Commerce and the AFL-CIO both oppose something, it is rare, but they and every farm group I know of in California are opposing this bill." In northern California alone, predicted U.S. Agriculture Department Undersecretary Frank Naylor, 1,300 olive growers who farm an estimated 40,000 acres will have to take precautions in order not to be devastated by the FTA.

Twenty-eight California representatives wrote to Representative Sam Gibbons, chair of the trade subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee, urging that farm products from their districts, including tomato products, olives, citrus fruit, garlic, and onions, be protected from Israeli "dumping." Yet all amendments seeking protection from the effects of the FTA were soundly defeated.

American trade unions object to the FTA because the elimination of tariffs on Israeli goods would take jobs from American workers and would lead to demands for tariff concessions from other countries. In the words of Dr. Herman Starobin, research director of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, "I think we would like to help Israel but not at the expense of American labor." AFL-CIO spokesman Murray Seager added, "If you start bringing down trade barriers with this kind of special exception, we don't know where you will stop."

The example of Israeli trade with Europe generates fear and skepticism toward the FTA. Most Israeli exports to Europe are dutyfree whereas Israel maintains its tariff wall toward European products using the loophole of "emergency" tariffs. Israel thereby indefinitely postpones its own obligation to reduce and finally eliminate its own tariffs on European goods. Warning that Israel will exploit the FTA in the same way, Israeli economist Emanuel Farjoun said, "Israel thinks it can cheat the whole world."

## The Israel Lobby

The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) was a key factor in silencing initial Congressional opposition. A paper prepared by AIPAC's senior trade analyst was distributed to House members debating the FTA. Disregarding the testimony of labor and industrial leaders who spelled out potential dangers and drawbacks, the report purported to show that industries stood to benefit from the FTA.

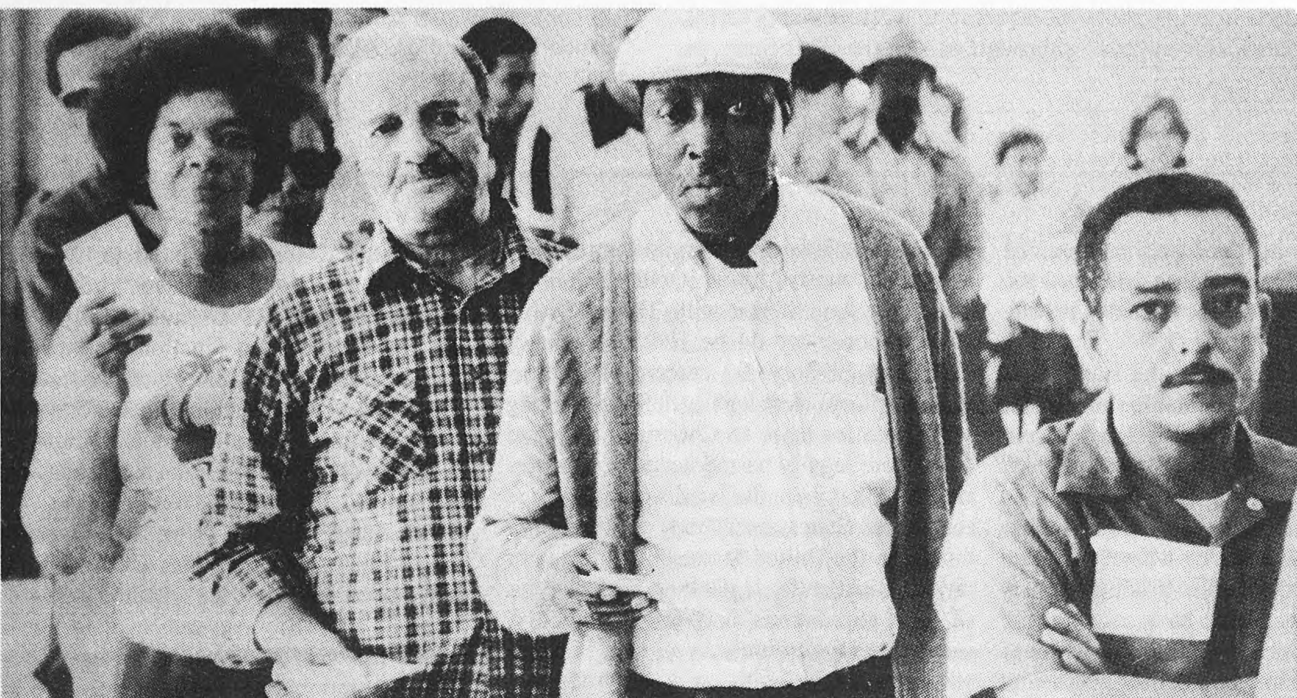
So intense was AIPAC's pressure that Representative Marty Russo commented, "There are some fellows who are really upset about the full-court press. It clearly is going to cause them more serious problems. It could really have a backlash effect." In its fervor to sway Congress, AIPAC even obtained a classified document analyzing U.S. and Israeli market conditions, an action the FBI is investigating.

AIPAC's "full-court press" follows a longstanding pattern of lobbying to secure Israeli trade advantages. The preferential trade benefits Israel enjoyed for ten years depended on classifying Israel as a "developing" country. Though clearly "developed," Israel was so classified, according to Harald Malmgren, as a reward for Israeli help in pushing a major trade bill through Congress in 1974. "I needed their support," recalled Malmgren. "Israel's lobby is very powerful."

It was not only leverage exerted by the Israel lobby, however, which assured passage of the FTA. So important is the strategic alliance between the U.S. and Israeli governments that vigorous objections to the FTA could be ignored—even when such objections came from otherwise staunch supporters of Israel.

The objections of Palestinians in the occupied territories carry even less weight. Once the FTA takes effect, they face increased exploitation of their labor (by both Israeli and multinational firms). More of their land will be seized to accommodate Israeli-sponsored industrial and agricultural expansion. And since Israel forbids export of Palestinian goods, no benefit will accrue to them from FTA.

U.S. policy has never been friendly to Palestinians. But the FTA shows that the administration is now willing to step on the toes of its own friends at home in deference to the higher priority of strengthening ties with Israel. A senior Reagan administration official summed it up after the October 9 meeting between Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres: "We fully intend to be supportive. We don't see any problem we can't deal with." □



Unemployment line in Newark, N.J.: Labor leaders fear that, under the FTA, vastly increased Israeli exports to the United States will take jobs from U.S. workers.

# רק אל תגידו שלא ידעתם!

קרבנות המינהל האזרחי  
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פרח עלי עיסא אלהור  
בן 19 נורה למוות בכינונים  
פחחי עיסא קוח  
בן 18 נורה למוות בנין  
באסם מרזוק אונאר  
בן 13 נורה למוות בעזה  
מוחמד עבדאללה סוהיל  
בן 18 נורה למוות ברמאללה  
עוויה חוסיין עיסא  
בן 29 נורה למוות בעין ברור  
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בן 20 נורה למוות בדרושלים  
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בן 65 נורה למוות בדרושלים  
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בן 7 נורה למוות בעזה  
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הועד הישראלי  
לסולידריות עם ביר זיח

5.6.82 15 שנה לכיבוש



### JUST DON'T SAY YOU DIDN'T KNOW!

That is the message on this poster published in Israel after 16 unarmed Palestinians whose names and ages are listed above, were killed by Israeli soldiers on the occupied West Bank between March 18 and May 6, 1982. It was issued by the Israeli Com. in Solidarity with Bir Zeit, a Palestinian university on the West Bank frequently closed by Israeli authorities. The date, June 5, 1982, signifies the 15th anniversary of that occupation. On that day, Israel invaded Lebanon, and two years later its troops are still occupying the southern third of that country. On the West Bank, in Gaza and the Golan Hts. there are more than 120 Israeli settlements, paid for with American tax dollars, and June 5, 1984 marks the 17th year of Israel's illegal occupation of those territories. Don't say you didn't know.

STOP THE SETTLEMENTS!

"Don't Say You Didn't Know"—Israeli antiwar poster expresses outrage at Israeli brutality toward Palestinian and Lebanese people.

# Arab Voice at the U.N. "Which Israel Ar"

*"We want to negotiate, but not to ratify conquests, not to ratify annexation, not to ratify hegemony by military Israel in the occupied territories."*

Gaza, in the Golan Heights, in Jerusalem. All these constitute elements of an ideology that is bent on expansion, that seeks to deflect the opinion of the world community from the facts of its aggression, expansion, and annexation.

It asks the world community—and we have been asked this repeatedly: Why does the world community, especially the Arab States, not recognize the right of Israel to exist? I am going to answer this question, because we have in many instances been deflected from the real essence of the problem by the attempts to masquerade under a show of concern and to blow issues up out of all proportion. We ask those who ask us that question: Which Israel are they asking the Arab states to recognize? Which Israel are we asked to acknowledge?

Here we have a situation where the Israeli delegation and the Israeli state assume that East Jerusalem is part of the capital of Israel. Are we asked to recognize that as a fact? Are we asked to recognize the settlements in the West Bank and Gaza? What are those settlements for except to serve as a prelude to annexation? What is the purpose of the settlements in the Golan Heights and the so-called annexation of the Golan Heights as part of Israel? When does Israel intend to withdraw from the south of Lebanon as has been dictated by the Security Council? Which Israel are we asked to recognize?



Druse in occupied Golan Heights talking to relatives in Syria (too photo) by megaphone.

We have also been told several times that it is important that the Arab states negotiate with Israel, that we sit down with it around the table—words that are acceptable in form but are very dangerous in substance. Negotiate what? We in the Arab states are eager to negotiate. We want to negotiate, but not to ratify conquests, not to ratify annexation, not to ratify hegemony by military Israel in the occupied territories.

They tell us not to set preconditions. Who has established the conditions? Who has annexed Jerusalem and

By Clovis Maksoud

In May 1984 Israel launched a "security" operation against the Palestinian refugee camp Ein El Hilweh in southern Lebanon. The attack killed at least 2 Palestinians and injured 20. Another 150 were arrested. The attack was brought before the United Nations Security Council, where Dr. Clovis Maksoud, Permanent Observer of the League of Arab States to the U.N., debated the Israeli representative who attempted to deflect Israeli responsibility for yet another series of attacks on civilians. In the course of his debate, Dr. Maksoud raised many crucial issues illuminating broader concerns for peace in the region.

It may be said that the Middle East problem is not Ein El Hilweh. Of course, the events in Ein El Hilweh are a symptom. We ask: What is Israel doing in Ein El Hilweh? What is Israel doing in southern Lebanon? Are there not United Nations Security Council resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), which are supposed to be operative? Yet the Israeli occupation continues in southern Lebanon. The Israeli representative has the audacity to state that what is taking place in Ein El Hilweh, in terms of the Israeli aggression, in terms of their coercive meas-

ures, in terms of their searches of homes, is a matter of right as far as the "Israel Defense Force" is concerned. That this is done in the name—the misnomer—of defense forces is really beyond our comprehension.

How can Israel arrogate to itself the right to determine what constitutes a crisis in the Middle East, when it is the cause and source of this crisis?... Whatever the yardstick by which we measure events in the Middle East, whether in the Gulf region or in any other region, there remains one central issue: that Israel's usurpation of Palestinian rights, its annexation of Jerusalem, its annexation of the Golan Heights, its establishment and proliferation of illegal settlements, its continued occupation of southern Lebanon, its attempts to create quislings in the occupied territories, these continue to be a major source of tension and potential conflict in the region. That has been determined by the Security Council, by the General Assembly and by the international community. Now, if the Israeli delegation wants to challenge this international consensus, in the same way as it defies the international conscience, that is inherent in its ideological makeup and in the pattern of its continuing behavior.

At this moment we are discussing what actually happened in Ein El Hilweh. Of course, this is not as extensive a crisis as many other crises in the Middle East. It is a manifestation of a deep-rooted crisis. The way in which Ein El Hilweh is being used is an example. It is being used to bring about the coverup that Israel wants for its annexationist policies throughout—in the West Bank, in

## Judaism...

Continued from page 8

What is not always stated, however, or not as frequently stated is that 92 percent is legislated for exclusive Jewish settlement and cultivation. That is not a question of practice; it is a question of legislation. The legislation has been passed and developed through the Israeli parliament and finally endorsed in 1960 and 1961. The legislation is embodied in documents such as the covenant between the government of Israel and an organization called the Jewish National Fund. The principle of the Jewish National Fund that land is available under lease

for Jewish settlement and cultivation alone applies to 92 percent of the territory of the state of Israel; 8 percent is under private ownership.

Palestinian Arabs inside the state of Israel, Palestinian Arabs outside the state of Israel, the majority of the Palestinian Arab population, are classified as "absentee" under Israeli law and under Israeli law do not have any claim to cultivation rights, citizenship, residence, or whatever. Even those 17 percent who are Israeli nationals under Israeli law cannot have access to 92 percent of Israeli territory. They cannot legally purchase land; they cannot lease that land; they cannot cultivate that land; they cannot build on that land.

Take that legal situation and apply it to any other country. Apply it to the San Francisco Bay Area if you will. Think of what your response would be if 92 percent of American territory, 92 percent of California's territory, were legally defined as being accessible for lease to Christians only and Jews were legally barred access to that territory. If that were the legal situation inside the United States, everybody would rightly condemn the United States or California or any political entity legislating such a series of legal stipulations as overtly, explicitly, radically anti-Semitic.

The state of Israel since 1948 has legislated laws against the Palestinian Arabs, in fact, laws against all

non-Jewish residents of the state of Israel that are completely equivalent to the Nazi Nuremberg law. We can say that only if we have clear political distinctions and a clear understanding of the history of the state of Israel and an understanding that Zionism is not Judaism, that an anti-Zionist critique of Zionism is not anti-Semitism and is not condemnation of Jewish traditions per se.

Another illustration is the situation as I see it of Jewish communities and Jewish organizations inside the United States. Zionism claims to establish in Palestine a refuge for the Jewish people, a haven for Jewish communities throughout the world where people can seek shelter from persecution. Pragmatically we all know that that

# Are We Asked to Recognize?"

declared it unilaterally, *ex cathedra*, as their capital of Israel? Who has claimed the right to establish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza in complete contravention of the articles of the Geneva Convention? Who is seeking to alter the demographic and geographic character of the West Bank and Gaza and in addition, as the representative of Lebanon has stated, of south Lebanon? Who have arrogated to themselves the right to occupy and then never admit that it is occupation?

The whole world community, except Israel, recognizes that the West Bank and Gaza are occupied territories: it treats them as arenas for the fulfillment of an expanded Israel. During the earlier period, they were called "administered territories." Then that term was abandoned by the Israeli lexicon. It became "territories"—nebulous, undetermined. Then, subsequently, it became "provinces"—Judea and Samaria—in preparation for the ultimate annexation.

Who is causing the continued disenfranchisement of the Palestinian people? Who is causing the continued tension in the Golan Heights? Who is causing the continued tension on the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon? It is Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights, Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon, Israel's proliferation of settlements in the

***"How can Israel arrogate to itself the right to determine what constitutes a crisis in the Middle East, when it is the cause and source of this crisis?"***

Therefore, we are confronted with an entity which refuses to spell out its parameters—which refuses to declare its borders. We are asked to recognize a state in a state of becoming. In fact we are asked to recognize a nucleus of an empire. We are asked to negotiate, not as a matter of achieving results and an outcome, which are acceptable and justifiable and legitimate; we are asked to be co-opted into a negotiating process that tends to ratify conquest and annexation. That aspect of negotiations is totally rejected.

From this posture of Israel's, its attempt at hegemony, its eagerness to establish itself as a center for the feeding and arming of undercover activities in many parts of Central America and to support every coercive regime, we are faced with a situation whereby this Israel comes to this Council, insults its judgment, tries to deflect it from addressing the issues, introduces tangential issues in order to reduce the importance of Ein El Hilweh—in order to say that this Council is being preoccupied with a marginal, peripheral element in the Middle East equation—and has the temerity to state that this Council is not dealing with the central and more explosive issues in the Middle East.

The Israeli representative has stated that the Jewish people have the right to self-determination. The issue is, how many of the Jewish people? There are Jews throughout the world, citizens integrated into their respective communities. What do we mean when we begin to classify religious identities throughout the world as the focus for the creation of a right to self-determination? This is a very important issue, because it sets in motion the establishment of very dangerous precedents, which would be destructive and unsettling and could be the precursor of various alienations within a given body politic.

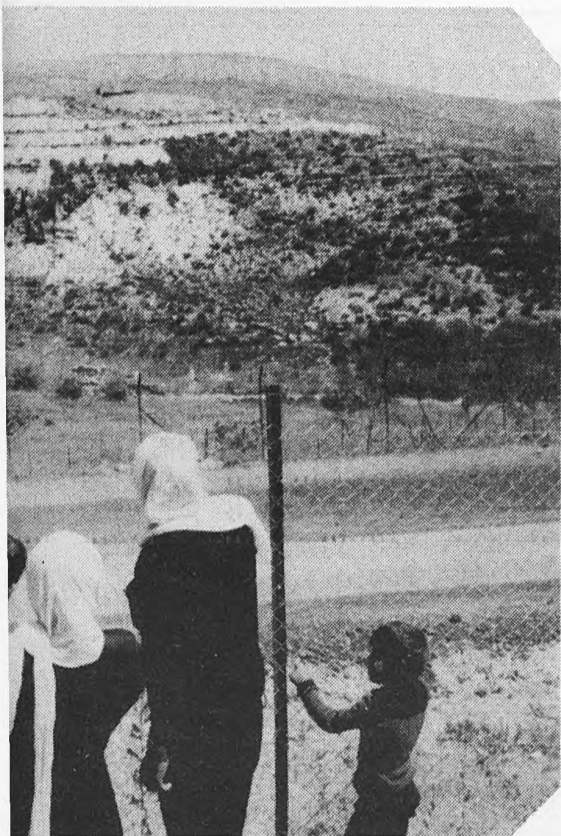
I am sure that the tragedies of anti-Semitism, the pogroms, and the results of the genocide in Nazi Germany have undoubtedly stimulated a measure of solidarity, leading—rightly or wrongly—to a desire for self-determination. But, if this notion of Jewish self-determination is absolute, continuous, and universally applicable, that is a very new phenomenon. It is no longer confined to the notion of an Israeli state; it is the precursor of a right to self-determination which could mean, if all Jews are entitled to exercise self-determination and if they determine that they want to go to Israel, the nucleus of a much larger Israel than the one we are faced with today.

Irrespective of the philosophical connotations of this notion of Zionism—which is challenged, by the way, by many hundreds of thousands of Jews everywhere in the world who consider it to be a destabilizing factor as regard their own sense of belonging as citizens in their

respective countries—we are saying that if there is to be a recognition of an Israel, it is important for the world community to spell out clearly the borders, the frontiers of that Israel.

Jewish people throughout the world are citizens of their respective countries—excellent citizens who do not presume that anti-Semitism is a permanent feature of human nature, but see it as an aberration that is transient, temporary, and condemnable. But Zionism, in the way it has been articulated today, presumes the permanency of Jewish alienation, and thus the necessity for self-determination, while the people of Palestine, disenfranchised deliberately by conquest and by exclusion, are denied the right of self-determination—paradoxically. This is where right is subordinate to might.

The Israeli representative states that excuses vary, that Israel is in control of 20,000 square miles and that the Arab States are in control of 5 million square miles. That is the logic that the apartheid regime in South Africa applies and that the white settlers in Rhodesia applied. I suppose, by that logic, if 20,000 square miles is little compared with 5 million square miles, what is 30,000 square miles, what is 50,000 square miles, compared with 5 million? If all of them want self-determination in Israel, then what is another million square miles compared with the 4 million square miles of the Arabs? □



Spike

in Syria (too distant to see in this

occupied territories, Israel's terrorism against the elected mayors of the various towns in the occupied territories.

We want to negotiate—of course we want to negotiate—but Palestinian rights are not negotiable; indeed, the international community has declared that there is such a thing as Palestinian rights. The integrity, unity, independence, and total sovereignty of Lebanon are not negotiable because the Security Council has determined that Lebanon is entitled to the total restoration of its sovereignty over all its territory. Are the Golan Heights negotiable? The Council has determined that the Golan Heights are part and parcel of Syria.



Spike

West Jerusalem: Occupation is an inescapable part of daily life.

proposition has failed. Some of us would argue that it could not but have failed.

But what we may fail to see is that in many ways, a Zionist frame of reference, a Zionist analysis, is an immediate threat to the welfare of Jewish communities outside Israel, Jewish communities in the United States, in very tangible and immediately available ways. For instance, there is a popular perception that much of American support for Israeli policy is due to the efficacy and the efficiency of the pro-Israel lobby in Washington. I want to argue that this perception is wrong. The pro-Israel lobby in Washington is efficient and effective only because it operates inside a conducive environment, only because it is the policy of the

United States generally to support Israeli policies in Palestine and in the Middle East. When American policies change, when the American government decides to "abandon" the state of Israel, the efficacy and the efficiency and the level of organization of the pro-Israel lobby will collapse very quickly.

The danger of attributing—both inside and outside the Zionist movement and Zionist education—the direction of American policy to the success of the Zionist lobby, will lead to a development whereby when American policies change, the blame will be directed—against whom?

It should be directed against the pro-Israel lobby. Yet because of the cultivated

failure—cultivated over three decades—to distinguish between the pro-Israel lobby and the Jewish community, between Zionist advocacy and Jewish interest; because of the cultivated identity between being a Zionist and being a Jew—and in the United States it's almost impossible to be a "good Jew" and an anti-Zionist; the definition has by now been very firmly rooted—because of the failure to effect these distinctions, the backlash will not be directed against the pro-Israel lobby, not against a specific political organization, but against the Jewish community at large. It will be directed against the Jews of America per se, who have "misled" the United States to pursue policies against the true interests of the

United States, hence a very severe backlash of anti-Semitism and superficially a corroboration of Zionist analysis: "We always told you that you cannot trust a Gentile. We always told you that every Gentile government is inherently anti-Semitic." But this corroboration is only superficial, made only on the basis of a criminal policy of identifying Judaism with Zionism. □

*Dr. Uri Davis is a research fellow in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter in Great Britain, as well as the author of many books, such as Israel, Utopia, Inc. Although born in what has now become Israel, Dr. Davis considers himself to be a Palestinian Jew.*

## Central America ...

Continued from page 1

Nicaraguan *contra* leaders repeatedly confirm that Israel is providing them with weapons and training. They would, of course, like more—and the Reagan administration has so far unsuccessfully pressured the Israeli government to be more open about its support for the *contras*—but in April, NBC News reported that one-quarter of the arms of the FDN, composed primarily of former members of the Somocista National Guard, come from Israel.

Also in April 1984—the month that the new Salvadoran embassy in Jerusalem opened—the Israeli foreign ministry denied any military relationship with El Salvador. Between 1972 and 1980, when the United States ceased shipping arms to El Salvador, 83 percent of the country's arms came from Israel. Thomas Pickering, U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, named Israel as the probable source of napalm dropped by the Salvadoran military in at least twenty different areas of the country in the fall of 1984.

Israel is also directly linked to the Salvadoran death squads. In the seventies Israeli advisors trained the Salvadoran secret police (ANSESAL). ANSESAL was organized by the CIA and supplied "with electronic, photographic, and personal surveillance of individuals who were later assassinated by death squads," according to a May 1984 article in the *Progressive*. When ANSESAL was disbanded in 1979, all its files went with ANSESAL officer Roberto D'Aubisson, who set up the death squads.

Late last year Guatemalan guerrillas revealed Israeli production in Guatemala of its Uzi submachine gun and Galil assault rifle, the standard weapon of the Guatemalan army. Israeli military electronics firms are also reportedly producing and providing maintenance services in Guatemala. Israeli advisors were credited as a source of inspiration by Eduardo Wohlers, director of the notorious "beans and rifles" program of strategic hamlets. Wohlers compared his program to settle Guatemala's highlands, home of the indigenous Indian population, to the Israeli kibbutz and moshav—civilian and military cooperatives—which have proved themselves as instruments of settlement in holding lands stolen from indigenous Palestinians. Wohlers stated, "Many of our technicians are Israeli trained. The model of the kibbutz and the moshav is planted firmly in their minds."

### Israel: Garrison State

Israel's entire economy and political, cultural, and social fabric is devoted to its status as a military outpost. Roughly one-quarter of its economy is absorbed in arms production and the military.

Israel has extensive trade, military, and diplomatic links with just about every state condemned by the world community for its behavior, especially disregard for human rights. Generally these ties improve—as in

Thailand or Argentina—when a dictatorship comes to power and deteriorate when democratically elected regimes return.

An atmosphere of chauvinism, cold-war mentality, and racism now dominates the Israeli population. This atmosphere facilitates Israel's consistent international align-

such an ally, not only in dollars, but with unwavering political and diplomatic support.

### The Partnership: Israel and the United States

Lately, the U.S. role in Central America has increased so rapidly as to surpass the Israeli involvement, at least in terms of

weapons sales. The United States has sought in vain an ally from outside the region able and willing to send tens of thousands of troops to implement its policy in Central America. The new Argentine government has refused to help out. For the moment, the Reagan administration appears committed to the use of U.S. troops and U.S. arms.

The increasing direct role of the United States has meant Israel need not supply the lion's share of arms to El Salvador and Guatemala as it did in the seventies. Nevertheless, Israeli arms, especially Galils and airplanes, and Israeli advisors continue to play prominent roles. If Congress continues its prohibition of direct U.S. support for the *contras*, Israel is the obvious choice to fill the gap. And even direct U.S. intervention relies on Israeli military and political support, the latter, ironically, to defuse domestic opposition.

Recognition of Israel's role in Central America has persistently lagged behind the growth of Israeli involvement, though the massive U.S. aid which makes it possible makes it clear that Israeli activities are instruments of U.S. policy. So long as U.S./Israeli relations remain too "controversial" to discuss, the Reagan administration will feel free to use Israel to pursue its objectives in Central America regardless of public or congressional opinion. □



The Israeli government owns Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI), the largest arms manufacturer and exporter in Israel.

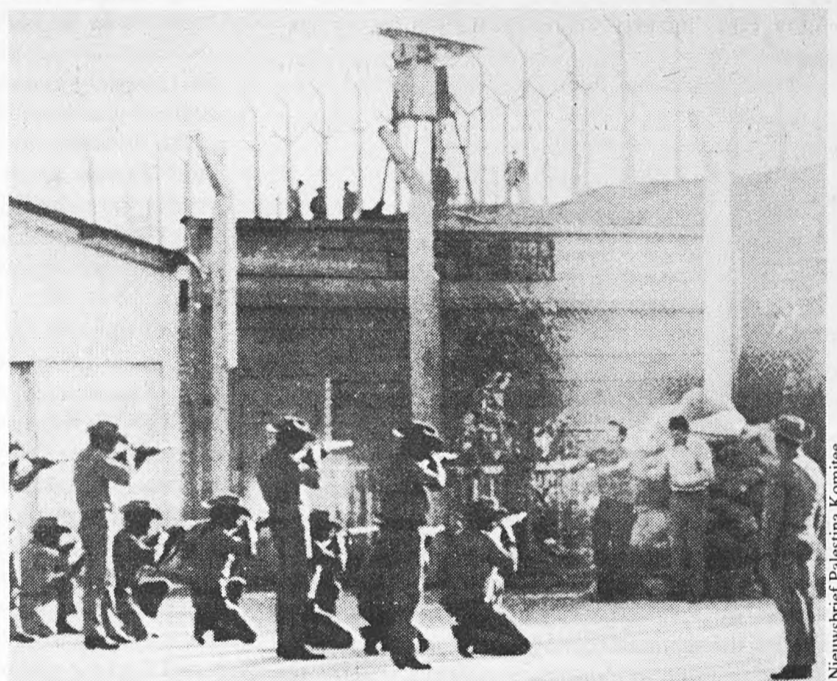
ment with fascists and anti-Semites, such as Lebanese Phalangists, pro-apartheid South Africans, and *contra* terrorists fighting in Nicaragua.

Israel is not only carrying out a job assigned by the U.S. government; Israel is simultaneously pursuing its own interests and objectives. Though a few conscientious academics and journalists have drawn attention to Israel's international misdeeds, little opposition has materialized in Israel, least of all in the Knesset.

Tens of billions of dollars of U.S. aid have shielded most Israeli citizens from the worst ravages of an annual inflation rate close to 1,300 percent in late 1984. Military spending is, of course, highly inflationary. Soldiers and workers manufacturing weapons are paid wages and spend them to buy goods and services, but they produce no goods or services on which wages can be spent. The more the work force is devoted to military ends—one-quarter in Israel—the more prices are driven up.

The full range of United States/Israeli relations is more, therefore, than is revealed through the prism of Palestinian rights. Their closeness is more than just the success of a highly organized and politically powerful pro-Israel lobby. Nor should we limit our understanding of Israel's role to the oil wealth of the Gulf. The Israeli government provides invaluable and irreplaceable services to the U.S. government throughout the world. It should come as no surprise that the U.S. government is willing to pay for

**So long as U.S./Israeli relations remain too "controversial" to discuss, the Reagan administration will feel free to use Israel to pursue its objectives in Central America.**



Guatemalan firing squad executes prisoners. The Israeli Galil is the standard issue weapon of the Guatemalan army.

## Grantland Johnson...

Continued from page 2

I explained to them that I felt their attitudes were unfortunate. It was appropriate for me to participate from an ethical and political standpoint—political in the sense not of some pragmatic aims, because from a pragmatic standpoint, there's nothing to gain. I don't have many members of the Palestine committee who live in my district. I don't get any money from the Palestine committee; they certainly don't have much money to give me. I've never asked them for money.

For that matter, I recognize that the Jewish community leadership is very influential in this community. So my decision, I told them, was not based on any pragmatic consideration. It really was based on ethics and principles, a question of political principle. I also stressed to them that their pressure doesn't augur well for improving the deteriorating relationship between the Black and Jewish communities. I felt that while they had made some attempts to repair that relationship, much has to be done in order to repair the relationship; and I felt the relationship had to be based on a different set of principles, basis of unity, than in the past. We had historically ignored

some fundamental differences of opinion over political and social questions that we must confront directly in order for a relationship on a long-term basis to be established. And I certainly was prepared to participate in that effort.

I also stressed to them that it was the responsibility of local elected officials or elected officials at any level and for Black people to participate in debates around U.S. foreign policy as well as in debates around U.S. national policy. I emphasized that there was an attitude that prevails generally throughout the community that somehow the participation of Black people in discussions of foreign policy was inappropriate, that somehow we don't have the same intellectual capacity of some others in the community to participate in these debates, and I thought that was incorrect.

There was nothing I was going to contribute by remaining silent on questions that I felt were important to discuss, and I felt there were many questions that I didn't see a great deal of outcry about in the community. I pointed, for example, to the situation that prevails in South Africa. I didn't see that as being a major issue of foreign policy; I didn't see many people in this community, outside the Black community, taking this up as a major issue, as their

issue. To say that Black people should not be concerned about this issue is the epitome of chauvinism.

Somehow Blacks don't have a right or the prerogative to discuss foreign policy. We don't have the right, for example, in the eyes of many to talk about disarmament and peace.

To the extent that we don't have broad public debate, we cannot be said to have given the issue its full airing. I think that's a mistake. I think it's a dereliction of our responsibility as citizens and I think it's not in the best interests of our national interest to mute this type of debate.

I think that the whole question of denying people the ability to debate in an objective and honest fashion, differences in foreign policy, differences in view, is dangerous to democracy in this country. It's one thing to be concerned about one's position; it's another to attempt to apply unprincipled pressure on people.

Citizens in this country are being deprived because they are not being given an opportunity to have access to the greatest amount of information about U.S. foreign policy conduct. As a result, the range of debate and the policy options to which they have been exposed are narrowly limited. That is a disservice to the American public. □

"While it can be seen that South Africa practices an open, explicit form of discrimination and racially-biased domination, Israel operates a hidden but no less repressive system. The question of who is a Jew is just as important in Israel as the question of who is white in South Africa. In both cases the Jews and the whites enjoy a superior political, economic, and social status over that of the original inhabitants of the land, the Arabs and the blacks."

So write Christopher Mansour and Richard P. Stevens in their pamphlet "Internal Control in Israel and South Africa; The Mechanisms of Colonial-Settler Regimes." Comparing and contrasting the legal systems of the two countries, the authors bring out the similarities (and differences) between them. With opposition against apartheid sweeping the United States, Israel's close relationship with South Africa has drawn even more attention. Published by the International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (EAFORD), this pamphlet joins others—such as "Zionism, A System of Apartheid" by Elizabeth Mathiot, "Israel and South Africa: Ideology and Practice," and "Zionism and Apartheid: The Negation of Human Rights," both by Dr. Alfred Moleah. EAFORD has many valuable monographs on many other aspects of Palestinian human rights. For a catalog write to EAFORD, P. O. Box 2782, Grand Central Station, New York City, NY 10163.

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## Getting It All In Focus

Listen to this: "Israel pumped \$6.5 million into its latest prison, Al-Jnaid, which opened in June, 1984 amidst great media fanfare concerning its security sophistication. Located near Nablus, the facility once served the region as a hospital under Jordanian rule, which makes the prison an ominous symbol to West Bankers given their scarcity in hospitals and abundance of prisons."

Hospitals turned into prisons, a compelling symbol of the Israeli occupation! You could read about Al-Jnaid prison in the Fall 1984 *Palestine Human Rights Bulletin*, published by the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. This 24-page issue, entitled "Scars of Occupation," focuses on the ongoing suffering at Ansar Prison in southern Lebanon and recent accounts of Israeli torture of Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners. Filled with eyewitness accounts, including those of Salah Ta'mari, Chairman of the Prisoners Committee in Ansar, this bulletin offers comprehen-

sive testimony of Israeli human rights abuses. Write to PHRC, 220 South State Street, 1 Quincy Court, Suite 1308, Chicago, IL 60604.

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On December 14, 1984 the United Nations General Assembly voted to condemn Israel for "war crimes" committed in the invasion and subsequent occupation of Lebanon. Israel and the United States were the sole dissenting votes.

The massacres at Sabra and Shatila played a prominent role in the formation of world opinion. Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliouk provides some of the best evidence of Israeli complicity in the massacres in his book, *Sabra and Shatila: Inquiry Into a Massacre*, recently released by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) Press. Kapeliouk begins with the events leading up to Beshir Gemayel's assassination and includes an analysis of the Kahan Commission's findings, which he considers inadequate. He states that the Commission's "conclusions were in fact the minimum expected in light of the overwhelming facts brought before them."

Quoting Israeli Penal Code, "Whoever causes the death of a person through commission or omission shall be accused of murder," Kapeliouk leaves the reader wondering about the likes of General Ariel Sharon. Instead of suing *Time* magazine for libel in New York, Sharon should be in Nuremberg defending himself against the charge of war crimes, such as mass murder. The book is available from AAUG Press, 556 Trapelo Road, Belmont, MA 02178. □

## Four More Years...

Continued from page 1

change as a pool of mercury. Reagan's four years has mobilized growing opposition from the Arab people, particularly the Palestinians and Lebanese. The last four years has also brought the formation and growth of an American movement against U.S. intervention in the Middle East and for the right to self-determination of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Another important change is in U.S. public opinion, which did not wholeheartedly support the 1982 Israeli invasion or U.S. aggression in Lebanon. Increasingly, Americans are asking what their government is doing in the Middle East, and that is certainly the right question to be asking. As the United States pursues its bellicose course, opposition will grow.

### Reagan's First Four

In fact, Reagan's re-election statement that "you ain't seen nothing yet" has a double edge. The U.S. president hasn't much to show for his first four years: hundreds of Marines dead in Lebanon, failure to destroy the PLO, failure to bring Lebanon into the Camp David process, failure to coerce Syria into submission, failure to gain credibility for the Reagan "peace" plan.

Reagan's first four years brought no semblance of peace or justice to the region. The Reagan administration backed the vicious Israeli invasion of Lebanon to the hilt—its cosmetic "criticisms" notwithstanding—and fought alongside the Lebanese fascists (Phalangists) in the civil war, resorting to the devastating shells from the battleship New Jersey to wreak vengeance against the Lebanese population.

The Lebanese fought the Phalangist government—installed at Israeli gunpoint—and opposed its subservient concessions to Israel and its attempt to preserve religious sectarianism as a way of life. When the Lebanese people

dared to fight occupation of their country by Israeli soldiers and U.S. Marines, they were dismissed as terrorists. But the Lebanese opposition could not be dismissed; they, along with the Palestinians, stood between the Reagan administration and its objectives and were not defeated.

The resistance has been valiant, but the costs have been tremendous. Tens of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese have died. Thousands more have been through the Ansar concentration camp and more than a thousand languish there today. Beirut and the Lebanese economy are in shambles. Lebanon's south still suffers under brutal occupation, its agriculture destroyed by Israeli restric-

tions. Palestinians in the south live without any personal security. The PLO is unable to protect or provide services for Palestinians in Lebanon, having lost its offices in Beirut and most of its bases.

Although U.S. policy goals were not achieved, neither have they been abandoned. At the end of Reagan's first term the stage was set for ominous developments. Jordan's King Hussein criticized the United States for insincerity in desiring a genuine settlement but showed his true intentions by re-establishing relations with Egypt, paving the way for his own incorporation into Camp David. The Saudis followed close behind. Iraq re-established relations with the United States, reflecting its already accomplished shift toward Egypt and its growing pro-U.S. orientation.

## "Increasingly, concerned Americans are asking what their government is doing in the Middle East."

The agenda for 1984 looks remarkably similar to that of 1980. The "Reagan Plan," which was announced only weeks before Sabra and Shatila, will not go away. Reagan managed the difficult task of proposing a solution

tions. Palestinians in the south live without any personal security. The PLO is unable to protect or provide services for Palestinians in Lebanon, having lost its offices in Beirut and most of its bases.

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The Reagan administration's strategy is little more than an elaboration of Camp David, a developing alliance, controlled by the United States, between Israel and the conservative Arab governments. This tripartite alliance would seek to redraw the map of the Middle East to "solve" (or eliminate) the Palestinian problem once and for all (by denying Palestinians rights altogether), to ensure the "security" of the Israeli state (by building a buffer zone safe for Israeli expansionism), and to end the "war" between Israel and the Arab states on Israel's terms.

In summary, Reagan's second term is anything but good news. Across a broad spectrum of political issues, we face a determined initiative to wipe out previous gains and set the United States and the world on a collision course with war and injustice. The only hope for a future for our children—indeed for our own survival—is to organize growing opposition to the dangerous course charted in Washington. □

### PALESTINE FOCUS

(415) 861-1552

P.O. Box 27462 San Francisco, CA 94127

*Palestine Focus* is the national newsletter of the November 29th Committee for Palestine (formerly November 29th Coalition). The newsletter is an activist vehicle tied to an activist movement, yet aimed at a general audience with little background knowledge. We report on activities, not only of our committee, but of other groups; and we provide consistent commentary and analysis of events in the Middle East.

The November 29th Committee for Palestine takes its name from the date declared by the United Nations as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. Our task is to spark and support consistent, far-reaching, and effective activity which brings the issue of Palestine before the American people and builds a growing and deepening base of understanding. Our committee organizes to stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East and to cut off U.S. aid to Israel. We educate Americans on the need to support the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to oppose Israeli policies of discrimination which deny the Palestinian people their rights.

Signed articles are not necessarily the opinion of the November 29th Committee for Palestine. Letters, opinions, articles, and other contributions are welcome.

#### Contributing Editors:

Douglas Franks, Steve Goldfield, Linda (Spike) Kahn, Tony Martin, Hilton Obenzinger, Cathryn Salazar, Ur Shlonsky

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In a previous issue of Palestine Focus we published excerpts of a talk by Rabbi Elmer Berger on Judaism and Zionism. We continue to explore these issues with this talk by Uri Davis from a November 29th Committee for Palestine teach-in in Berkeley, December 3, 1983.

I want to distinguish not only between Judaism and Zionism; I want to begin with another term, a political term, and that is the term "Israel," or "Israeli." Israel itself, the term itself, is an ambiguous term. It is used in different contexts to designate different entities. It is used to designate the "state" of Israel. But it is also used as a term equivalent to the "people" of Israel—the Jewish people. I propose to use the term "Israel" technically and politically to refer to the state of Israel.

Even if we do that, it doesn't follow that every Israeli national is a Jew. In fact, 17 percent of the total of Israeli nationals inside the borders of the pre-1967 state of Israel are Palestinian Arabs. So Palestinian Arabs, being a dispossessed and dispersed people, carry a variety of passports and are classified under a variety of national identities. Some of them are Israeli nationals. Others are Jordanian nationals. Still others are United Kingdom or American nationals. But for the majority of the Palestinian Arab people, these distinctions are distinctions of technicality, not distinctions of political identity. The sense of a unified identity of a Palestinian people is very much there. And to repeat, 17 percent of Israeli nationals are non-Jews, are Palestinian Arabs.

On that basis, I want to introduce the distinction between Judaism and Zionism. Judaism is a religion. It designates a religious community or a religious confession or an adherence to a very rigorously defined style of life, dictated culturally or religiously in a variety of traditions—orthodox, liberal, or conservative. In the context of secular traditions, these are sentimental traditions; but that is the domain of Judaism. The origins of Judaism, again, can be identified and they are related to a span, a historical span that is quite ancient.



November 29, New York

Zionism is a political movement organized in the framework of a specific organization entitled the World Zionist Organization. It has a clear date of beginning and that is 1897 when the first Zionist Congress was convened in Basel, Switzerland. It has a stated political program around which it mobilizes, the first formulation of which was presented in Basel and then reformulated three or four times in the course of just under one hundred years of Zionist history. The culmination of



Palestinians and Israelis protest the war in Lebanon and the treatment of Palestinians in the West Bank.

# Judaism, Zionism, and Anti-Semitism

Zionist political efforts is the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. In this framework and on the basis of this perception, to be anti-Zionist means a very simple position, opposition to the Zionist program, opposition to Zionist policies, and opposition to what the Zionist Organization perceives to be a solution to the problem of anti-Semitism in the West.

Organizations emerge in response to concrete situations. Organizations are created by people acting in concert. And the Zionist Organization was one response, not the only response, but one response to the question of anti-Semitism in the West. I choose my terms judiciously: a response not to the Jewish "problem" but to the problem of anti-Semitism. There is no problem with

the ancient Jewish homeland of Palestine and concentration there of a Jewish majority and establishment of a sovereign Jewish state.

An anti-Zionist would be opposed to this political solution and would be opposed to this political solution for articulated reasons, for reasons that can be clearly identified and argued, not for arbitrary reasons.

I wish to emphasize that anti-Zionism has nothing to do with anti-Judaism. Anti-Zionism must be clearly distinguished from anti-Semitism. To fail to make this distinction has very criminal consequences. The criminal consequences that are related to that failure are numerous and, again, all I can do in the context of this presentation is illustrate the case at hand.

***"The failure to distinguish between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism leads to consistently immoral and indefensible positions."***

Jews per se; there is very much a problem with anti-Semites and anti-Semitic philosophies per se.

The Zionist Organization, the Zionist movement, proposes to put forward a solution to the problem of anti-Semitism. The solution is predicated on a fairly simple insight. The insight claims that Jews as a minority cannot hope to achieve equality of rights and freedom inside non-Jewish, Gentile societies; that the only policy available to Jewish communities throughout the world, as a collectivity, is immigration to

The basic Zionist insight is that Jews as such—Jewish communities as minority communities inside non-Jewish societies—cannot hope to achieve equality of rights and freedom and that the reason for that is inherent, somehow and at various levels of explication, in "non-Jewish human nature." It is not a product of a certain identifiable set of economic, political, or historical developments; it relates to the "essence of Gentile human nature" and because every Gentile, by Zionist definition, must be an overt or covert anti-Semite,

because every Gentile, by Zionist definition, must be an overt or covert anti-Semite, because every Gentile person will emerge in any given set of circumstances as an anti-Jewish person, the only solution is the uprooting of Jewish communities from the Gentile world and concentration of Jewish communities as a sovereign, separate nation-state.

We must be honest with ourselves and we must be honest with our colleagues and with the world at large. We must dare to say, explicitly, that on that basis and in terms of that insight, the Zionist and the anti-Semite converge, not in intention but in strategy. Both the anti-Semite and the Zionist claim that a Jew has no place in Gentile societies, that the long-term welfare of Jewish individuals and Jewish communities is to be taken out of Gentile societies.

This convergence has been translated politically. An illustration of this political translation is embodied, for instance, in the person of the current [now former] Prime Minister of the state of Israel, Yitzhak Shamir. Yitzhak Shamir as the leader of the Irgun was willing to strike an alliance with Nazi Germany against the Allied Forces on the basis of his Zionist philosophy, on the basis of his concept of the Zionist notion of what constitutes Jewish dignity, Jewish liberation, Jewish freedom. The convergence was articulated in memorandum after memorandum; political attempts were initiated by Shamir and others in the Irgun to strike this alliance. Numerous illustrations are available in a recently published book by Lenni Brenner, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators*, in which the political convergence of the Zionist Organization with the Nazi regime on the question of the Jewish problem is documented in detail.

The argument I wish to present to you here is that quite the contrary applies: there is no way that anti-Zionist positions—consistent, principled anti-Zionist positions—can be identified at any level with anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish positions. But there are numerous contexts where the contrary does apply, when the committed Zionist will converge with the principled and committed anti-Semite on the question of strategy for the solution of the Jewish "problem," not on the basis of mutuality of intentions—the intentions may be very different—but on the basis of political convergence. That basis is a shared insight that a Jew cannot be free under any circumstance as a person of a minority community inside a Gentile society, that anti-Semitism is not a socially constituted, politically constituted phenomenon, an aspect of racism that has to be combated, but that anti-Semitism is somehow inherent in "Gentile-versus-Jewish human nature" and has to be taken as given.

These distinctions have immediate implications for the situation of Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews inside Israel under Israeli law as well as for the situation of Jewish communities throughout the world and specifically in the United States. The failure to distinguish between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism blinds us to simple and elementary realities of Palestinian life under Israeli law, leads to obfuscation, and immediately leads to consistently immoral and indefensible positions. The best measure for illuminating the domain as I see it is again by a very simple mechanism, a standard technique first presented by a philosopher called Kant: the universality of moral consideration and moral principle.

Let us, for instance, take the legal situation inside the state of Israel, one aspect of that legal situation. Inside the state of Israel—and I will consistently refer to pre-1967 Israel—92 percent of the territory, 92 percent of the land, is legally under so-called public ownership, 92 percent of the land cannot be sold to individual purchasers. It is available only under lease, normally for 49 years and the lease is renewable.

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