

Documents & Reports on

**THE ISRAELI
VIOLATIONS
OF HUMAN AND
CIVIL RIGHTS**

**Compiled & Edited by
Dr. ADNAN AMAD**

Research



Center

Documents and Reports
on Israeli Violations
of Human and Civil Rights

Palestine Books No. 67

Documents and Reports
on Israeli Violations
of Human and Civil Rights

Compiled and Edited
by
DR. ADNAN AMAD

With an Introduction
by
PROF. BUTROS B. GHALI

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INTRODUCTION

In spite of intensive efforts by world Zionism, Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories are being systematically exposed to international public opinion. These violations—concealed or justified by their perpetrators as political measures for security needs—have been condemned by numerous resolutions adopted by the United Nations and other international bodies. World public opinion is coming to realize that the state founded in the name of protecting Jews from religious and racial discrimination in Europe has been able to maintain itself only through the institutionalized practice of religious and racial discrimination against Christian and Muslim Arabs.

Last July (1974) I took part in a conference held in Yugoslavia on Human Rights and the Rights of Racial and National Minorities. At that time I was struck by the extent to which some of the discussions demonstrated the ignorance of many expert participants regarding the obvious parallels between the the Zionist movement in Palestine and the system of racial discrimination in South Africa—of the fact that both systems are based on settler-colonialism: the implantation of foreign groups of immigrants in Africa or Asia who take control of the most valuable resources, establish colonies, and eventually come to dominate the majority of indigenous inhabitants through expulsion, expropriation, and the denial of basic human rights. Such societies usually attempt to justify their colonial practices through appeal to various arguments which cannot survive the slightest moral scrutiny: most familiar is the assertion that the colonialists bear the mission of “saving” the “underdeveloped” peoples from their “backwardness”, or of introducing progress and civilization and containing their internal disputes. All these transparent justifications of colonial rule are predicated on a basic fact: racial discrimination practiced by the newcomers well-armed

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with money and technology against the original inhabitants, who are uprooted, expelled, and exploited.

The ideologies supporting the Zionist movement and the system of *apartheid* in South Africa are clearly in sharp contradiction with essential freedoms and rights due all human beings, and the institutional systems they have spawned even more blatantly so. Yet while the United Nations and other international organizations have condemned the *apartheid* system as violating the Principles and Aims of the United Nations and the International Declaration of Human Rights, they have not yet mustered the moral courage to closely evaluate Zionist ideology in such terms.

I have no doubt that were any committee of experts on Human Rights to face the challenge of examining the political philosophy on which the Zionist state is based, and the current racist laws on which it depends—especially the “Law of Return” which allows any Jew anywhere in the world to become an Israeli citizen upon his arrival, while denying the same right to hundreds of thousands of Arabs born in Palestine itself—they would come to the inescapable conclusion that the Zionist state is based on an ideology of racial and religious discrimination inherently opposed to basic human rights and thus threatening world peace.

This book is an important contribution to the growing body of testimony on the violations of human rights by the Israeli authorities. It provides the reader with an up-to-date collection of documents on these violations. These documents are presented and sponsored largely by Jews from Palestine, like the well-known Dr. Israel Shahak, a professor at the Hebrew University and the President of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. As I pointed out at the conference in Yugoslavia, the Jews who are publishing and distributing these documents in defence of the rights of Arab citizens have, in many respects, done more to defend human rights and freedoms than many Arabs have themselves. This fact augurs well for reconciliation between Judaism, liberated from Zionism, and Arab nationalism liberated from the complexes of the past, and thus the Palestine of tomorrow.

The success of Dr. Adnan Amad’s first book of documents of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights¹ has shown the growing realization on the part of the international public of the scope of the Palestine Problem

¹ *The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights*, “The Shahak Papers”, compiled and edited by Dr. Adnan Amad, Palestine Research Center, Beirut, 1973.

and of the fact that international efforts to solve this problem must be based on a realistic analysis of the colonial phenomena inherent in Zionism, rather than on any guilt feelings of the past towards the Jews.

PROFESSOR BUTROS B. GHALI
(CAIRO, DEC. 1974)

EDITOR'S NOTE

The wide interest shown in my first work documenting the activities of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights was most encouraging, and provided the stimulus to follow up the subject in light of recent events. After the October, 1973 War Israel initiated an intensive and ruthless campaign to extinguish all forms of resistance by the Palestinian people to their continued occupation. The shocks inflicted on Israeli society by the war have resulted in a hardening of Israeli government policy toward the Arab population of Palestine. Confronted by new international initiatives to find a peaceful solution to the dispossession of the Palestinian people, Israel's political and military leadership has stubbornly kept to its own "solution" of the chronic crisis of confidence in the traditional program of the Zionist movement.

The ideology behind this program was and still is one of making Israel a land without Palestinians. Herzl's "Judenstaat" finds its modern embodiment as Rabin's policy of "secure and recognized boundaries." The campaign against the very existence of the Palestinian national and social entity is carried out with renewed violence and the old, cold pragmatism. The official policy of the executive and legislative branches of the State continues to be that of "imprison 100 Palestinians, or expell 100 from the country—one of them is surely 'guilty'."

Meanwhile, in Israeli society itself, discontent over the government's negative policy towards a just settlement has spread to important groups and institutions; nevertheless, the government's policy towards the Palestinians has not become a source of discontent, except among a small minority of intelligensia and human rights idealists. Military ideals and political extremism have made Israel an inhospitable environment for moral and human considerations. Despite their own long history of oppression as Jews in Europe, the Israelis as a whole have not come to recognize the historic

irony of their experience in Diaspora and their contemporary role as oppressors and violators of basic human rights. After more than a quarter century of forcible occupation of Arab land, the average Jew still exhibits no signs of resistance or opposition to the aims or methods of modern Zionism as practiced in occupied Palestine. While those critical attitudes voiced by Israelis towards their government's reactionary policies are often sophisticated and acute, they remain few and far between.

Outside Israel the activities of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, and its courageous President, Dr. Israel Shahak, have excited world-wide attention and interest. Since 1967 the League has devoted itself especially to documenting and publishing cases of Israeli violations of the human rights of the subject Arab population of Israel, but this should not obscure the fact that there occur similar systematic violations of the rights of Jews (especially of Eastern origin) living in Israel. The last three years have witnessed several cases of Jews being sentenced to prison for aiding the resistance of the Palestinian people. In general, the contradictions generated by the intrinsic inequalities between the different Jewish ethnic groups in Israel have been suppressed and concealed by the channeling of attention and energy into the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. In this atmosphere of fear and conformity, the League has been systematically criticized and attacked by numerous government institutions and personalities, as well as by important parts of the Hebrew press.¹ According to recent reports from Israel, the League (and especially Dr. Shahak) is being subjected to mounting direct and indirect political pressure intended to prevent its development into a coherent political movement in the future and to neutralize its possible impact on Zionist ideology and Israeli public opinion.

Given the fact that Israeli youth are largely controlled both mentally and physically by the dominant military institutions, there are unfortunately few opportunities for the League to spread its message to the emerging generation of Israelis, who have been inculcated with militarism and chauvinism from the earliest age. Since 1967, the League's Arab membership has increased insignificantly, and its relations with similar organizations in the Arab world are nonexistent. Nevertheless, as the position of Palestinians under occupation becomes more desperate every year, the League remains virtually the only body able and willing to observe and document the con-

¹ See below, Part IV.

tinuing violations of human rights in Palestine. Because of this, the League has won numerous friends, supporters, and sympathisers in the Arab countries, and particularly among Palestinians who are ready to begin a fruitful and constructive dialogue with those Israeli Jews who share the same response and feel the same responsibility for violations of human rights.

One of the aims of this new collection of documents is to introduce some new elements into the record of Israel's history of violations of human rights in Palestine. In addition to the available record of the League's communiqués for the period from December 1, 1973 to December 1, 1974, this collection contains material from other sources, including interviews with Miss Felicia Langer, an Israeli lawyer who has devoted herself to the defence of Palestinians; interviews with Dr. Shahak himself; and material from the Hebrew-language Israeli press, most of which was collected by Dr. Shahak.

The variety and abundance of material poses some problems for the editor. They have been arranged according to date, source, and subject matter, but this has resolved only some of the editing problems, and I hope the reader will benevolently excuse the gaps which still remain, in light of the fact that the collection of documents was chosen on the whole to demonstrate effectively the role of the State of Israel as instrument of the racist and exclusivist Zionist ideology.

The actions of the Israeli government in response to the resolutions passed at the last meeting of the U.N. General Assembly supporting the national rights of the Palestinian people and to the recent upsurge of international support for the Palestine Liberation Organization have illustrated that government's intransigent and reactionary attitude. Israel has sentenced Archbishop Capucci to 12 years imprisonment; it has brutally crushed demonstrations of schoolchildren with tanks and guns; it has bombed and shelled Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps with great loss of life; it has attacked offices of the PLO in heavily populated areas of Beirut; and it has continued its policies of arrest, torture and imprisonment of militant Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories. This collection of documents does not touch on all these recent events, but it does serve as an enduring statement about the paramount issue—the rights of the Palestinian people forcibly expelled from their homes and systematically oppressed since the creation of Israel in 1948. The basic question, raised again and again over the years, remains—How long can Israel go on disregarding the will of the international community? A perusal of recent press reports from Israel

indicates that increasing numbers of journalists and writers are criticizing government policy towards the Palestinians, not so much from moral considerations as from fear for Israel's tarnished image abroad. Hopefully, this criticism will, ultimately, crystallize into a crisis of moral values within Israel.

From the perspective of human rights, the possibility that such a moral crisis might develop into a crisis over the very constitutional basis of Israeli society, which by its existence is a denial of the rights of the Palestinians to exist in their own state, seems dim. Ideally, the continued and systematic violations of human rights will inevitably lead both Arabs and Jews to a reconsideration of all proposed formulas for "coexistence" based on territorial and constitutional structures and norms. I trust that the tragic disregard of human rights in occupied Palestine as demonstrated in this book will give both idealists and realists the motives and impulses for such a reconsideration.

DR. ADNAN AMAD
(Dec—Jan., 1974—1975)

PART ONE

DOCUMENTS OF THE ISRAELI LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

This section contains a number of statements and appeals by the ILHCR to official government bodies in Israel and to international public opinion on human rights violations. Also included are recorded testimony by witnesses to such violations; correspondence between the ILHCR and Israeli officials; memoranda of the League documenting various violations; and other related materials.

* * *

DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK, 2 BARTENURA STR. JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

June 9, 1973

The following is a report of a meeting of a special category of Israeli citizens: Those who are administratively "limited", and whose freedom of movement is denied arbitrarily, merely by the orders of the military commander.

The number of these "limited" citizens varies. But *every* non-Jew in Israel can be "limited" to his house, town, sub-district or district, *whenever* the military commander thinks fit, and for as much time.¹ There is no recourse or remedy in civil law for such an order, and indeed the man who is limited cannot even ask for what reason he is limited. Officially, no reason is ever given, apart from a general declaration that the military commander thinks this limitation "is in the interest of Israeli security".

*

¹ In fact, any Israeli citizen can, by law, be "limited", but in practice the law is applied only to non-Jews, with few exceptions since 1948.

WE SHOULD NOT KEEP SILENT

A Protest Meeting in Tel-Aviv Calling for the Abolition of Limitation Orders

Hundreds of limited persons and democracy-seekers met on Thursday evening (March 5, 1973) at the "Bnai Brith" hall in Tel-Aviv, to protest the political persecution of hundreds of Israeli Arab citizens who are limited to their homes due to ex-Mandatory Emergency Regulations, and who thus must ask for a permit even to visit a relative in a hospital.

The speakers at the meeting pointed out that limitation orders against part of the Israeli public are a danger to society as a whole and that there is no *security* reason for this persecution of people who hold opposing views. The reason is the government's desire to break these people's opposition to its policy. This persecution has an air of racism to it, because no Jewish citizen is forbidden to leave his house or town because of his views, as is done to Arab citizens.

The meeting was opened and presided over by *Natan Yelin-Mor*: I have come to fulfil a moral duty—he said—which is sacred to me. Many people who should be alert to the serious problem discussed here were invited to come. Some came, some excused themselves and some didn't even find it necessary to explain why they didn't come.

Many of those who are today part of the government once sharply denounced these regulations, which were applied under the British Mandate. Today, these people apply these same regulations against a certain section of the Israeli population.

There are reasons for using limitation orders, but these are not security reasons. A force that can take care of 100,000 Jordanian tourists who come during the summer months can also take care of the hundreds of limited people without limiting them to their homes. In this meeting, I want to voice my solidarity with those people in my name and in the name of those citizens who abhor discrimination and persecution.

Later, N. Yelin-Mor read a document he had sent to the U.N. on behalf of his organization, which had fought British colonizers, in which the basic rights of all citizens, regardless of nationality, sex and religion, are listed.

At the end of his speech he said: "I am ashamed that all the hopes we had in a progressive government in Israel were not realized and there exist

limitation orders and limited people". He called for organized public action to abolish this injustice.

Lawyer *Muhammed Ma'ari* said that the meeting was his first opportunity in years to meet his "limited" friends. The people present need no explanation as to what the Emergency Regulations are. But still, it is appropriate to mention a few.

Regulation 172 authorizes the governor to announce a certain area as a closed zone into which no one is allowed to enter and which no one is allowed to leave without a permit.

Regulation 111, which is the strictest, authorizes the governor to arrest any person without having to give reason, and to detain him, without trial, for a practically unlimited length of time.

Regulations 109 and 110 authorize the governor to restrict the freedom of movement of the residents in the area under his command.

A former Minister, Dr. Dov Yosef, once said at a convention that the regulations, according to which limitation orders are applied, are "officially condoned terror". The present Justice Minister, Y.S. Shapira, went as far as to say at that time that even the Nazis did not enact such regulations. These statements were made in 1946. Today, 27 years later, the same person uses the regulations against Arab citizens.

To what measure these regulations are used in order to degrade and break the spirit of people is obvious from the new procedures introduced in the use of limitation orders and the granting of travel permits. Two years ago, *Ma'ari* added, I could send the office secretary to request a permit when I had to be present at a trial outside Haifa. Today I must go and request the permit in person and wait long hours for an answer.

Things have reached such a point that even a newlywed couple, wishing to spend their honeymoon in Nahariya, do not receive a permit because it is a "danger" to state security. There is no connection whatsoever between this persecution—this discrimination—and security. The aim of this persecution is to prevent the Arab population from organizing to defend their rights.

Aharon Cohen (Kibbutz Sha'ar Ha'amakim) said: I agreed to appear here realizing that a person to whom democracy is dear should not keep silent. He voiced his surprise at the fact that none of the ministers invited

to be present at the meeting (M. Dayan, Y.S. Shapira, S. Hillel)¹ in order to explain the policy of limitation orders, found it necessary to come (Dayan said he was not interested. Shapira and Hillel said they were busy).

The limitation orders—said *A. Cohen*—are something that emphasized national discrimination, which is opposed to the declaration of independence and the interests of the State of Israel. And if people are limited because of their views, why are only Arabs limited? But discrimination exists not only in limitation orders. I know that a third of the Arab villages are without electricity. I know the situation of the Arab worker, the Arab student, the Arab scholar.

A. Cohen excitedly addressed the audience: You who are limited, you should know that I, and many others like me and Yelin-Mor, are deeply hurt by our inability to prevent limitation orders.

He called for a struggle based on mutual understanding of interests and the needs of the two nations.

Victor Zigleman (Tel-Aviv) said that limitation orders are something racist that limits freedom. They endanger the political freedom of us all. I am ashamed that my country obeys the law when it suits it and disregards the law when it doesn't.

He suggested a public committee for political freedom in Israel. He also suggested appealing to respected persons and publicizing their replies.

The poet *Na'if Salim* (Peki'in) said that until a month ago he had been limited. It is difficult for him to believe, but it is a fact that he has been free for a month and does not need a special permit to leave his village. I don't know why I suddenly ceased to be "dangerous". I served three years in the army and five years in the border police. I had a gun and was not a threat to anyone. And while I was limited, even a visit to my sister in the neighbouring village was a danger to State security, and it was no less a danger if I went to Acre to work and support my family.

Alex Massis said that when he was young he learnt in school about the Pale of Residence in Czarist Russia. Today, people in Israel speak of a Pale of Residence and limitation orders on Arab citizens. As long as this discrimination is not abolished the State of Israel will not be sovereign.

¹ Defence, Justice, and Police.

He brought up the residents of Bir'am and Ikrit¹ as an example of people limited to outside of their villages and suggested an vigorous struggle against discrimination and limitation orders.

Yitzhak La'or (student) said: Things like these limitation orders cause racism. I'm afraid people are getting used to a situation in which the detention of a person without trial is something bad, but if he is Arab it is O.K., because an Arab "is not a person" in the full sense of the word.

There are reasons for limitation orders. The reasons are the Israeli-Arab conflict. As long as the Palestinian problem is not solved and the Palestinians are denied their rights, there will be orders and there will be conflicts.

Muhammed Haddad (Ramleh) told how the limitation orders affect his life: I came home one day from work and was told that my son had been taken to "Assaf Ha'rofeh" hospital. But since I am not allowed to leave Ramleh without a permit, I went to the police and asked for one to visit my son. They didn't believe me and phoned the hospital to find out if it was true that he was there. When they assured them that it was so, I was given a permit that said what building I was allowed to visit and by what way I was to go there. I wasn't allowed to turn right or left or to go to any other building.

My two married daughters live in Nazareth. One of them had a daughter—my grand-daughter. I asked for a permit to visit her. The police were of the opinion that this was dangerous, and forbade me to visit her.

Ze'ev Sadeh (Kibbutz Ma'abaroht) said that a large part of the public doesn't even know that limitation orders exist. Until recently, I too was one of those who didn't know. We must tell these people what is going on around them.

None of us wants to harm the security of the State, but it is a lie to say that limitation orders are used because of security needs. The people against whom these orders are used are persecuted because of their political views. He called for a joint struggle against the discrimination.

¹ Two Arab villages whose inhabitants were expelled to other parts of Israel in 1948 for "security reasons." They are still prohibited from returning.

Prof *Kalman Altman* (Haifa) said: History gives us abundant proof of the fact that freedom and democracy cannot be divided. There is no such thing as half freedom. Freedom and democracy either exist or do not exist. We all remember the McCarthy era in the U.S. First, Communists and their sympathizers were persecuted, but soon persecution spread to people like Openheimer and Chaplin.

If there is a cancer in the body and it is not extracted, it destroys the body. When a poet has to ask for a permit to read his poems outside his town—that is cancer; when a member of the Histadrut¹ acting-committee must request a permit in order to be present at a meeting—that is cancer; when a scientist needs a permit so he can give a lecture—that is cancer. We must act and destroy the cancer before it destroys us.

Dr. *Emil Tuma* (Haifa) said the limited people are writers, poets, union leaders, journalists, and others who take part in social activity to improve the condition of their people. The limitation orders, in addition to harming those limited, were designed to arouse suspicion against Arabs, and to widen the barrier between the two nations.

Holding this meeting in Tel-Aviv symbolizes the joint struggle against limitation orders, which have also been used against striking Jewish workers.

E. Tuma called for strengthening the struggle, not only against limitation orders, but for the abolition of the emergency regulations left us by British mandate rule.

Muhammed Na'amna (Chairman of Arab Students Committee), told of actions taken among the student public in Jerusalem against limitation orders.

Lawyer *Ali Rafa* told the audience that out of 150 security trials more than a hundred of those accused had never been limited and some were members of the ruling party.

The poet *Yebi* told of a petition requesting the abolishment of limitation orders.

On the stage there were three empty chairs with names of the Defense, Police and Justice ministers on them. They had been invited to take part in the meeting but did not come.

¹ The quasi-official national trade union.

DECISIONS

Summing up the different suggestions of the speakers, journalist *Yosef Elgazi* asked the audience to accept the following resolutions:

* The convention calls upon the Knesset Chairman, the Prime Minister and the Defense Minister to abolish at once the system of limitation orders and travel-limiting orders and all the emergency regulations.

* An information leaflet, which will contain all the material about the limitation order policy, will be published and be brought to the attention of the public, and will call for the abolition of this injustice.

* To work towards the establishment of a public committee that will continue the struggle.

* In the future, to hold another meeting to discuss further steps needed to succeed in the struggle.

Those present accepted these resolutions.

* * *

MALTREATMENT OF P.O.W.'S

The following is a signed document given to Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer:

E.C. declares before me on his word of honour that all what he said below is true and correct. His military number is 2170402.

1) The incident happened on the second day of the war, on 7.10.1973. It was dark. The light came from lighted torches. A unit of Centurions had managed to arrive. We had heard on the wireless that a force of infantry was going to attack. My brigade was ordered to leave, its number is 820, we remained only a few, the rest left, for we were not a fighting unit. The task of my unit is not fighting. We remained without ammunition. It was in the area of Mushaniya-Nafah. The time was about seven in the evening. The additional forces which had arrived were very well equipped. After a small force of Syrian tanks was suddenly hit, we heard a noise coming towards us. We did not know if this was ours, or theirs, we supposed that

it was Syrian because of what we had heard and because of the chaotic situation in the area. Three helicopters were going to land without a landing signal. Two helicopters were destroyed in the air, the third helicopter landed, on fire. People began to go out of it, clearly not to fight for those who came out had burning clothes. They tried to shout that they submitted; they came out in a state of shock. The soldiers who were there killed them. They were about fifty.

2) Treatment of prisoners: Trucks loaded with prisoners came down from the area of the fighting into Rosh-Pina. Handcuffed and with their eyes bound. A Syrian helicopter pilot, short, thin, was taken down in Rosh-Pina to be interrogated. Two policemen guarded him, he was lightly wounded (it was in the middle of the war). One of the policemen gave us a hint, and some of us implored the policeman: Hit him, no one is looking... The eyes and the legs of the pilot were bound. The policeman hit his head against the wall; this was in the Rosh-Pina police courtyard, the pilot was on his way to hospital. His face was damaged by the lintel. His blood was flowing.

There was again an incident of a prisoner—a boy—whom they hit with their fists and kicked, while he was bound. Because he was bound, each blow sent him flying in every direction, and he was knocked against walls. He was shouting: “I die, I die!”, and this amused our soldiers who were hitting him more and more, the more they heard his shouts.

While the trucks were passing through Rosh-Pina loaded with the prisoners, the soldiers were jumping on them and throwing bottles on them, without the guards disturbing them or defending the prisoners.

I declare that all said here is true and correct.

(signed)

E.C.

The declaration given in my presence

(signed)

F. Langer, Lawyer.

* * *

DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK, 2 BARTENURA STREET,
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

January 11, 1974

The following notice appeared in the Arabic newspaper *ASHA'AB*, of East-Jerusalem. It was horribly mutilated by censorship, but enough remains to be understood:

*

ASHA'AB, January 10, 1974

*Mothers of the Be'er-Sheva¹ Prisoners
Call upon Waldheim and the International Conscience*

Nablus, by our correspondent.

Mothers of prisoners imprisoned in the Be'er-Sheva prison have sent the following telegram to the Secretary General of the U.N., to the League for Human Rights, and to the International Red Cross:

“In the name of humanity, of conscience and the rules of Justice, we, the mothers of prisoners, call upon you [censorship cut] in the prison of Be'er-Sheva about the treatment our sons are receiving there and make the following requests:

1) [Censorship cut] betterment of the treatment of [censorship cut]
2) [Censorship cut] not to deny them books, copy-books, undergarments², or [the right] to write to their families. All this is in addition to the lack of cover [big censorship cut] and we are demanding that those among them who are seriously ill should be freed, and the long punishment period reduced.

We are also asking for the betterment of the treatment in other prisons. In the name of peace and those human rights which are holy everywhere.”

* * *

¹ One of the toughest prisons in Israel, exclusively for Palestinians from the conquered territories.

² A usual punishment in the Israeli prisons for Palestinians is to forbid the wearing of undergarments, and sometimes to strip the prisoners naked. (see other documents.)

DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK, 2 BARTENURA STREET
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

11 January 1974

On 16.2.73, during a symposium of all Israeli ex-Chiefs of Staff¹, General Yitzhak Rabin proposed a “simple” solution for the Palestinians: Their removal from Palestine. He proposed “to create such conditions that during the next ten years, there would be a natural shifting of population to the East-Bank” of Jordan. As the first step in this program of population removal, General Rabin proposed, of course, the refugees. “I should wish a minimum of refugees in the West-Bank. The problem of the refugees of the Gaza-Strip should not be solved in Gaza or in El-Arish, but mainly in the East-Bank” (of Jordan).

On January 8th 1974, *after the October war*, general Rabin again proposed a plan for peace with Jordan², consisting of the following six points:

- “* United Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty, with a solution to the problems of the different religions.
- * No return to the 1967 borders, with the fixing of the Israeli sovereignty on some parts of Judea and Samaria.
- * The return of the areas which are inhabited by Arabs in Judea and Samaria to Jordan. In the intervening period, until a true peace, there will be in those areas Jordanian sovereignty, Jordanian administration and Jordanian citizenship.
- * An Israeli military presence, without sovereignty, in all the parts which will be returned to Jordan, in the intervening period which will last until the rehabilitation of the refugees.
- * Rehabilitation of the Arab refugees in the East-Bank of Jordan, and perhaps even in the West-Bank, *including the Gaza-Strip refugees*. (emphasis added). This way, a “Palestinization of Jordan” will be obtained. A peace arrangement will be bound to the solution of the refugee problem which will take 15–20 years.
- * The Gaza-Strip will be included in the area of the State of Israel.”

¹ Reported in *Ma'ariv*, 16.2.73.

² *Ha'aretz*, 8.1.74.

I repeat the comment I made on 26 February 1973 on the former plan: By this cynical recommendation of expulsion—however disguised—of Palestinians from Palestine, Mr. Rabin puts himself openly on the same level as the official Nazi policy toward Jews in the years 1933–1938. I will add that the policy of driving Palestinians from Palestine, was, is, and is likely to remain, the corner-stone of *all Zionist parties* including all the so-called “moderates”, “doves” and “peace-camp” among them.

* * *

THE ISRAEL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

P.O.Box 14192, Tel-Aviv, Israel

28. 1. 74

TO PUBLIC OPINION IN ISRAEL AND IN THE WHOLE WORLD!

A renewed wave of oppression is being inflicted on the inhabitants of the conquered territories. Many of the acts of oppression committed against the inhabitants are clearly forbidden by the Geneva Conventions governing the treatment of the inhabitants of the conquered territories.

We are bringing to your attention five areas in which the oppression is maximal:

A. Expulsions

On December 10th, which happens to be Human Rights Day, eight intellectuals and community leaders of the Palestinian people in the West Bank were expelled to Jordan. The expulsion was carried out in the most brutal way. The men were arrested at night, without they or their families being told that they were going to be expelled. In each home, from which the father of the family was taken to be expelled, a security man was left, whose task was to prevent the family, during the whole night, from having any contacts with the outside world, and even with each other. We condemn especially the fact that the families of the expelled people were prevented by

this from contacting a lawyer, or from taking any other legal steps. Such behaviour is an act of contempt towards the whole justice apparatus of the State of Israel. The arrested men, who did not know about their fate, were taken to the desert area of the Arava Valley, and were compelled by threats to cross into Jordan. The mayor of El-Bireh, Mr. Abd El-Juwad Saleh, who refused to cross the border, was wounded with a bayonet by one of the soldiers. When the group, which passed the border after this barbaric act, refused to advance further, shots were fired towards it to compel it to move further into Jordanian territory.

The names of the people who were expelled are:

1. Abed El-Juwad Saleh, mayor of El-Bireh.
2. Jeryis Uda, teacher, of El-Bireh.
3. Jamil Hussein Uda, of Ramallah.
4. Dr. Walid Kamhawi, gynecologist, of Nablus.
5. Hussein Jarub, of Nablus.
6. Arrabi Musa, of Nablus.
7. Shaker Muhammad Abu Khajla, of Nablus.
8. Abd El-Muhsein Abu Maizar, lawyer, member of the Superior Moslem Council, of Jerusalem.

We also report that when the old father of Mr. Abed El-Juwad Saleh died afterwards Mr. Saleh was not permitted to cross over, even for a short time, in order to attend his father's funeral. Such a cruel and senseless step has no precedent, and it is an offence against the most fundamental human feelings.

B. Blowing-up and Blocking of Houses

Lately, the blowing-up or the blocking of the houses of suspects was renewed on a large scale, especially in the areas of Nablus and Jenin. We draw attention to these fundamental principles:

1. The blowing-up of an inhabited house is a collective punishment, which is directed especially against those human beings who are completely innocent: Children, and even babies, women, old men, the infirm—those whose only "crime" consists of having a blood relation with a man suspected by the authorities; 2. The blowing-up of houses is carried out even in the middle of the winter, which is especially severe this year, with the result that the children are thrown out in the street, without any attempt being made

to find alternative housing for them. In many cases, the families are not allowed enough time to take out their personal belongings, and they thus find themselves lacking both adequate dress and lodging. 3. Such deeds are not only contrary to every humane standard of behaviour, but are a specific offence against the Fourth Geneva Convention. The International Red Cross has repeatedly condemned such actions.

C. Mass-Arrests

Huge mass-arrests were carried out lately in the conquered territories. For example, in the town of Nablus alone, 550 people, all male, were arrested in two days! (*Al-Fajer*, 16.1.74). Some of the arrested people are youths or children, of high-school and even elementary school age. In addition to the arrests, a huge group of men are being taken from their homes or from the streets and put into temporary prisons, in the open, where they are held for long hours (12–36) under humiliating conditions. People are held in such conditions even in rain or snow.

D. Disappearing Prisoners

Many of the people who are arrested “disappear”, without their families knowing anything about their fate, or even where they are. This continues to occur despite several written appeals to the military authorities. For example, we submit the following cases:

1. Wajdi Kamhawi, 27 years old.
2. Muhammad Zayad Kherzalla, 24 years old.
3. Bassam Hindi, 21 years old.
4. Bassam Abdul Razzale Amira, 21 years old.
5. Ranem Ibn Said Abu Zanet, 20 years old.

All are from Nablus, and were arrested on the 5th of January 1974. In spite of many frantic appeals from their families, nothing is known about the fate of these people, or the places where they are being held. It is not even known whether they are still in Israel, or whether they are still alive.

E. "Temporary Residents" Who are Born
in this Country—a Human Category
in the Conquered Territories

We protest against the maltreatment, lately, of those inhabitants of the conquered territories who, for some reason, are regarded by the authorities as "temporary residents". We emphasize that these "temporary residents" were born in the place where they live, and where their families live, but that in spite of all this they are required to renew their "living permits" regularly, sometimes as often as once a month.

Thousands of people are included in this category and, quite often, while part of the family has the status of a "temporary resident" another part has the status of a "permanent resident".

The condition in which the temporary permits for such families are renewed have become aggravated lately, with the intentional purpose of causing humiliation.

We will submit as an example the case of Mrs. Ratibe El-Basha of the village of Bit-Iba:

Mrs. Ratibe El-Basha, who is a widow, brought back from Kuwait the body of her husband for burial in her village, and was therefore declared a "temporary resident". We emphasize that she was born and lived all her life in the village of Bit-Iba, with her ten-year-old son, her old father and the rest of her family. Each month, she is compelled to ask for a permit to live in the village where she was born, in the following manner: She must go to the Jordan bridge, cross over to the East-Bank, return, and ask for a new permit on the spot. It is difficult to describe in words the brutality, humiliation and cruelty of this treatment, which has been repeated now for several months.

Many appeals for alleviation of the cruel conditions of this widow have had no result.

We appeal to public opinion in Israel and in the whole world to protest against these actions and against all arbitrary actions which are contrary to human rights.

We ask you to publish your protest, and to send it to the person who is responsible, on behalf of the Israeli government, for the conquered territories: Mr. Moshe Dayan, Minister of Security.

We ask you likewise to send protests to the Secretary General of the U.N., Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

* * *

THE ISRAEL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

P.O.Box 14192, TEL-AVIV, ISRAEL

17.2.1974

TO PUBLIC OPINION IN ISRAEL AND IN THE WHOLE WORLD!

On the 28th of January 1974, we appealed to you in a protest¹, describing the oppression in the conquered territories. In that appeal, we mentioned (part D) the names of five men who were arrested in Nablus (West-Bank) and have since “disappeared”.

Two of these, Wajdi Kamhawi (No. 1) and Bassam Abdul Razzale Amira, were “found” on 13.2.1974, by their lawyer, Mrs. Felicia Langer, and by their families. We are publishing here what happened to them during the time they “disappeared”, as related by them—in the presence of their interrogators—to their lawyer and their families, on 13.2.1974.

Wajdi Kamhawi said that he was arrested and taken to Jenin prison. There his interrogators began beating him and spitting into his mouth. The interrogators' nicknames were “Abu-Ali” and “Abu El Ras”. Wajdi Kamhawi denied all the accusations which were made against him and offered to provide an alibi. After 4 days (without further interrogation) he was taken to a prison inside Israel whose name he does not know, and there his interrogation started again. He was stripped naked, and the same interrogators whom he had known in Jenin poured cold water on him. He was forced to drink salt-water and was beaten. This treatment continued with intervals for 4 days, and he was then taken back to Jenin prison on 22.1.1974, and was not beaten again.

Bassam Abdul Razzale Amira, who is imprisoned in Hebron prison,

¹ See preceding document.

said that he was first taken to Jenin prison where his interrogators, whose names he does not know, began to beat him, and forced a stick into his mouth. Then he was stripped naked, cold water was poured on him, and in this position, with his hands in handcuffs, his interrogators put a stick between his handcuffs and twisted it. He showed his lawyer the wounds and the scars on his hands, which are on parallel places on both hands. After this, he was transferred to a prison inside Israel, whose name he does not know. There he was again stripped naked and put under a shower of cold water, once about every half an hour. He was made to drink salt water and was given only very little potable water. Time and again his interrogators would plaster his naked body in snow (in lieu of the shower). After some time he was transferred back to Jenin prison, then to Ramallah prison, and then to Hebron prison. On the night when he was brought to Hebron prison he was ordered to take off his shirt and his shoes, and was left in that state for some time—he thinks an hour—in the snow in the prison courtyard. He was taken from there into the interrogation room, where the interrogators—about five of them—began to slap his face, asking him meanwhile whose slap was warmer. He was then beaten with sticks on his hands and all over his body. His legs were swollen from the cold and the beatings, and he could not walk anymore. He was then put into punishment cell for a period of 8 days, and was then taken to interrogation again. His hands were tied behind his back, he was made to sit on a chair, with his tied hands being held on the seat of another chair. One of the interrogators kicked him in his belly, in that position, while the second put his shoe into his mouth. Bassam Abdul Razzale Amira asked mercy of his interrogators, in the name of their children and God, but he was answered laughingly that there was no God in that place.

All that time, and until 13.2.1974, he could not walk because of the wounds on his legs. Nevertheless, he was held in solitary confinement, without being permitted to wash or to change his clothes.

We want to emphasize that in spite of everything, neither Wajdi Kamhawi nor Bassam Abdul Razzale Amira confessed to anything, and they continued in their refusal to sign any document.

We add that, in the meantime, we have heard about two other people who have disappeared in the conquered territories: Joseph Nasser, the owner and publisher of the paper *Al-Fajer*, of East-Jerusalem, and Abdallah

Abu-Sariani, of Nablus, who was arrested on a Nablus street on 18.12.1973, and has since “disappeared”.

We appeal, *again*, to public opinion in Israel and in the whole world, to protest against these actions, as well as all arbitrary actions which are contrary to human rights.

We ask you all to publish your protest and to send it to the person who is responsible for the conquered territories on behalf of the Israeli government: Mr. Moshe Dayan, Minister of Security.

We ask you likewise to send protests to the Secretary General of the U.N., Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

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THE ISRAEL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS.

P.O.Box 14192, TEL-AVIV, ISRAEL.

5.5.1974.

To: Mr. Moshe Dayan, The Minister of Security
Hakiryia, Tel-Aviv.

We are strongly protesting against the common practice, now occurring for several years, of arresting of innocent people in the occupied territories before the Day of Independence.

Such arbitrary arrests not only cause grave suffering to the victims themselves and their families but are also a brutal intimidation of the whole population. We are enclosing a partial list of arrested persons whose names have reached us:

- 1) Ibrahim Al-Julani
- 2) Taher Arafa
- 3) Majid Abu-Sariya
- 4) Muhammad Shakir
- 5) Adel Al-Ragubi
- 6) As'ad Sukrit
- 7) Amer Al-Sharabati

- 8) Rasan Tahbub (Acting Editor of *Al-Fajer*)
- 9) Khalil Tuma
- 10) Basman Abu-Ramila
- 11) Majid Sidar
- 12) Abdul-Karim Al-Shaludi
- 13) Umar Uda
- 14) Karim Hamdan
- 15) Muhammad Taher Jaludi
- 16) Yahya Abu-Sharif
- 17) Husni Haddad
- 18) Atalla Al-Rashamawi
- 19) Abdul-Majid Hamdan
- 20) Abdallah Abdel-Majid
- 21) Adnan Dajir (Secretary of construction workers union—Ramallah)
- 22) Taisir Al-Aruri
- 23) Rasan Kharb
- 24) Adel Mahmud
- 25) Hussein Farah Al-Tawil
- 26) Dr. Farhan Abu-Leil
- 27) Khaldun Abdul-Haq
- 28) Labid Fakhreddine
- 29) Jamil Kritish
- 30) Abdul Basem Al-Khayyat
- 31) Khalil Hijazi
- 32) Suleiman Najab

In addition we protest the administrative arrest inflicted on the following:

- I) Yakub Farh
- 2) Faruk Al-Salfati

We have also received oral and written testimonies about widespread use of violence, torture, beatings and various other forms of pressure against such prisoners in the occupied territories who are accused by their interrogators of being communists. As an example we are bringing to your attention some of the horrors committed in the territories under your control and responsibility:

- 1) Adel Bargoti, in the prison of Ramallah, who according to the information in our possession, was severely beaten.
- 2) Mahmud Shakirat, who was imprisoned in the prison of Ramallah, and transferred to an unknown place: According to reliable information which

has reached us, he was severely beaten on all parts of his body, especially his testicles.

We demand that the arrested be allowed to communicate freely with their families and their lawyers, and that the restrictions put up by the prison administrators against this access cease.

We are protesting, and will continue to protest before public opinion, against these brutalities.

Sincerely,

PROFESSOR ISRAEL SHAHAK
Chairman.

MORDECHAI AVI-SHAUL
Vice-Chairman.

* * *

THE ISRAEL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

P.O.Box 14192 TEL-AVIV, ISRAEL

Dear Friend,

We feel it our duty to bring to your knowledge the following exchange of letters between Mr. Moshe Dayan, the Israel Minister of Security, and ourselves:

16th May 1973

The Minister of Security, Jerusalem

Sir,

We have received an appeal from the following twelve inhabitants of Nablus:

Isa Ahmed Nablusi—Chemical Engineer
Khanan Hkaqima'at Al-Masri—Journalist
Hishum Amin Basis—Doctor of Medicine
Samir Abed Al-Salam Khayyat—Doctor of Medicine
Amal Izzat Abed Al-Sajadi—Teacher

Abdul Rahim Hajawi—Teacher
Muhammad Rayek Ragab Abu-Mansur—Lawyer
Violet Khalil Al-Qara—Teacher
Wa'el Na'af Abu Gazala—Civil Engineer
Omar Wasfi Al-Masri—Pharmacist
Mahmud Taisar Lutfi Al-Suwan—Geologist
Ziad Khalil Sa'ad Ed-Din—Electrical Engineer

These people asked for permission to open a club of intellectuals for the following purposes:

- a. Holding of symposiums on scientific and cultural subjects.
- b. Establishing a library devoted to culture and music.
- c. Projecting films.
- d. Promoting folklore in the country.
- e. Promoting artistic activities.
- f. Giving the assistance of club members towards raising the cultural level of the country.
- g. Struggling against illiteracy.
- h. Activities toward beautifying the country.
- i. Propagating health-consciousness among the population.
- j. Formation of sports groups.
- k. Organization of various excursions.
- l. Defending the rights of intellectuals.

Their request for permission was refused by the Military Governor of Nablus. Taking into consideration the positive and cultural aims of the club, and the high intellectual level of its founders, we believe that their request should have been granted, having in mind the declarations of the Israeli Government and especially of the Minister of Security, about the “freedom” that prevails in the occupied territories and the “liberal regime” that is customary there.

We hope that within the framework of your authority, you will order the Military Governor of Nablus to grant permission for the founding of the club.

Respectfully yours,
In the name of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights
Mordechay Avi-Shaul, Vice Chairman

The answer of Mr. Dayan, dated 28th May, to Mr. Mordechay Avi-Shaul: "Greetings, I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated 16th May, 1973.

Regretfully, I do not find any need to intervene in the considerations of the Military Governor on the subject you have raised in your letter.

With greetings,
Moshe Dayan
Minister of Security"

We, the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, regard as an inalienable human right the right of people to establish clubs and meeting places for cultural and other non-violent activities.

We regard this denial by the Minister of Security and the Military Governor as a completely unjustified oppression.

We appeal to Israeli and world opinion, to the U.N., to all organizations and individuals concerned and active in the cause of human rights, to help the twelve Nablus intellectuals and us in the struggle for freedom of expression and organization in the occupied territories.

We ask all of those who want to help us in the cause of freedom to express their help by one of the following ways:

1. Writing letters of protest to Mr. Moshe Dayan (please send a copy to us).
2. Writing letters of protest to your newspaper, radio or T.V. station.
3. Asking the help of any concerned organization.
4. Any other ways you think suitable.

"Freedom cannot be divided."

* * *

THE ISRAELI LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

P.O.Box 14192 TEL-AVIV, ISRAEL

10.6.1974

Memorandum

1. In the second half of April of this year there began a campaign of mass arrests in East Jerusalem and other cities in the West Bank. The arrests included public figures, trade-union officials, intellectuals, workers, and students. According to the information in our hands obtained from their families and lawyers, their number is close to 150.

2. Among those arrested were: Ibrahim Al-Julani; Taher Arafa, Majid Abu-Sariya; Muhammed Shakir; Assaad Sukrit; Amer Al-Sharabati; Khalil Touma; Basman Abu Ramileh; Majid Sidr; Abdul Karim Al-Shaludi; Omar Uda; Karim Hamdane; Abdullah Abdul-Majid; Muhammed Taher Jaludi; Tichye Abu Sharif; Husseini Radabi (engineer); Atallah Al-Rashmani; Abdul Majid Hamdan; Adnan Majid (Secretary of the construction workers union); Ghassan Harb; Adel Mahmud; Hussein Farah Al-Tawil; Dr. Farhan Abu Leil; Khaldun Abdul Haq; Habib Fakhreddine; Jamal Fritik; Abdul Hassan Al-Bayyat; Khalil Al-Jazi; Yacoub Farah; Faruk Al-Salfiti; Adel Barguti; Mahmud Shkirut; Taiseer Al-Aruri (a teacher in Bir-Zeit College); Abdallah Al-Syriani; Suleiman Rashid Al-Najab; Khadr Al-Alem; Bahaj Al-Shu'ibi; Maysara Al-Shu'ibi; Mahmud Al-Karama; Abdullah Suleiman Al-Bayirat; Ahmed Samara; and others.

3. The authorities forbade the families and the lawyers of the prisoners to see them for several weeks, and they were denied any information about the prisoners' welfare.

4. As a result of an appeal by the relatives to the Supreme Court, a few of the lawyers were allowed to visit some of the prisoners in the presence of a representative of the Security Services.

5. According to information given to the press and according to the prisoners themselves, the authorities have accused them of belonging to the "Jordanian Communist Party", to the "National Front in the West Bank," and to an armed organization which both groups would supposedly have

founded. It is well known that both the “Jordanian Communist Party” and the “National Front” stipulate in their programmes that they oppose the continuation of Israeli rule over the Arab territories occupied in 1967, that they support a just and lasting peace based on the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and of their right to establish a Palestinian state in all territories evacuated by Israel, and that they demand the participation of the representatives of the Palestinian Arab people at the Geneva Peace Conference.

6. The authorities presented no indictments against the prisoners, but issued against most of them administrative detention decrees (by force of the Emergency-Defence Regulations, 1945) for periods of three and six months. The simple fact of the enforcement of such decrees is an indirect confession by the authorities that the arrests are political arrests directed against those whose political views and activities are disagreeable to the Israeli occupation authorities.

7. The lawyers who managed to meet some of the prisoners in the Ramallah and Nablus jails described their distressed situation. For example, they described how Suleiman Al-Najab was kept in solitary confinement in a punishment cell for a long period of time with his feet chained to the iron door; he was kept for several days with his eyes covered; he was beaten all over his body with clubs; he was subjected to the beating of the soles of his feet, a torture known as “falaka”. He told how he fainted under the beatings and torture. Similar treatment was reported by Mahmoud Barjuti, Kader Al-Alem, Maysara Al-Shu’ibi, Mahmud Karamah, and Abdallah Suleiman Bayirat. About the latter, it is known that he had been in a punishment cell in the Ramallah prison, but since his transfer his whereabouts are unknown.

We bring these facts to your attention in the hope that you will oppose administrative imprisonment and the torture of arrested suspects. We are sure you understand the damage that such acts bring to the State of Israel and to the future relationships between both peoples—the Israeli and the Palestinian.

We appeal to you that you demand of the authorities the liberation of the administrative detainees, an immediate end to the practice of torture in prisons, and the immediate trial of the persons responsible for torture.

Let us act for the rule of Law, for Justice, for the safeguarding of human rights in Israel, with all our hearts!!

* * *

THE ISRAEL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

P.O.Box 14192, TEL-AVIV, ISRAEL .
17.6.1974

A Declaration Submitted by the Lawyers
Hana Naquara and Ali Rafah

We, the undersigned lawyers, Hana Naquara and Ali Rafah from Haifa, wish to draw attention to facts we heard from detainees at the prisons in areas occupied by the I.D.F.

INTRODUCTION

On May 22nd 1974, when we were at the prison in Nablus, we asked for permission to interview a number of detainees. The request was made by virtue of the power of attorney formally invested in us by their families.

We were amazed when asked by the prison authorities to submit a written request on the matter, for this was contrary to the procedure known to us for a long time and contrary to accepted practice. Though unconvinced by the justice of the request, and so as to gain the interview with our clients, and in the fear that the request was intended solely to prevent us from interviewing the detainees, we submitted a request to the prison administration and listed the names of all the 13 detainees we wished to interview. These were:

1. Dr. Farhan Nasser Abu-Leil
2. Khaldun Bek'r Abdel Haq
3. Habib Ahmad Fakhr-Eddin
4. Rajah Ghneym
5. Ghassan Abdel Wahab Al-Khattib
6. Adel Said Za'agha
7. Engineer Mohammed Abbas Abdel Haq
8. Khalil Hejazi
9. Jamal Freateh
10. Ahmad Sheikh Deib Dahloul
11. Mohammed Yusif Baghdadi

12. Abdel Basset Khayatt
13. Nabil Khahwash

When we submitted the request, we were promised that it would be dealt with within two days. Despite repeated telephone calls, no meeting date was set. We did, however, receive a letter dated May 26, 1974 which we received on *June 2nd, 1974* and which informed us that we could interview the first 6 detainees on *June 2nd 1974* and the 7 others on June 4th 1974.

THE MEETING ON JUNE 2nd 1974

On June 2, 1974, we travelled to Nablus and there we met with:

1. Dr. Farhan Abu-Leil; 2. Khaldun Abdel Haq; 3. Habib Fakhreddine;
4. Rajah Ghneym. We were informed that though they were arrested on April 22, 1974, they had been neither investigated nor questioned and were ordered detained by administrative fiat for 3 months.

We also met Ghassan Khattib and Adel Za'agha both of whom informed us that they were badly tortured by the investigators till they signed a police statement the contents of which they have no knowledge.

THE MEETING ON JUNE 4th 1974

At the meeting held on June 4th, we were informed that:-

1. Abdel Basset Khayatt—a secondary school teacher; 2. Mohammed Yosif Baghdadi; and 3. Ahmad Deib Dahloul, were arrested on April 22nd, were not questioned at all, and were ordered detained by administrative fiat for 3 months.

Nabil Khahwash, we were informed, was tortured by his investigators till he too was compelled to sign a statement the contents of which he has no knowledge.

TORTURE METHODS

Before permitting us to interview the other detainees, a Security Service man appeared and said that the meeting with the detainees would take place only if he would be present. Reference is to meetings with:

1. Jamal Freateh, one of the leaders of the trades-unions in the West Bank;
2. The Engineer of the Nablus Municipality, Mohammed Abbas Abdel Haq;
3. The worker, Khalil Hejazi.

The Security Service man identified himself as “Abu Ali.” The man was neither “Ali” nor “Abu Ali” and the entire purpose of the appellation was to hide his real Hebrew name.

We vehemently rejected his presence at the meeting and we requested permission to meet our clients privately, but as noted our request was turned down.

1. *Jamal Freateh* was arrested on April 22, 1974. In the presence of “Abu Ali” he told us of the torture methods to which his interrogators subjected him for 15 days. He said that the interrogation dealt with his alleged membership in the Jordanian Communist Party and in the Palestinian National Front in the West Bank. He insisted that he had no links with any of them. At the end of the questioning, he was ordered held by administrative fiat for 3 months.

2. The Engineer *Mohammed Abbas Abdel Haq* was arrested on May 4, 1974. He was tortured in Nablus and on May 26, 1974 was transferred to a military prison. There he was put into a room whose breadth was that of a frigidaire and whose floor consisted of sharp gravel. He was taken out to another room, told that he would have to walk like a donkey on all fours, and soldiers rode on his back. He was not permitted to meet his lawyer or family. He was allowed to meet his wife but only in a manner which did not permit him even to ask her about their children.

Another method was employed against him. His hands bound and his feet shackled to chains, he was made to carry a chair with one of his legs raised. If he dared lower his leg, he was beaten.

His hands were burnt with lighted cigarettes and the burns were visible on the meeting day and even the Security Service man—“Abu-Ali”—saw them.

When he entered the prison he weighed 105 kilograms: after a day of the above “treatment” he lost at least 15 kilograms.

He said that he was so badly tortured that there were parts of his body he could not feel. He requested a doctor and despite promises none was brought to him. His health is shaken and the tortures have induced stomach pains.

He ended by saying that when a graduate student at the Cairo and Berlin Universities, he had heard much of such torture methods, but when these were employed on his person, he became aware of the difference between what he read and the bitter reality.

3. *Khalil Hejazi* was arrested on April 22, 1974. He was put under administrative arrest for 3 months. During the three days he was detained at the Military Government building at Nablus, he was very badly treated. He was beaten and his wife and sisters cursed. He too was questioned on his ties with the Jordanian Communist Party and the Palestinian National Front.

He was later transferred to a prison at Ramallah where he was held for 20 days. There he was subjected to other tortures. During most of his stay there he was kept naked, kept from washing his face, from food, from sleep and even from water.

He was threatened that his wife would be arrested and raped by four soldiers. His wife was brought to the prison and when she extended her hand to him, she was turned away and he was taken back to the cell for "further treatment". And the Security Service man said that his wife, as was threatened earlier, was being taken to the soldiers.

At Ramallah, he was told that he was faced with four choices, three of the authorities and one his. They could kill him as they did Farid Tashtush at the Shechem prison or drive him insane for the rest of his life or expell him to Amman (Hejazi was, before 1967, sentenced by Jordan to 15 years in prison for being a Communist) or he could confess to the charges against him.

After 20 days in Ramallah, he was transferred blindfolded to a prison in West Jerusalem. He was put with hard-core drug-addicted Jewish prisoners who burnt cigarettes and paper between his fingers and toes. He was taken back to Nablus to a military prison where he underwent the same treatment as that suffered by the above-mentioned Mohammed Abbas Abdel Haq. He was returned to Nablus only on the day of the meeting, on the morning of June 4. He asked his lawyers to do all they could to put an end to his tortures, for if these were continued his life would be endangered.

MEETING WITH DETAINEES IN HEBRON

On May 21, 1974, lawyer Hana Naquara interviewed the three detainees who were permitted by the Security Services to meet with him, in keeping with a judgement handed down by the High Court of Justice in Jerusalem.

The request was submitted by 9 detainees, and the High Court, with the agreement of the prosecution, agreed to issue an order according to which the lawyer was permitted to interview only three. The High Court denied an appeal for a meeting with the others, as it was opposed by the Security Services.

The three detainees interviewed were:-

1. The engineer Husseini Haddad from Beit Yalla; 2. The teacher Abdel Majid Hamdan from Bethlehem; 3. Attalla Rashmawi from Beit Sahour.

The meeting took place in the presence of Arabic-speaking Security Service men who made the lawyer wait three hours in the prison itself. All the above three have been under administrative arrest for three months.

The engineer Hussein Haddad was questioned about this membership in the Jordanian Communist Party and the Palestinian National Front in the West Bank.

The teacher Abdel Majid Hamdan was not questioned at all and put under administrative arrest without having been investigated.

Attalla Rashmawi was beaten and badly tortured in the course of his investigation. He was, among other things, blindfolded for 6 successive days so that he might not identify his "investigators".

We were also informed that a number of detainees interviewed by Mr. Walid Fahoum on May 29th 1974 in Ramallah, were also put under administrative arrest, and were also beaten and subjected to torture methods reminiscent of the Middle Ages. This is particularly true of *Suleiman Rashid Najab* who said that his hands and feet were constantly chained and he was beaten with a stick on his sexual organ and on other sensitive places on his body till he bled. Also tortured were *Ahmad Sam'ara, Adel Barguti, Ghassan Harb, Taisir el-Aruri, Adnan Dajar, Hussein Tawil, Mahmoud Ashkirat, Abdallah Syriani, Rajar Barguti, Saleh Zahran, Khader El-Allam, Bahjat Shu'ibi, Mizra Shu'ibi, Mahmud Khirma* and *Abdallah Bayirat*.

EPILOGUE

We call upon newsmen and the communications media to convey the facts to the living and enlightened conscience of the people so that they will do all they can to arouse public opinion against the appropriate authorities to cease all the tortures and free the arrested, who are among the leaders of the Palestinian Arab people.

Hana Naquara
Lawyer

Ali Rafeh
Lawyer

* * *

THE ISRAEL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS—AN ADVERTISEMENT¹

APPEALS TO THE PUBLIC TO RESPOND TO THE APPEAL
OF THE MOTHERS AND THE WIVES
OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE PRISONERS
ON THE WEST BANK

Last week the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, together with other Israeli organizations and newspapers, received the following text of the appeal of 111 members of the families of the administrative prisoners from East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

“We appeal to you, after two months have passed from the time our relatives were arrested, hoping that the memory of the millions of Jews killed by barbarous Nazim has influenced you against feelings of hate and against all forms of oppression and arbitrariness.

Our brothers, husbands and fathers were arrested in what was first termed a ‘preventive arrest’ by the authorities of the military government, before the Israeli holiday, but they are still held in prison without any charges being entered against most of them. Some of them were tortured, as we were told by their lawyers, and they are still being subjected to severe tortures, both in body and mind.

We are most distressed by the fact that we are prevented from visiting them, even though the legal period of interrogation is ended. The authorities are even keeping us in ignorance of the place of imprisonment of the prisoners Suleiman Al-Najab, Muhammad Jarbiye, Abdallah Al-Bayirat, Husni Haddad and others.

The authorities of the military government are trying to justify their arbitrary behaviour before Israeli public opinion, by claiming that those prisoners “had founded terroristic organizations,” using that general expression without distinction.

But the truth is that those prisoners, as known to the military government authorities themselves, and as is known to the democratic circles in Israel, are in favour of a just peace, are struggling consistently against any evidence of chauvinism in every place where it appears, are supporting consistently the solution of the Middle East conflict based on the international decisions, and on the principle of honouring the right of all the peoples of the area

¹ *Ha'aretz*, 27.6.74.

to live within secure borders, including the Israeli people and the Arab-Palestinian people.

The arrests, the tortures, the refusal to let us visit them, and keeping the the place of imprisonment of some of them in secrecy, do not serve the cause of the establishment of a just peace, and are against the true desires of our peoples; in addition, they are clearly in violation of internationally recognized human rights.

We appeal to all those who desire the victory of justice, wisdom and realism in the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict, to all supporters of the principles of democracy and justice without difference of race and color—to all these we appeal to express their solidarity with us, protest against the continuation of the imprisonment and the tortures of our relatives, and demand their immediate release.”

The above is the text of the appeal of the families of the administrative prisoners, who began this week a sit-in strike in the municipality building of Beit-Sahur.

The Israel League for Human and Civil Rights appeals to the Israeli public to support the appeal of the relatives of the administrative prisoners and to demand that the authorities of the State of Israel:

Free the administrative prisoners

Stop the tortures in prison

The enforcement of the law, justice, and the preservation of human rights is essential for the future of the State of Israel.

* * *

Dr. ISRAEL SHAHAK
2 BARTENURA STREET
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

July 4, 1973

The following people, who were kidnapped from Lebanon in various Israeli Army operations during autumn 1972—spring 1973, and who *were not armed at the time of their capture*, will be brought to trial before the Israeli Military Court (Lydda) on the 17th and 23rd of July 1973:

1. TALAL ZAKI KHALED TAWIL, born 1952, of Qatar.
2. NAJAR RAZZAK ALSHAMRI, born 1952, of Iraq.
3. JAMAL MUSA MAHMUD UDA ASHARAT, born 1948, of Lebanon (born in Jerusalem).
4. MAHMUD MUHAMMAD AHMED BUWATI, born 1946, of Lebanon.
5. JOSEPH ABBALLAH KHALIL KHASNAT, born 1947, of Jordan.
6. KASSEM AMER YASSIN, born 1955, of Lebanon.
7. MUSTAFA SALEM AHMED HAJER, born 1953, of Syria.
8. KHAHMAT MUHAMMED ED'AD ZA'ARUR, born 1947, of Lebanon.
9. DAWUD MUHAMMAD ILWAN ALGANABI, born 1946, of Iraq.
10. TARIK HASSAN MAHMUD AL'UBEIDI, born 1946, of Iraq.

They are charged with being members of an organization "hostile to Israel", *outside* Israeli borders. They are not charged with any act of violence whatsoever. As usual, the whole case of the prosecution is based on the "confessions" of the accused.¹

* * *

THE ISRAEL LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

P.O.Box 14192. TEL-AVIV, ISRAEL
22.11.1974

INFORMATION ABOUT REPRESSIVE OPERATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE ISRAELI MILITARY GOVERNMENT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES FROM NOV. 16th UNTIL NOV. 20th

Since the beginning of the Israeli occupation in June 1967, the residents of the conquered territories have been denied all basic democratic rights, such as the right to strike, the right to demonstrate, and the right to organize in political parties or any other democratic framework.

At this time, when the Palestinian question, which is the question of the existence and future of the inhabitants of the occupied territories, is raised on the international political scene, including the UN—the inhabitants

¹ See p. 73 below.

of the occupied territories have attempted to manifest their existence by way of demonstrations. The demonstrations were repressed in the most brutal fashion, on direct orders of the Israeli Minister of Security, Shimon Peres, with the authorization of the Israeli government.

We present here a summary of the popular demonstrations¹ and their repression in various cities and villages of the West Bank, between Nov. 16th and Nov. 20th 1974, compiled on the basis of reliable sources of information:

Jenin On Nov. 16th there occurred a mass-demonstration of high-school boys and girls (12-18 years old). The pupils raised the Palestinian flag (an act which constitutes, in the occupied territories, a grave criminal offence) as well as [banners bearing] patriotic slogans. All shops and business places went on strike at the same time. To close a shop also constitutes a grave offence under the regulations of the Israeli military government.

The demonstration was repressed in the following manner: The security forces (army, borderguard forces and police—in uniform or in plainclothes) arrived with armored vehicles and jeeps, and charged into the crowd of demonstrators, while shooting above the heads of the demonstrators. Many of them were wounded, and one schoolgirl, named Muntaha Awad Al-Horani, age 17, died on the spot. (The occupation authorities spread a false version of the incident saying she was hit by her fellow-demonstrators. Israeli censorship forbade the Arab newspapers in East Jerusalem to print the true version of the facts, even though the Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz* was allowed, on 17.11.74, to report it as the “opinion” of the people of Jenin.)

The authorities ordered the burial of Muntaha Al-Horani to be held on the same night so as to prevent a demonstration. Nevertheless the whole population of Jenin went out to accompany the murdered girl to her place of burial. The mass-funeral also took place under harassment of the security forces, which occasionally charged into the dense crowd with their vehicles.

On the same day, several hundred people were arrested, among them many pupils, and were held in humiliating conditions in the courtyard of the Police Station and other public places, while soldiers beat them from time to time. Two hundred pupils (out of 250) were picked up and taken to a military court in the conveyor-belt method. On the very same day their “trial” was conducted, and they were sentenced to fines ranging from 500 to 1,000 IL, and to 20–30 days imprisonment. Those who could not or did not want to pay the heavy fine (the equivalent of a worker’s monthly salary)

¹ These demonstrations were in support of the appearance of the PLO at the U.N.

were sentenced to two months imprisonment instead of the fine.

The next day (17. 11. 1974), collective punishments were imposed upon the town. The "Haifa High-School" was closed and occupied by the army. Several other schools were also closed. The inhabitants of Jenin were limited in their freedom of movement.

On Nov. 18th another mass-demonstration took place in Jenin, with residents and students participating. It was dispersed with shots. A great number of pupils were arrested. All movement by the inhabitants in the direction of the graveyard, and all attempts to put flowers on Muntaha Al-Horani's grave, were forbidden.

The military governor gathered the "notables" in the middle of the night, and threatened them with expulsion to Lebanon lest they did not influence the pupils and bring an end to the demonstrations. An "invitation" to "meet" the authorities takes place in the following fashion: Security Forces come at night, between 1.00 and 3.00 AM, to the house of the "notables" and start shooting in the air. The man is given ten minutes to dress, and is taken to a "meeting" with the military governor, while his family is left unsure whether the matter is actual expulsion, or a mere "meeting".

In spite of all this, the demonstrations in Jenin continue until the present date.

Nablus On Nov. 16th, 1974, a sit-in strike by the students of Al-Najjah College and the pupils of the Al-Salahiyye, Al-Jahes, Al-Fatimiyye (and other) schools took place. The pupils sat in rows in the school courtyard, waved Palestinian flags above their heads, and sang patriotic songs. At the same time, a general strike was held in the city.

The security forces burst into the schools and beat the pupils, chased them and beat them all the way into their classrooms with clubs and guns. The pupils of Al-Salahiyye School were particularly hurt, as they were beaten by the Borderguards.¹ Many of the pupils were taken to hospitals with grave wounds.

The military governor "invited" the Mayor of Nablus, the General Manager of Education in Nablus, and the principals of the schools, and warned them that "they may personally suffer" if they did not bring an end to the demonstrations. The following day (17.11.74), the principal and many of the teachers of the Al-Salahiyye school were arrested and threatened with expulsion to Lebanon, but were released the next day.

¹ The Borderguards have a reputation for brutality.

Curfew was imposed on the town from 6:00 a.m. In spite of the curfew, the students of Al-Najjah College gathered in the college courtyard for another sit-in strike, to express their solidarity with their arrested and wounded comrades. They were beaten by the security forces and many were arrested.

On Nov. 18th, while the curfew was still in force in part of the town, the security forces patrolled unceasingly in the streets of the city, shooting in the air and into the closed stores. Most of these patrols apparently took place according to orders, with the vehicles riding on the sidewalks and forcing the inhabitants to run for their lives.

One of the pupils, Rabad Abdel-Karim Salahus, aged 15, died of her wounds. (That information was not allowed to be printed in any newspaper, neither in Israel nor in the occupied territories.) Her comrades, who tried to bring flowers to her grave, were beaten by the security forces. Mass arrests were also conducted in Nablus.

Ramallah—Al-Bireh (twin cities)

On Nov. 16th, the pupils of the schools in both towns held sit-in strikes in their schools. The security forces arrived, under the personal command of the Ramallah military governor, who gave his troops the order to beat up the pupils. They executed the order, and many pupils were wounded.

The next day, Nov. 17, pupils and inhabitants held mass demonstrations in the streets of both cities. IDF forces arrived in buses and on foot, and charged into the crowd while shooting in the air and beating with their clubs. The pupils scattered and prepared for a new demonstration. Fresh troops, including paratroopers, were brought to the scene and attacked, particularly the female pupils of the Teachers' Training College (Dar Al-Mu'allamat). After they beat them in the Institute's courtyard, they chased them all the way to the dormitories, where they kept on beating them. Dozens of pupils and people were arrested, most of them wounded who could not run away. Ten of the wounded are in a grave condition. A great number of the wounded were taken to the Police Station, and to the seat of the military government, where they were given no medical help, and in some cases were denied water. Ramallah medical doctors, along with many nurses, arrived at the places of detention, and asked to provide medical help to the injured. They were sent back and the security forces threatened them with imprisonment or expulsion.

On the next day, Nov. 19th, more demonstrations took place. Many pupils gathered in the Friends' High School courtyard. The security forces burst into the school and beat them. Another demonstration of pupils, accompanied by members of the clergy, went out to the Muslim graveyard in Al-Bireh, with the aim of holding a religious ceremony for the repose of the soul of Muntaha Al-Horani, the girl who died in Jenin. IDF armored cars charged the demonstrators, and injured and arrested many of them.

The same day and the day after, a general strike was observed in Ramallah and Al-Bireh, and all the stores were closed. The security forces broke into many of the stores, and looted some of them.

At this hour, the demonstrations in Ramallah—Al-Bireh continue.

Bir-Zeit A general strike was held in the Bir-Zeit college, and in the high-school attached to the college. The students and the pupils demonstrated together with the local inhabitants, and sang patriotic songs.

In Jericho, Tulkarem, Yabed, Toubas and many other villages in the north of the West Bank, similar strikes and demonstrations took place. The security forces went from place to place with their vehicles and repressed the demonstrations, which usually revived as soon as they moved to repress demonstrations in other places.

Bethlehem The demonstrations started on Nov. 18th, with a common demonstration of all high-school boys and girls in the town (some 10,000 people). The demonstration was repressed by the security forces, with shooting and the charging of vehicles into the crowd. Many were injured and taken to hospitals. Many were arrested. A large crowd of school boys and girls—some 60—were paraded again and again by the police around the square of the Nativity Church while being beaten. Other pupils were taken into police cars, driven around the streets of Bethlehem, and were beaten inside the cars, and shouted for help. These actions are clearly meant to intimidate the population. Many of the pupils were beaten unconscious in the course of these actions.

The next day, Nov. 19th, the military government decreed the closing of several schools. The pupils of the "Bethlehem High-School," who came to their school, were sent back with blows. They then organized a march to the Bethlehem University, where the students were holding a strike on

the campus. The military governor arrived along with a great number of troops and a special unit of secret police in civilian clothes. After the forces surrounded the university, some of them entered the campus and started to beat the students cruelly. Those who escaped from within the university were caught by the troops stationed outside, and were also beaten. Some of the injured are 14 to 16-year-old pupils. A large group of pupils who were caught were ordered by the military governor to walk in pairs, while soldiers, their submachine guns pointed at the children, surrounded them from all sides, an armored car travelling behind them, and another one, with the officer in command of the operation, leading the procession. In this manner, they were paraded through the streets of the city for about one hour, and were then taken into custody.

The next day, Nov. 20th, more demonstrations took place, and Palestinian flags were waved.

El-Khalil (Hebron) The demonstrations started on Nov. 16th, with school boys and girls marching through the city streets. The army surrounded a group of pupils on an empty lot near the Al-Husseini school, and beat them. In the afternoon, there was a demonstration of the high school pupils of "Al-Ha'azniyye," "Al-Ibrahimiyye," and "Prince Muhammad" schools who succeeded in joining together. The army attacked them with armored cars. While shooting in the air and striking at the demonstrators, they ran after them all the way to As-Sali Square, where they were surrounded and badly beaten. Many were injured. A general strike of the stores took place, and a general curfew was imposed upon the town.

The next day, Nov. 17th, demonstrations continued in spite of the curfew.

The military governor ordered closed all the offices of newspapers in town, and sent soldiers to patrol in the streets while shooting in the air and into the closed stores. Afterwards, many shop-owners were arrested, brought before the military governor, and were threatened with imprisonment and expulsion if they did not open their stores.

Patrols of soldiers shooting in all directions also continued at night, and several inhabitants were wounded. The Jewish settlers of Kiriya-Arba,¹ who took part in the repression of the demonstrations together with the army, incited the soldiers to strike at the children with the utmost cruelty, saying that the demonstrators were "Gentiles" who only understand the language of force. The army occupied the El-Husseini School, and the

¹ A Zionist settlement near Hebron.

“Daughters of Al-Khalil” girls school. Hundreds of arrested people were brought to military courts on the same day, and were sentenced, in the conveyor-belt method, to fines of 1000 IL or 2 months imprisonment.

The next day, Nov. 18th, the demonstrations continued, and the army took positions on the roofs of houses, shooting in the air at first signs of a demonstration.

The day after, Nov. 19th, the schoolgirls held a quiet demonstration, and were later joined by boys. Once again the stores closed. The Kiriya-Arba Jewish settlers went out to beat the girls, and were later joined by army troops. After the scattering of the demonstration, the settlers and the soldiers passed through the city streets, beating the inhabitants indiscriminately.

On the same night, at 1.00 a.m. (20.11.1974), all the members of the Al-Khalil municipal council, as well as a number of “notables”, were taken out of their houses and brought, within 10 minutes, to the military governor, who threatened them.

Halhul Demonstrations started on Nov. 16th. The army arrived from El-Khalil, and conducted searches of homes, breaking property and beating people. Full curfew was imposed upon the town, and it remained in force day and night. In spite of the curfew, neighborhood demonstrations took place. The inhabitants were not allowed to provide themselves with food-stuffs, and anyone trying to get out, including women, was severely beaten.

At 1.00 a.m. (20.11.1974) the members of the municipal council and “notables” were taken from their homes, and brought before the military governor for a warning.

Dura Demonstrations continued for four days, repressed now and then by army forces equipped with armored cars and other vehicles. The head of the municipality was brought to Hebron together with “notables”, and were ordered to influence the children and the inhabitants to stop the demonstrations. The head of the municipality assembled the pupils and transmitted the announcement to them, and then went to a demonstration, which was repressed by the security forces.

Similar demonstrations, similarly repressed by mobile military forces, took place in most of the villages in the South of the West Bank.

Jerusalem and Surroundings. Demonstrations of school boys and girls started in the morning on Nov. 19th, with the pupils of the "Ibrahimiyye" School joining a demonstration held by the inhabitants. Another demonstration took place at Damascus Gate, and in the Central Bus Station. The demonstrations in Jerusalem were dispersed with horses (and not armored cars) and with the utilization of numerous "agent-provocateurs" of the secret services dressed in civilian clothes, who mingled with the demonstrators and handed them over to the security forces after the latter arrived. Many were wounded and many arrested.

The next day (20.11.1974) the demonstrations resumed, with the school-girls of "Al-Ma'muniyye" school at the head. The police burst into the school and beat the girls. Many were injured. Later on, a demonstration by the pupils of the Muslim orphanage was repressed by the army, including paratroopers. Demonstrations by inhabitants and pupils also took place in Azarea and Abu Dis. Security forces arrived with buses and armored cars, and scattered the demonstrators with blows. Many were wounded and many arrested. The arrested were taken to the House of Detention in the Russian Compound (in West Jerusalem). In the evening, the mothers of the imprisoned pupils held a sit-in strike outside the House of Detention, demanding to know about the fate of their children. After a few hours, they were violently dispersed by the police.

Demonstrations also took place in the refugee camp of Calandia, and the army patrolled the camp, shooting in the air. Numerous pupils were wounded and arrested.

*

This is our summary. We do not need to add a single word, for the facts speak for themselves.

* * *

PART TWO

INTERVIEWS AND TESTIMONY BY DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK

A note on the following testimony:

Since 1967 Dr. Shahak has been appearing as a witness on Israeli violations of Human Rights before various forums, both official and unofficial. The most recent hearing of this kind was sponsored by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. Congress. Speaking before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, Dr. Shahak gave a concise and effective report summarizing Israeli violations of the Geneva Conventions relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949). The full text is published here.

* * *

DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK, 2 BARTENURA STR.
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL

21 March 1974

STATEMENT

Submitted to the Sub-committee on International Organizations and Movements of the
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Congress of the United States

On the occasion of testifying on the subject of:

“Protecting civilians under International Law in the Middle-East Conflict”, on April 4, 1974, Washington D.C.

The Situation of the Palestinian Population in the Territories Occupied by Israel in 1967, With Regard to :

The Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of August 12, 1949 (Fourth Geneva Convention, Civilians).

(Text based on International Committee of the Red Cross edition, Geneva, July 1950, pages 153–218.)

INTRODUCTION

I shall limit myself to only some aspects of the situation, where the facts are openly admitted by the Israeli government.

1) Punishment of Innocents—collective punishment by blowing-up, or otherwise destroying houses.

The relevant articles of the Fourth Geneva Convention, Civilians (*Emphases added*):

Article 32

“The High Contracting Parties specifically agree that each of them is prohibited from taking any measure of such a character as to cause the *physical suffering or extermination of protected persons in their hands.*

This prohibition applies not only to murder, torture, corporal punishment, mutilation and medical or scientific experiments not necessitated by the medical treatment of a protected person, *but also to any other measures of brutality, whether applied by civilian or military agents*”.

Article 33 (Excerpt)

“*No protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed.* Collective penalties and likewise all measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited”.

Article 53

“*Any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the State, or to other public*

authorities, or to social or cooperative organizations, *is prohibited*, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations”.

Description: When certain occupants of the territories are arrested, the authorities decide arbitrarily that the house where the arrested person had lived should be blown-up (or otherwise made uninhabitable). All the persons living in that house are turned out of it, usually at short notice, without any provision for alternative housing. I would like to emphasize specially the following points:

a) This cruel punishment is inflicted on people who are completely innocent of any crime, even in the opinion of the authorities themselves, as shown by the fact that they are not charged.

b) Many, in fact most, of the human beings punished in this cruel way are people who are *incapable* of any crime: Children and even babies, the ill, the old and the infirm. Indeed, the more a person is innocent, the more heavily he is punished, a statement which can be illustrated by the fate of a baby thrown out into the street!

c) The punishment is inflicted in cold blood, i.e., not only without any “absolute necessity”, but when the very person who is suspected by the authorities is already in their custody.

d) No one knows for what type of suspicion the houses of suspects’ families will be blown up. The punishment therefore is completely arbitrary.

e) For comparison: In no case of terrorism, etc., committed by Israeli inhabitants, were houses, even of the convicted offenders, blown up or otherwise destroyed.

f) This punishment is carried-out, at short notice, in the most inclement weather, causing intense physical suffering.

g) The blown-up houses may contain a great number of people, due to the system of “extended family” housing practised in Palestine. Cases are known in which 30 people were thrown into the street by the blowing-up of one house.

Conclusion: This practice, openly admitted by the military government of the Israeli Army in the conquered territories constitutes a clear contravention of the Articles 32, 33 and 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. It constitutes, besides, a most cruel and brutal punishment, whose main burden falls on babies, women, the old and the infirm. It cannot avoid

causing intense pain and physical and mental suffering not only to the families expelled from their houses, but to the whole population

2) Expulsion of Individuals

The relevant article of the Fourth Geneva Convention, Civilians:

Article 59 (Excerpt)

“Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power, or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive”.

Description: Various individual intellectuals and community leaders of the Palestinians in the occupied territories are continually being expelled to Jordan, arbitrarily. The expelled person is almost always the head of the family, and in consequence the family is torn asunder. In many cases, even short visits are forbidden after such an expulsion. The expulsions are carried out in the following manner: The people to be expelled are arrested in the night. Only a short time is allowed for packing and the family is prevented from contacting a lawyer, or indeed anybody at all. The people are then taken to a desert spot south of the Dead Sea, and forced to cross the Jordanian border. If they remain near the border, shots are fired at them until they “move on”. I would emphasize specially the following points:

- a) Families are torn asunder.
- b) The punishment is inflicted specifically on known community leaders.

Conclusion: This practice, which was on December 10 [1973; Ed.] solemnly approved by all the Israeli ministers without a single dissenting voice, constitutes a clear contravention of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Being directed mainly against known community leaders of the Palestinians living in the occupied territories, it constitutes in addition a collective means of intimidation of a whole people.

3) Jewish Settlement of the Occupied Territories

The relevant article of the Fourth Geneva Convention, Civilians:

Article 49 (Excerpt)

“The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies”.

Description: The Israeli government has founded *civilian* settlements in the occupied territories, such as:

Kiryat-Arba (near Hebron)—West-Bank.

Yamit and several villages—Northern Sinai.

Ophira (Sharm El-Sheikh)—Southern Sinai.

Parts of East-Jerusalem, and others.

Those settlements constitute a transfer of Israeli civilian population into the occupied territories.

In addition, I would like to emphasize the following additional points:

a) Those settlements are (in addition to the clear contravention of the Geneva Convention) *racist, discriminatory settlements*. They are (officially) exclusively devoted to Jews only—meaning those who are officially recognized as Jews by the State of Israel.

b) The following categories of people cannot live in any of these settlements: 1) All the “protected” of the occupied territories. For example: No inhabitant of Jerusalem who does not happen to be Jewish can buy or rent legally any dwelling in Ramat-Eshkol or the other quarters built on land confiscated from the inhabitants of occupied Jerusalem. 2) All Israeli citizens or inhabitants who are not Jewish. They are not Israeli settlements, they are Jewish settlements. 3) Anyone in the world who does not happen to be Jewish. For example: A citizen of the U.S.A. who would want to settle in Kiryat-Arba, for example, would be required to show whether he is Jewish. If he is, he would not only be allowed to settle, but given help and money. If he is not Jewish, he would be prohibited to settle in those settlements.

c) Those settlements introduce racism in its worst form to a place where it was not practiced before.

d) By the introduction of that racism, they constitute a form of oppression of the whole population of the conquered territories.

* * *

A NOTE ON THE FOLLOWING INTERVIEWS:

The following three interviews were given by Dr. Shahak over the past year (1974); one is to a Marxist group in Israel, Matzpen, which has been has been in the forefront of the internal struggle against Israeli policy towards

the occupied territories and the region. Because of its strong Marxist orientation *Matzpen* is unequivocally opposed to the Zionist nature of Israel, and has been one of Israel and Zionism's sharpest critics. Many of its members have suffered political repression in Israel or exile. The second interview was given by Dr. Shahak to the Swiss "Committee for the Support of the Palestinian People" in Geneva. The interview provides highlights of some of the Committee's work (in a generally hostile atmosphere) as well as some of Dr. Shahak's general suggestions for westerners interested in pursuing the struggle for human rights. The last interview is with a student newspaper, *Epsilon*, published at the Technion Institute of Technology in Haifa.

* * *

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. I. SHAHAK

Matzpen (Marxist)—June 1974 issue

(Note: This interview was given before the Ma'alot attack of May 15, 1974).

Matzpen: Dr. Shahak, you have just returned from a short trip to the US: can you tell us why you went there?

Shahak: I was invited to come to the U.S. by a subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs¹ which was investigating the situation of civilians of the Middle-East. I spoke about the situation of civilians in the occupied territories. Since I imagined—although in the end I did exaggerate—that I would be coming among enemies, I restricted myself to only those aspects of the situation concerning which there is no controversy and which even the Israeli government admits: demolishing houses, exiling people, and Jewish settlement in the territories, mainly civilian settlements such as in Kiryat-Arba, Ramat-Eshkol, etc. I emphasized for example that Ramat-Eshkol was not a housing project for "united Jerusalem," but a housing project discriminating against 3 categories of human beings: firstly, against all the inhabitants of East Jerusalem, and thus against all the population of the territories; secondly, it discriminates against non-Jewish citizens of Israel; and thirdly, against all non-Jewish people in the world, because, for example, an American citizen can come and live in Ramat-Eshkol,

¹ See preceding document.

and even get loan to buy an apartment, if and only if he proves he is Jewish.

Now, how was it organized? Aside from three representatives who were actually hostile, I may say that the rest of the committee members were either sympathizers or else neutral. Sympathizers, meaning they expressed their desire “to do something” for the Palestinians’ rights in the territories. I do not count on their doing a lot, but even the promise itself is something.

Matzpen: How can you explain the vicious attack on you in the press, especially in *Yediot Ahronot*? Does it prove that the authorities are worried by activity such as yours?

Shahak: I am not sure. If they really wanted to make a vicious attack they would ask *Ha’aretz* and *Davar* too to join, and not only *Yediot* and *Ma’ariv*. In this respect they are very stupid: for instance, the Israeli embassy refused to comment on my testimony before American reporters, claiming they didn’t send a representative to the hearings to listen to what I said, but on the other hand, they had two Jewish reporters from the Jewish press agency spreading rumors in Washington that I was a homosexual. . . . How did they do it? . . . One of them asked me: “Are you a bachelor, Dr. Shahak?” and I said “Yes, I am a bachelor.” Then the other said, “Are you really a bachelor?!” So I said, “Yes, I am.” And then the other reporters came and told me that those two went and told all the newsmen that the fact I said I was a bachelor proved I was a homosexual. Of course, it didn’t work. If they are scared or not, I really can’t say.

Matzpen: Do you believe such testimony can—in the long run—help?

Shahak: Yes, in the long run it can definitely have influence, and I, by the way, am planning to continue with it.

Matzpen: You had an opportunity to talk with people from the American administration, not only about the problem of oppression in the occupied territories. What are your impressions concerning the policy of the U.S. in the Arab area?

Shahak: It is clear that there will be a turn against Zionism and against the official Israeli establishment in the more distant future, say in a year,

a year and a half. Not for humanitarian reasons, of course, but for three typical American reasons. First, the Israeli establishment promised it could guarantee quiet in the area. It is clear now to any intelligent person that such a promise is worthless. Second, they are angry with the Israeli establishment which instead of talking business tells them fairy tales. It is my opinion that the Israeli establishment is losing contact with wide sections of the American establishment—and I'm not speaking about public opinion, but rather about the establishment—by being interested in only one thing: receiving money and arms from Nixon and Kissinger. The third reason which is forgotten in Israel, is that a large public in the U.S. has two main interests in the "detente" policy. The economic interest, and—most important—the atomic interest. The Americans are not forgetting that detente lowers the chance of an atomic war, even of one started by mistake. Besides, large circles in American business want to trade with the Soviet-Union. One last thing that is not general, but nevertheless is important: the arms industry wants to sell weapons to the Arabs, and certain economic circles think that the best means of getting their money back from the Arabs is selling them arms. This is logical, but it is not as general as the first three arguments.

Despite all this, Congress will not be active, I believe, until the trouble with Nixon is over, until Nixon resigns, or until his trial ends, one way or another. Technically this means that Nixon and Kissinger will continue holding absolute power for at least half a year, and the American administration, it seems to me, will do nothing *publicly*, which may seem to Israel or to American public opinion as "a pressure" on Israel. Even simple steps, like using the expression "Israel and the occupied territories" as a geographical term, instead of "Israel"; saying that the territories do not, logically, belong to Israel, but to their former owners; speaking, at least, about the right of every nation to self-determination; like talking of applying the fourth Geneva Convention to the population of the territories, or talking about concrete serious cases of pressuring the population, such as destroying houses. All these things which might be interpreted as a pressure on Israel, will not be done, even though the American administration clearly understands that avoiding such actions causes the development of "hawkish" public opinion in Israel, which pushes towards war. When I asked about this matter, I was given a cynical explanation, something like the following: Now the Israelis, or most of them, are crazy, and they blame all their sorrows

on the *mehdal* (failure), or on technical mistakes (they even use the word *mehdal*)—but if there is another war, and Israel does not achieve what it wants, (i.e. a Six-Day-War style victory) over at least one enemy—then the Israelis will understand that this is no failure or technical mistake, and they will come begging us for the Rogers plan. It is true that this will cost many lives, but that is not a consideration for those who only a year and a half ago bombed Hanoi and Haiphong. Therefore, my estimation is that in some time there will be a war, and I am speaking of what is happening now with Syria. . . . Disengagement or no disengagement, I assume that without overt American pressure, the power of the “hawks” and the right-wing in Israel will increase, or will be large enough to prevent any reasonable settlement.

Matzpen: A “settlement” does not seem to you, then, as the most probable possibility. But let us assume for the moment that such a “settlement” is on the agenda. And then the problem of the occupied territories will be a hard one, mainly the future of the West-Bank and its population. What is your opinion concerning that?

Shahak: Well, I can say only two things. As an Israeli I say, “I am against the occupation, without any conditions.” But, so far as a Jew can tell the Palestinians, I can only say that the Palestinians themselves should decide, democratically, about their future and what they want. I emphasize, the most important thing I can tell the Palestinians is to consult democratically and decide what they want in a democratic way. These are the two matters of principle. A third thing, which is not a matter of principle, but is strong advice: whether there is a settlement or not, the form of the settlement, and even its existence, depend on Jewish-Palestinian cooperation. In the long run, everything will be done with the cooperation of the masses on both sides; and if the Palestinians believe that any solution to their problem will descend to them on someone’s golden platter, then they are wrong. They will achieve whatever they can only by a mass democratic struggle. That is more or less what can be said. I am ready to accept anything the Palestinians democratically decide upon, but, concerning what Hawatmeh proposes as a private individual even without serious discussion within his organiza-

tion,¹ I treat it as a tactical step, and as such it has both positive and negative aspects. The positive aspect is that it educates the Jewish masses in Israel a little; it gives us good means of fighting the chauvinists. Besides, it educates Hawatmeh himself, who in my opinion is a fool, and teaches him who are his friends in Israel, and who are not. Here, he depended on Ben-Aharon and Lioba Eliav and wanted a reply from them, and Lioba Eliav's reply was entirely negative, that he was a Zionist, etc. . . . The reply of "Red-Blue"² was that Hawatmeh lacked the basic point, of recognizing Zionism as the Jewish people's liberation movement. . . .

Let's get to the negative aspect. I definitely consider negative the fact that Hawatmeh did not give the interview to one of the publications which consistently fight for Palestinian rights, say, *Zu-Haderech* or *Matzpen-Marxist* or *Matzpen* of Tel-Aviv or any other publication fighting Zionism; but instead, for faulty opportunistic reasons, he went to *Yediot Ahronot* where Dr. Israel Eldad and other chauvinists write, and what is worse, he gave it to Paul Jacobs. When did Paul Jacobs say one word against the blowing up of houses? I don't remember, and he did not say anything. Paul Jacobs is busy in the US explaining how humane the Israeli administration in the territories is. Why is that? That brings me to something more serious, that Hawatmeh is really convinced that those he calls the "doves" in the Israeli establishment will actually give him the Palestinian state, and I must say he is a fool (for believing it).

I'll add one little detail, that shows how negative this matter was. Together with the interview to *Yediot Ahronot*, Hawatmeh, on the same day, gave an interview to *Le Figaro*. In *Le Figaro*, in addition to all that appeared in *Yediot Ahronot*, he added another paragraph where he said that the Jews in Israel were not a nation, because they have no common language, no common existence, and no this and no that. . . . First of all, *Yediot Ahronot* and *Ma'ariv* immediately found the *Figaro* article and showed the masses in Israel that Hawatmeh is a hypocrite. It makes no difference what he thinks of the Jews, even if it is negative; he should have said the same to *Yediot Ahronot* and *Le Figaro*. Second, for the most simple human reason, a person not belonging to a group of people should not tell them: "You are a nation, you aren't a nation." Why, the arguments Hawatmah raises

¹ Shahak is alluding to an interview by a Palestinian guerilla leader, Nayef Hawatmeh, given to the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Ahronot*.

² The main component of the "Moked", a left-Zionist party.

about the Jews in Israel (yes a nation, not a nation)—they are the same ones used by Israeli chauvinists against the Palestinians. They say: “The Palestinians are not a nation, they are only Arabs, and therefore they can go to Morocco.” So, while I see some little good coming from Hawatmah, as I explained, the attempt itself is opportunistic and will yield no direct profit.

Matzpen: Well, a lot is being said about a settlement these days, and Kissinger is in the area, but the reality is still one of occupation, and lately we have been hearing that in the occupied territories—mainly the West Bank—there is terror as there hasn’t been for a long time. Can you give us any details?

Shahak: Yes, there is terrible terror centered only upon people suspected of leftist, especially what they call “Communist,” opinions. I must say that the term “Communism” as used by the Israeli occupation authorities has the same meaning as when used by South-African rulers; that is—it is used to describe people who are really Communists in the full sense of the word, and also people who desire any sort of liberty and social justice. Many such people have been arrested. A list of 30 such people has come to my hands, intellectuals from the big cities. I have been told that arrests of many more people have occurred in villages and outside the big cities. I am sorry to say that the terror is such that it is even difficult to find out the numbers. I would like to note two things in this context. One, the great majority of the people withstand the beating, torture, and pressure, and do not sign any confessions the military authority agents want from them. They are prepared to confess their membership in the “El-Watan” organization¹, but they will not confess to any acts they are accused of doing. Similarly, as far as I can see, informing is either nonexistent or very rare. Two, there are attempts to charge these people with acts done by entirely different circles; I mean, for example the killing of taxi-driver Aberjil etc., acts those people deny taking part in, and I don’t think these attempts will succeed, even as far as Israeli rule is concerned, because the resistance of these people hasn’t been broken.

Matzpen: Why, do you think, this wave of oppression came now?

¹ The Palestine National Front in the occupied West Bank.

Shahak: For a simple reason. This new organization has been active for 7 or 5 months, from before the October War. Its first acts were the demonstrations against the elections for the Histadrut in September, before the war. This is, for the first time, a successful organization. For the first time, a progressive organization, that does not do any foolish things politically, morally, etc., and that is why they [the authorities] are afraid. Besides, the mere existence of this organization and its activity prevents them from claiming that all is well, that the population loves us, that we are the most liked rule; in short, like in *Candide*—"All is well in the best possible world." A third reason: in case there is a settlement with Hussein after all, these forces will be against him. And this despite the fact that I don't believe there will be such a settlement, neither with Hussein nor with some delegation that will go to Geneva. All in all, I think the first argument is the most important one, that is—that for the first time there has arisen a serious resistance movement.

Matzpen: What do you think we—when I say we, I mean the left in general—can do on this matter?

Shahak: I'll tell you something. The first thing we need now is information. I'll give you some examples. We need a list of all the houses blown up, of all the people arrested. Another thing I suggest, after the stage of information gathering, is quiet demonstrations. I think that in the political situation existing in Israel and in the territories we can and should dare, and try actual demonstrations (placards, etc.); we can surely visit in small groups, without placards, the ruins of a demolished house, or a family which has a son in prison; we can demand, through lawyers and otherwise, to visit prisoners; if we are not allowed to go to the Ramallah prison and to sit there for an hour or two and demand a visit. In short, to do the maximum of demonstrative activity with a minimum of confrontation that will dissipate our power. To find some compromise between acts in which we show our work and between our actual power. I believe we can do this, and this is a plan the organizations can do together or each one alone, in any way they like, and we'll see how it develops.

Matzpen: One last question, Dr. Shahak, do you think we should demonstrate on June 5th this year, as we did in previous years?

Shahak: No.

Matzpen: Why?

Shahak: Look, if we're speaking of dates, then we have the 6th of October...

Matzpen: But the occupation continues...

Shahak: Yes, that's true. Look, I'm against dates. The amount of effort we can spend is limited. Let's spend those same work-hours, including the hours of debate and discussion, doing what I proposed: gathering information. How can you fight the occupation better? By information, visits, contacts with the population—or by demonstrating? My answer is, by the plan I proposed.

I am for distributing our efforts rationally. I'll give you two ideas. One—divide into groups and try to visit the blown-up houses, or other places where an injustice was done. The other idea—but this only after consulting with the population of the territories—lay a small wreath on the graves in East Jerusalem... It doesn't have to be done on June 5th... You want dates? April 9th, the day of Deir-Yassin—organize a demonstration or a meeting of mourning on the place that used to be Deir-Yassin...¹

* * *

ISRAEL SHAHAK

Interviewed by the Comite de Soutien au Peuple Palestinian,
in Geneva on Oct. 20th, 1974

Q. What attitude causes you to concern yourself with the problem of political prisoners in Israel?

A. I never forget when working with people that one has to try to lessen

¹ On April 9th, 1948, Zionist terrorists attacked the defenceless Arab village of Deir Yassin, near Jerusalem. Two hundred and fifty-four men, women, and children were murdered in cold blood in a calculated and systematic massacre. The leader of the group responsible for the massacre, Menachim Begin, is presently a leading Israeli politician.

the suffering of the people as much as possible, otherwise if one only theorizes one cuts himself off from the people. Concerning oneself with political prisoners in Israel and with their actual sufferings and torture is the best way of educating the two peoples, both the Palestinian people and the Jewish, about what happens, and in this way to make them aware of their own problems—you can say, to radicalize them.

Q. In what way radicalize them?

A. Radicalize them to take their fate in their own hands. The most important aspect of this is to see the real problem of Zionism, the real problem of what Zionism is—not as an ideology but what Zionism does every day to people...

Q. ... in practical terms....

A. ... in practical terms. The problem of political prisoners, I think, is one of the most important problems to make people aware of.

Q. How would you comment on the fact that there are Jewish as well as Arab political prisoners in Israel?

A. Well, both of the peoples, Palestinians faster than Jewish, slowly are becoming aware of the real problem of Zionism. You should understand that Zionism persecutes Jews as much as Palestinians. It persecutes human beings, only the persecution of the Jews is not so quick, is not so open as that of others. There would be, in fact, more Jewish political prisoners if the laws of the State didn't provide them privileges and protection. Which, of course, they should try in the correct way to give up to make common struggle for common political ends with the Palestinians. The problem of particular prisoners is, of course, also a problem of what he did; was it correct to do it in given circumstances and something like this. I am, at the moment, for example, under formal accusation of treason in Israel for the so-called crime of being guest of the Holland-Palestine Committee...

Q. That's the sole reason?

A. It is one of the important reasons and, I think, if they put me on trial I am quite prepared to face the accusation. Because the most important thing is, first of all, that Jews should give up their privileges because only by this they can hope to make a common struggle with the Palestinians. The second thing is that they should do it in a way which will be the most useful for the fight against Zionism; meaning not the most demonstrative way

necessarily but, I think, in a way which will be the most difficult for Zionists to answer.

Q. This sounds as if you would reject the ideology of Zionism completely...

A. Of course, there is no question about it. More than this. Not only am I described as a complete anti-Zionist—I don't suppose there are many people as anti-Zionist as I am—but I say that it is a very bad thing, politically, to make alliances with Zionists. Politically there will be no alliance between Zionists and anti-Zionists except in *ad hoc* matters, unimportant matters. I mean that the anti-Zionist camp should stay completely separate in and out of Israel. I will give you an example why, an actual example of something that happened two months ago: There was the first so-called “wild” settlement¹ in Sebastia near Nablus. So, the left-Zionists opposed it, but they said—or rather Mr M.P., the leader of Moked, the left-Zionist party, said that he opposed the settlement in Sebastia because it will cause violence among Jews. Not among Israelis and not among human beings but among Jews. As the second reason he said: it will give Israeli Arabs the idea to go back to their destroyed villages. So you see, I want Arabs, Israeli or not Israeli, to return to their villages. So, how can I deal with left-Zionists? Therefore, people of our group have one political rule: there is no alliance possible between Zionists and anti-Zionists. You cannot create any sort of understanding, in fact, we are very angry with those Palestinians and Arabs who want to make contact with Zionists and who even praise Zionism and Zionists. We feel that those Palestinians who want to make contact with Zionists are stabbing us in the back. When I say us, by the way, I do not mean Jews or Palestinians; all our movements, both the League of Human Rights of which I am the Chairman and the other movements which cooperate with us are integrated movements composed of Jews and Palestinians on the same democratic basis. And all Zionist parties and Zionist movements are racist movements which do not admit Arabs, or, or, at least, do not admit these Arabs on terms of equality.

Q. To what degree do you consider the democratic and non-sectarian state that the PLO is advocating for Palestine a realistic demand?

A. I would consider it as one of the possible solutions on two conditions, on two, I think, very democratic conditions: First, I will demand that the

¹ Unauthorized settlement by Jews in the occupied Arab territories.

PLO will appeal with this solution directly to the Jews who are living in Palestine, who, it thinks, are its future citizens. That means: make a proclamation and appeals addressed to us instead of speaking, let us say, on French television to French people. If the last PLO convention of June 1st had made an appeal directed straight to Jews living in Palestine, this, for me, would have been an important step towards acceptance of a democratic and non-sectarian state. The second demand: I want proposals made saying exactly what the democratic and non-sectarian state is and those proposals to be discussed. For example: I am very concerned that non-sectarian state would mean separation of the church from the state, that in the non-sectarian, and that in any state, I favour the separation of Church and State like in France and in the United States—I don't know how it is in Switzerland—and I want as part of my democratic rights, that there be education both in Hebrew and in Arabic, that there be two languages and two cultures. If those two very democratic demands are met I am very prepared to discuss the democratic and non-sectarian state.

Q. To what extent, do you think, are the Israelis ready to accept these things?

A. I would say that once those things are put forward you can begin to discuss it with them and there will be some sort, perhaps, of readiness. What makes the slogan "democratic and non-sectarian state" in Palestine most impracticable within Jewish population in Israel is 25 years of Zionist propaganda which always emphasised one thing: All the Palestinians, all the Arabs want to murder you. As a first practical proposition, at this stage, I am advocating a whole range of political solutions, all of them, of course, are against Zionism, you understand. I am not limiting myself to this but every solution should be addressed to us, for the simple democratic reason that we will have to take this solution and make of it propaganda among the people. As a practical suggestion let Palestinian intellectuals who favor the PLO write a series of letters to the Jews of Palestine, to their future citizens, explaining in positive terms, in terms which can be used in day-to-day propaganda, what the PLO state is, and I and my friends will be quite prepared to circulate them in Israel.

Q. The treatment the Palestinians received from the Israelis in the past and present does not encourage them to simply write letters; and there is the other question: People like you, how influential are they really in Israel?

A. First of all, I do not feel myself responsible for those acts of the State of Israel which I condemn and which I fight against both in Israel and outside it. The political way of changing the situation is not the way of emotionalism but of seeing how to change the situation realistically. Indulging in emotion is, perhaps, the way of leaving the situation as it is. I say that in spite of the fact that the Israeli government, of course, indulges and will indulge in terrorist acts against Palestinian people, and those acts can be very much worse in the future than they were in the past. Realistically considered, the best ally of the Palestinian people is that part of the Jewish people that is anti-Zionist and their duty towards themselves is to encourage us. We are still small but we are not as small as we thought—their support may allow us to grow. We are the best ally in practical terms that they have.

Q. On what aspects of your work have your latest activities been concentrated and what significance do you attach to your recent journeys to the US and Europe?

A. The main tactical aim of my work as it is now is to divide the Zionist establishment from its friends. You see, the Zionist establishment and Zionist forces are composed of two parts: of people who are blindly and completely Zionists, whether it is in Switzerland or in Israel or in the United States and in the present situation we can do nothing with them practically; but they also have a much bigger body of supporters who are usually deceived people, sometimes with good intentions who don't know the situation and because they don't know the situation they are a friend of Zionist Israel. The chief task now is: divide the camp into those two components, which means in practical terms to concentrate on those aspects of the situation which the Zionists cannot answer. Therefore, when I am going on a tour, when I am interviewed here on television and radio, I concentrate on those questions which are immediate, which are happening to the people all the time, and for which there is no answer. I speak about Israel as an apartheid society, a society in which the majority of Palestinians cannot live on Israeli lands. I concentrate especially on attacking the kibbutz, saying that the kibbutz is an apartheid institution because, as you know, it is the main venue of Zionist propaganda, saying that the Palestinian workers of the kibbutz cannot become members, saying that the members of the kibbutz collectively are the boss of the Palestinians whom they hire at exploitation wages. By this concentration I try to demolish the most important propaganda weapon of

the Zionists which, you know, is the myth of the kibbutz. I am asking the question: is apartheid-socialism socialism?—because they don't know that socialism in Israel is apartheid. And to this Zionists have no answer. When speaking about Palestinians, in the conquered territories for example, the most basic fact of the situation for me is the disunited Palestinian families, the fact of a Palestinian family, let's say from Nablus, which has a brother in Geneva who has no right to come to Nablus. This is used as an instrument to expell Palestinians from Palestine. That the family is told: leave and be united out of Palestine...

Q. They wouldn't ask them in...

A. Of course not—and in this I also demolish the myth of the summer visits¹. The summer visits are really used in order to unite the families for six weeks in summer so that it will hurt them more and so that they will go out to be united.

Q. Do you have any figures on this, how many people are coming in for summer visits?

A. The last summer about 150,000. All of them are relatives. It is not like the Zionist propaganda says, that they are visitors, tourists—all are relatives, brothers, fathers, cousins, sisters who are prohibited to stay. So the summer visits are really an instrument for getting Palestinians out of Palestine. Those arguments I put because they cannot be answered by Zionists. If we can promote discussion on those lines we educate the public here in Switzerland to the reality of what Zionists really are. To give you the best example: when I put this thing about the kibbutz being apartheid at the beginning of this month in Holland a very Zionist journalist said to me: Yes they are apartheid but it is for security. So I said to him: Very well, write in your paper that the kibbutz is apartheid because of security reasons. So he said: You are an anti-Semite, you are this, you are that—and the rest of the journalists have seen what he is; you understand? The important thing is to shatter the Zionist myths.

Q. How and to what extent can, in your opinion, a Palestine Committee in Europe effectively support the political prisoners in Israel?

A. I think, first of all, everything and anything you do is profitable but

¹ Israeli propagandists are fond of pointing out that large numbers of Palestinians living outside the occupied territories choose to spend their vacations every summer under Israeli rule.

what I advise you to do is to take particular cases, cases of individuals and to fight for them in any way and especially by ways of demonstration. Take a prisoner who is actually in prison, a prisoner who has complained about torture. Take one single prisoner and with his name make a demonstration, a demonstration before the Israeli embassy or before the Zionist organizations, concentrating on one single case on which you have much information. I can give you as many names as you want. And be persistent. Let's say, take Suleiman Al-Najab; so you will tell people: write to Suleiman Al-Najab in the jail of Djallahmeh, write to his sister and ask again why Suleiman Al-Najab is not free and why his tortures were not investigated and so on. Take a few cases, not generalities, concentrate and be persistent which means bothering Israeli embassies and Zionist organizations. A demonstration once a week, even of one single person before the Israeli embassy or before the Zionist organizations in Bern, Geneva—I don't know where they are. You need a few people doing it continuously. I will tell you why: It is not only because I think it will have a very strong influence here but because this is what Palestinian people want; you see, the greatest danger to the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and in Israel is despair. They very often say: everybody has forgotten us, they do not think about us, they are theorizing, they are not speaking of what we suffer. Taking pictures, one or two, and showing that you care for Palestinian prisoners can be the best way. This is mainly about Palestinians in conquered territories. In Israel I offer you another suggestion: Concentrate in serious research about the nature, the apartheid nature of Israeli society from Israeli official sources. Presumably, many of you are students, and you know how to work. I offer you a simple practical suggestion: Obtain the annual Israeli Statistical Yearbook and try to publish and to alert the people to the racist nature of this publication as the mirror of Israeli society. Alert the people for example to the fact that in Israeli statistics there are no Israelis: there are only Jews and Non-Jews. You will find a separate statistical page for mortality of babies who are Jews and mortality of babies who are Non-Jews, with, of course, the mortality of non-Jewish babies twice as high as Jewish babies. The difference in the infant mortality rate between Jews and Non-Jews hasn't changed in Israel, both groups improved but the difference remained constant. It's quite significant. By really serious research on this you can produce many other examples. The importance of this is that Zionists have no answer to this. This is from their own sources, it is their own reality, and it educates you to

actual facts and you are also educating the Swiss people to the actual facts. I will give you another thing which desperately needs researching and action: This is the situation of the workers from the Gaza Strip, working in Israel, and their conditions in concentration camps. How many Swiss people know that the Gaza Strip is completely surrounded by barbed wire?

Q. Completely?

A. ... completely, the whole Gaza Strip on the map is surrounded by barbed wire with gates, and in this physical respect one can say: it is one single concentration camp. But the workers from the Gaza Strip are being taken to factories in Israel. A big concentration of such factories is in a place actually on the border of the Strip, in a place called Aras Barrier, "Barrier" because this is the main gate, therefore the barrier, meaning that they are brought under armed guard and put inside factories; they cannot leave this factory sometimes for a day and sometimes for a week, meaning they sleep in tents in the yard of the factory. Documentation of such conditions—whether they will allow you to visit this factory or whether you will have to speak to the workers after and record that the factory is not allowing an inspection by foreigners—can really show what the situation is like. Go to the people both in Israel and in the conquered territories, see what the situation is and record it. Zionism flourishes only because it hides the truth and puts a myth instead, based on faked photographs; so your duty is to demolish the myth by showing the reality. And from the reality you ask questions and nobody, no Zionist can answer the question why they have to separate Israeli babies into Jewish and Non-Jewish...

Q. Are they actually separated in the hospitals?

A. No. Well, they are separated, naturally, because Palestinians can live only in certain areas, you understand; so they are to a great extent separated naturally but the important thing is that they are separated in statistics. The Palestinian baby is, perhaps, in the same room as the Jewish baby—but it means that when the doctor finishes the treatment and writes it on the file, the two files go to completely different departments. And this shows that the doctor cannot treat them in the same way because otherwise he would put them on the same file. You can have very many forms of apartheid and you can have very effective apartheid of that sort.

Q. What incidents in the recent wave of repression in the occupied territories would you regard as characteristic? And why has repression been reinforced at this particular time? There are many documented cases of physical and psychological torture on political prisoners in Israel. What, do you think, makes torture in Israel possible?

A. I will combine the two questions. Security in Israel doesn't cover only so-called violence or armed struggle; it means that painting a slogan on the wall and having a Palestinian flag in your possession is also a crime. I have defended boys literally younger than anybody here, I believe, of 15 and 16 years old, who were condemned to quite a long time in prison for the "crime" of putting a Palestinian flag on their school. This is a very serious offence in Israel. But security trials are based on confession. Nobody is brought to trial on any charge of security in Israel if the prosecution didn't come with a prepared confession signed by the prisoner. If the prisoner doesn't confess, whether he is Israeli or a foreigner, he is freed—ultimately. It takes time, but ultimately, as of now. If he is from the conquered territories he is put in prison on what is called administrative detention. This is a detention which is ordered by plain order of a military officer. The military officer signs a sheet of paper saying: I order that this man will be put in prison for the benefit of the security of the state of Israel. This is enough. Now, torture is used very often, both in Israel and in the conquered territories. In the conquered territories more in order, very simply, to induce people to confess. Because it is very much better if they confess, the confession can never be revoked and is always obtained—and there are much greater difficulties in fighting for a prisoner who was sentenced in due form—of course I speak ironically—by a trial on his confession than in fighting for a prisoner who sits in administrative prison. If I mentioned, as an example, Suleiman Al-Najab who complained that he was tortured but didn't sign anything, you can bring his case and you can say he was not charged with anything, he didn't confess anything, he was not accused of anything, he sits in prison without anything. But if there is another prisoner who confessed, wrongly or rightly—I do not care—that he is a terrorist, and even if this charge of terrorism is completely illogical you will be faced here with big difficulties, namely that there is a confession that he admitted certain things and you cannot here in Geneva explain to people very well why this confession was faked.

Therefore torture is used. I am completely convinced that torture is

used—torture, not beating—beating is very common. The difference between torture and beating is that beating is carried out by ordinary policemen or ordinary soldiers and it is carried out in hot blood, meaning: they strike where they want; torture is carried out by specialists and it is carried out in cold blood. I believe from accounts of very many people—both who are free and whom friends of mine, lawyers, met in jail—that torture is practised very widely by the Israeli authorities; and I will describe the usual stages of torture as they are usually practised because in a way it has become routine. The first stage is to strip the prisoner naked. You should understand that interrogation of Palestinians is carried out when the Palestinian males—women are very rarely arrested—are completely naked; in this condition they beat him on the sensitive areas of the body; especially the sexual organs. The second stage of this can take quite a long time. The second stage of torture is usually to put the prisoner, still naked, into so-called punishment-cells which are very small cells. There are, of course, many sizes but the usual would be, let's say, two meters by one meter with very little height, usually not more than two meters. The cells are made with a special rough form of cement so that there are sharp points all over the cell. The prisoner who is still naked doesn't receive even a blanket, so every movement causes pain, as you can understand. The third stage of torture is not used on everyone but on only the toughest prisoners. They tie the prisoners by their hands for long periods—I should add that elastic bindings are used so that there will be no contraction of blood, so that he can stay hanging by his hands for a long time—or, alternatively, to chain him to the bars of the window or, even more cruelly, to the iron cell-door.

Q. Is this fairly regular practice.

A. The first two stages are regularly, the third stage is not regularly used, only in a minority of cases. In addition, there are irregular fancies of interrogators—and each one has his own which are meant to humiliate the people and make the man actually a partner in his own humiliation and punishment. For example: to tell him to stand, still in naked condition, on one leg or to make him stand on a table, to make him walk on all fours or to make him shout: “I am a dog” or “I am a donkey”. This all cannot be described in details because each one of the torturers has his own freaks of imagination.

Q. Perhaps you can describe to us one case.

A. I think that the most horrible recent case was that of Suleiman Al-

Najab¹. You have it recorded in the greatest details, I think, both in English and in French. It is a case that was taken on by the students of Hebrew University of Jerusalem and you have it all written, as well as other cases.

Q. Coming back to the recent wave of repression in the occupied territories, why do you think this happened right now?

A. You must imagine the condition of Palestinians after more than seven years in the conquered territories, which means that they are without a future. So it is very natural that in such situations there would be waves of political struggle followed by repression, but it also is connected, I think, to the general political situation. The wave of repression was concentrated against leftists of all kinds because they have formed quite an effective organization called the Palestine National Front. The organization could organize several very effective movements like strikes, demonstrations and so on, and began to be a very effective voice of the Palestinians. The situation now, of course, is very much worse.

Q. Would you say that, in general, the Palestinian population in the occupied territories does not accept an Israeli future?

A. Of course not, of course not. You will not find it. Even those people who wanted to accept it in '67, '68, '69 have no illusions and, in fact, so much want to get rid of the conquerors that the danger is they will accept anything, even accept King Hussein to get rid of the conquerors. I am, of course, no sympathizer with King Hussein. I very well remember the Black September and the number of so many thousands of Palestinians [killed] but you must—with all the very natural and justified horrors of King Hussein—understand that the oppressive regime of King Hussein is not so dangerous for the Palestinian people—as people—as the Israelis as conquerors. It doesn't forbid the poetry, it doesn't forbid the folklore, it doesn't put schools in charge of Jewish inspectors who try to remove from school every mention of Palestine, of Palestinian nationality and other things like this. It allows the families to be united. The Israeli conquest really has genocidal tendencies to the Palestinian people, a people as a whole. If it is followed up it really can bring the abolition of Palestinians in Palestine. This is a very real danger. So you will not find any Palestinian in the conquered territories who has illusions about the conquest.

¹ See pp. 110–112.

Q. Coming to the much-discussed project of what many people call a Bantustan on the West Bank, the creation of a Palestinian state: What is the feeling in Israel, Palestinian-wise and Israeli-wise?

A. There are two questions: Firstly, what is possible as far as the Israeli government is concerned and secondly what the Zionist propagandists of the so-called Palestinian state—or as you called it very rightly: Bantustan—want to achieve. I will say that Mr. Rabin's government or any other government considers this as a completely impossible dream. You see there is a very great majority in the Zionist movement which, for a very good reason—their reason—opposes any form of Palestinian state because, as they say—and this has been their position for, I think, about forty years now—any compromise with an Arab state outside of Palestine can be changed in the future but a Palestinian state, once established, would be difficult to dis-establish, to destroy.

Q. This may be also one of the reasons why they are so much against the recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

A. Yes, yes, not only the recognition of the PLO but the recognition of all forms of political existence. They will only admit to a formula like: there is a Palestinian problem which has to be solved in Jordan. This is a disguised formula, and a policy advocated by Mr. Rabin personally is to expell Palestinians physically or part of them to East Jordan¹. Therefore, I do not think that any present or possible future Israeli government will agree to any sort of accommodation with any sort of mini-Palestinian-State. It may agree—although the chances here are not good—to some accommodation with Jordan, but not to a Palestinian state. I do not believe it. I want to put to you Israeli realities. Nobody in Israel speaks about the Gaza Strip. The formula of the Zionist doves is: Part of the West Bank. Why the West Bank? The West Bank is by now geographically cut into two: the so-called Jordan valley which has expanded and nearly reaches Nablus, 12 to 13 kilometers east of Nablus. It is now an area “clean” of Palestinians and has been a part of the town of Jericho. Palestinians were removed from it. It is controlled by Jewish settlements arranged on two military roads. For all present purposes it is a Jewish-Israeli area which nobody in Israel wants to give back. So what remains? It remains a concept which is called:

¹ See p. 24 above.

West Bank territories populated by Arabs, an Arab enclave inside Greater Israel. This is a completely unreal thing. Now we come to the Zionist doves, meaning people who are left of the Israeli government, but who advocate a Palestinian state. I will leave with you an article written by, I think, the most Zionist dove-Zionist there is: Mr. Boas Evron. He is saying very plainly why he advocates a Palestinian state and what sort of Palestinian state. He says: The Palestinian state I advocate will be under our military control, we will keep our military positions, we will keep the Jordan valley, we will only make such a state which will keep its economy completely integrated into the Israeli economy. The Israeli economy will be twenty times bigger than the economy of that state, and he goes as far as saying that such a state will always vote for us in the United Nations because it will have no choice. This is an illusion, and he will not get his dream, the usual colonial dream of indirect rule. How did the British rule India? By having strong military positions here and there and by getting Indians to rule India for them. This is the dream, but it is a dream of the 19th century and completely unreal. I am not entering into tactical questions, whether it is good or bad for the Palestinian movement to demand such a state as a tactical move in order to expose the nature of Zionism. This is a matter of tactical debate but it should be clear that there is no possibility whatsoever that any Palestinian state will be granted under present conditions.

Q. Taking the Palestinian-Zionist relationship in past and present, considering the determined continuation of an Israeli forward policy of settler-colonialism which, for most Palestinians, has had and still has only expulsion, destruction of homes, expropriation etc. in store, and, on the other hand, thinking of the exclusiveness of Zionism as an ideology and its discriminatory nature, what, in your opinion, could be the long-term policy of Israel in order to reconcile the two contradictions?

A. I will say this: First of all we should speak about the policies of the people and not about the policies of the states—states are only instruments. The most important enemy of peace and understanding in the Middle East—not only for the Palestinians but for all the people—is Zionism. And the aim of such policies that I advocate in Israel is to establish any sort of relations, but any sort of relations that make it possible to abolish Zionism. So long as Israel is a Zionist state one can expect at most a cease-fire. Whatever this cease-fire will be called you will not have peace with Zionists and, therefore,

what I advocate—and what you should help me in—is to educate the biggest possible proportion of Israeli Jews into understanding that their own interest is in being against Zionism.

Q. In other words, you are saying that Zionism is a de-humanizing factor and Israel should be de-Zionized?

A. Israeli Jews should be de-Zionized, the nature of the state—whatever it will be—will follow. Yes. Furthermore, Zionist-Israel and the Zionist movement will bring a calamity, not only on Israeli Jews, but also on Jews in all the world because it de-humanizes them too; it makes the Jews all over the world into servants of reaction, not only of Israeli reaction but of international reaction. If, for example, the most liberal organization of American Jews, the so-called American Jewish Committee, gave half a year ago its prize, called the prize of Isiah, the prophet, to Senator Henry Jackson of Washington, the butcher of Vietnam, it means that American Jews—as Jews—are becoming servants of reaction. If, let's say, all the Jewish organizations are supporting, either passively or actively, South African apartheid, it also means something. Therefore, there is the danger for all Jewish communities in the world by being identified—through their support of Zionist Israel—with world reaction. Supporting really the worst elements in world politics—in saying as they said in the United States: we are for Nixon because he is corrupt and it is easier to influence a corrupt president than an incorrupt one—is bringing calamity on themselves.

Q. Former General Dayan was recently in South Africa and encouraged the Jews—and there are about 100,000 in South Africa—to emigrate to Israel.

A. Yes. His encouragement will not bear very much fruit on immigration to Israel. What he did was very much worse: he encouraged them to support apartheid while they are in South Africa. He said that apartheid is a reasonable system with few things that can be criticised. This is very much worse. To give you something very specific: Religions associations all over the world, of all religions that I know of, which have representative bodies in the United States stood up and condemned apartheid in the United Nations. There are seven or eight Jewish organizations which have the same associated status in the United States and not one of them has participated even in any discussion on apartheid in the committees of the United Nations. And, in fact, they did it only because of Zionist pressure. One of the things you can

very easily bring forward is to ask Jewish organizations—not Jewish individuals because it's a very good Zionist trick to say: I as an individual condemn apartheid but my organization will not—to ask why Jewish organizations here in Switzerland are not condemning apartheid and to ask their co-religionists in South Africa also to condemn it.

Q. Of course, there are the business connections...

A. No, it is not the business connection of the communities between Switzerland and Israel, it is the business support of South Africa to Israel which influences Swiss Jews not to demand that Jews will condemn apartheid.

Q. There are allegations that Palestinian women going to hospital to give birth are coming out of hospital sterilized. Have you any comments on this?

A. I don't suppose that this is true. I would say that I would have known if that is true. But I will add to it: It is very good policy to take all sorts of such accusations only if you have a particular name and particular accusations, even if this turns out to be not true. Tactically I advise the Palestine Committee that if you are hearing from anybody a claim: such and such a woman alleged that she was sterilized in this and this hospital at this and this time, that you should pursue it, but you should not, as a matter of tactics, pursue generalized accusations, even if you consider that they are true because you will not be able to prove them and you will produce a counter-effect. This is just not good politics. And you should say this to those people who told you this. I am not saying it necessarily must be true in some areas, but the way to show it, to fight against it, is to fight one case. Otherwise you cannot do anything.

Q. Are there in Israel anti-Zionist organizations? What are these?

A. Yes, all the actual political organizations in Israel which are anti-Zionist are, of course, very leftist. therefore I am not a member. There is the Communist Party of Israel and there are four parties of the New Left and also *ad hoc* committees of Israeli-Palestinian students. Perhaps you don't know but Palestinians in Israel cannot form parties of their own, so they do not form parties but committees and inside these committees they oppose Zionism—so I would say, there are now four New Left parties. One

is called Matzpen, one is Fourth International, vulgarly called the Trotskyists, and the two others are called Maavak, meaning Struggle, and Avantgarde....

Q. Siach...?

A. No. Siach is not anti-Zionist and Siach is now decomposed for all purposes. There are, as very radical and strong forces, the committees of Palestinian students, officially called Committee of Arab Students in Jerusalem, in Tel Aviv and Haifa, and a third committee of educated people in Nazareth, meaning people with degrees. Under those conditions it is possible to have a movement in Israel, meaning all those groups and several others that I do not mention.

Q. I suppose these groups would periodically be dispersed by waves of arrests or other forms of political suppression?

A. We can, by now, survive arrest. We have arrests of our Palestinian members but with discipline and education most of our Palestinian members are never brought to trial because they do not sign confessions. If people, whatever they did, sign confessions it is a sign of bad discipline and bad political education. Most of them do not sign confessions. If most of the Palestinians signed confessions I wouldn't be in Geneva because several of my Palestinian friends were beaten and tortured in order to sign confessions to implicate me. They didn't sign and they are free and I am free. Organizations, and this includes activists of the League of Human Rights, must organise on a system in which we have a core of known activists and a much bigger group of, let's say, sympathisers who, although there is nothing secret involved, do not make their action completely open in Israel. I would from time to time hold an open meeting in a university—the universities are open to me—but I and my friends go very often and speak to meetings of ten, twenty, twenty-five people in private homes because this is the correct way to operate under the conditions. Arrest is not the potent weapon against us: it is being thrown out of work. In an open meeting, of course, secret police are present and photograph everybody, and the new people. Then they go to their boss at work and put pressure on him to dismiss him from work. This is a much more potent weapon than arrest. Therefore we must work under the conditions that only such people as are already known will continue to be known and the rest of the people, while not going underground...we must work as we work now because economic and social pressure

is intense, both on Palestinians and on Jews. I will mention something else which is also more potent than arrest. To attack you through your own family. Most of the older Palestinian people are not very militant, although Jewish older families are—you can suppose why they are. The best thing that the secret police can do is to go to the father, to the mother or to the uncle or grandfather—grandfathers are especially good people—to say: your son or your daughter has associated with the wrong people. We want the best for her and if she will stay clean and shut her mouth she will have her life open before her. They influence her and so on. Both in Palestinian and in Jewish families it is a very potent method of putting pressure. . . .

Q. ... and is used widely...?

A. ... used very widely. It was used against me, too, by the way; it is used all the time, but I am more grown up, so I can—but it's still used. I will give you two instances, one with a Jew, one with a Palestinian: When a Jewish member of the Trotsky-group joined this organization, I think it was in '69, they went to his family. He quarrelled with the family and went to Jerusalem. After two weeks he received a telegram: your mother had a heart-attack. So, of course, he takes the bus and goes to their place near Haifa to find a prearranged scene: the mother with a doctor and so on. It didn't take him much time to see that she didn't have any heart-attack, that it was prearranged with the doctor. The whole family of ten or fifteen people entered with the man from *Shin Bet*,¹ and, under these conditions, made an emotional attack on him. Of course, he did it. —A Palestinian friend of mine was in another organization for several years and it happened that his father died and the farm of the family remained without adult supervision: The usual difficult conditions. During the first few days after the death of his father he received a visitor from the *Shin Bet*, a known member of the secret police in the village. A Palestinian by the way. After condoling him he said to him: For the benefit of your family I offer you the job of Vice Manager of the chief Israeli bank in your village—the village is really a town, it has 15,000 inhabitants—of course, on conditions that...you understand. This employment of everything psychological is the main weapon. —Another case: Rami Lifneh, I believe, was trapped into confessing—we discovered it afterwards. Rami Lifneh, before he became activist spent

¹ Israeli secret police.

several years in a kibbutz. Before they arrested him the secret police went to this kibbutz. With the secretary-general of the kibbutz they interviewed those members of the kibbutz who were known to be friends of his and they discussed his psychology—what are his weaknesses, what are his strengths, what are his interests, you know. And I believe, although I don't have the proof, that by knowing him they could trap him into making a confession. Of all attacks this is the most difficult to withstand.

Q. The Israeli League of Human Rights last year had some problems with intervention, I think, in the assembly...

A. It was two years ago and it still continues but we sort of survived it in the best manner, which means the case is going to court. The old executive is still serving but I have now a personal problem. Many important men of the dovish Zionists demand that I be put on trial for treason and also be dismissed from my university post. The latest crime I am accused of is that I was guest of the Dutch Palestine Committee, your brother body, if I may say so. I said what I thought was correct. Well, we'll see what will happen.

Q. What do you think are the chances of that?

A. I don't know, it is fifty-fifty now because, you see, the attack is really outstanding. Usually they do not attack in the press in such numerous ways without intending something. My friends in Israel, to show that I am not alone, are organising a small demonstration, a reception committee in Lydda airport and I hope that all my friends in and out of Israel will support me. We'll see what happens.

Q. We certainly wish you good luck.

A. I will leave with you a most disturbing article written by Amnon Rubinstein¹ who is considered a dove and who is dean of... I am mentioning him because of a new definition of academic "freedom". He says that Israel must keep the liberty of the students in its universities, but not to hear lectures of Israel Shahak...

¹ Dean of the Hebrew University Law School. The article alluded to can be found of Part IV of this volume.

Q. ... To what degree do Oriental Jews in Israel realize that Zionism is a racist ideology, meaning an anti-Jewish and anti-Arab ideology?

A. I think they realize that it is discriminatory but the older generation of Jews would say that everything which is good for Jews is good. It is very difficult to change that attitude. The younger generation is being polarized in two directions, one which is better, and one which is worse. I will give you an actual instance because it will show you what is happening with people of your age. Even now at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem there is a system of marking the student cards with two letters in Hebrew which mean: member of minority. A Palestinian student card is marked. This summer, because the number of Palestinian students increased, Palestinian students lodged a protest against it and were joined by many Jewish students, I think, by a party which won in the elections about 30%. But another party, a right-wing party which is even stronger—in Hebrew University you have 30% left, 40% right and 30% religious ones, also right. . .

Q. ... 30% ...?

A. Yes, you do not have any membership of the Israeli Labour Party, you do not have a center, the Zionist center is non-existent among the students...

Q. That doesn't say very much for their future...

A. Of course. So the right-wing people demanded not only to keep the student cards as they are but that Arabs and Jews should be prohibited to use the same shower. So you see, an apartheid situation is a situation which cannot endure. You can go in several directions from it and the younger generation is being split. The older generation wanted apartheid up to a certain level. The older professors were very much shocked with this demand for separate showers. They wanted the cards, but not the showers, you understand... It cannot endure, it can go in one direction or another and this is dependent, first of all, on the power of the United States, secondly on the Palestinians and thirdly it is dependent on world opinion.

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AN INTERVIEW WITH PROF. ISRAEL SHAHAK—
CHAIRMAN OF THE LEAGUE FOR HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Epsilon—Students' Weekly of the Technion, Haifa. 30.7.74

This interview took place at Prof. Shahak's residence in Jerusalem on the 11th of July 1974. The interviewers were Miriam Z., student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Yael Kahn, student at the Technion Institute of Technology in Haifa.

Q. Prof. Shahak, what has the League for Human and Civil Rights been doing lately?

A. As Chairman of the League for Human and Civil Rights I coordinate an important part of the activities regarding the subject of the West Bank detainees' complaints. Most of the work is done by Israeli lawyers who try to and sometimes even succeed in interviewing the detainees.

The situation is as follows: In the latest wave of arrests about 400 persons have been arrested thusfar. Each arrested person is automatically charged with the usual things, such as participating in the creation of, or activities within, a hostile organization, in "incitement" and other political activities.

The Israeli method in the occupied territories as regards security charges is based on the defendant's confession of his guilt: "I admit of my own free will to all the accusations the prosecutor charges me with." For the trials are never based on any circumstantial evidence. In order to extort from the defendant the "confession," which is in most cases the only condition for conviction (for lack of other conditions), torture is used quite frequently. Many are the cases, especially in these last years, where the defendants categorically deny in court their "confessions" and recount in detail the ways used to extort that admission of guilt. But military courts always accept the confession as sufficient legal proof, inspite of the denials, and sometimes they even laugh at the defendants.

Sometimes a defendant does not, inspite of the torture, admit what he is charged with. In such case another foolproof method is used—an administrative detention order is issued against him under the 1945 Emergency Defence Regulations, by which it is legal to go on keeping him under detention for an unlimited period *without trial* (so that there is no need to indict him). The authorities prefer the first method, for it is more difficult to argue

about a signed piece of paper which testifies at least to a success and a big achievement by the authorities: the man broke down and signed.

Q. Can you give any basis to your claims?

A. The best way is to present briefly concrete cases. Muhammad el-Haq, for instance, engineer at the Nablus Municipality and Deputy Director of its Planning Division, who has been put in the meantime under administrative detention—an attempt was made at extorting a confession from him through, amongst other things, cigarette burns. His lawyer, A'li Rafeh from Haifa, saw the burns on Muhammad's hands, presented the proper complaints, attended a press conference organised by the Tel Aviv branch of the League for Human and Civil Rights, told them what he had seen, and the outcome was unanimous—not a single word about it in a single newspaper.

Another example: Suleiman Al-Najab. In an interview with his lawyer, Mrs. Felicia Langer, he tried to lift his trousers in order to show her the wounds he had above the knees, which were the result of the crawling he was obliged to do on gravel stones. But the security man who is always present during the defendant's meeting with his lawyer did not let him. It was only three weeks later, when the skin over the wounds had healed, that he was allowed to show the place. According to Suleiman, he was held a long time in a dungeon (whose dimensions were 1.6 x 0.5 x 0.5 meters) at a certain military camp (apparently Sarafand), whose walls and floor were covered with a mixture of cement and gravel. He also complained of being beaten on his genitals while naked, of being tied many days to the iron door of his cell and, during the last days of his stay there, of having his hands tied to the iron bars of the cell-window.

These and similar complaints are frequent and can be heard from many detainees, and I am convinced of their veracity.

Q. Do the authorities explain these detentions? If so, how?

A. When you ask concrete questions you generally encounter a total lack of response. *Pi Haaton*, the Jerusalem students' weekly, tried to get the authorities to clarify the specific case of Suleiman Al-Najab¹, and ran into an evasive answer: "The case is *sensitive and political*." Other questions about tortures were left unanswered. Minister Peres claimed in Parliament

¹ See below, Part V, pp. 109–110 and p. 115 for the details of this incident.

that those people had organised with violent goals in view—a claim that did not appear even in the charge-sheets—and the Parliament accepted this without doubt or further questioning, and the thing was struck off the agenda. The press continues ignoring the affair and the complaints, yet it goes to the trouble of publishing “hints” at “organisation of violence,” which I think is a groundless accusation.

Q. Where does this certainty come from? Who are these people?

A. The families of these people sent to all the Israeli newspapers and to many public figures a declaration in which, together with complaints about arbitrary detentions and tortures, it is said: “The detainees are peace-and-justice-loving people who are in a constant fight against the various phenomena of nationalism, wherever they appear, decidedly support the solution of the Middle East conflict on the basis of international resolutions, as well as the right of all peoples in the area to live in secure frontiers, including the *Israeli and the Arab Palestinian peoples.*”

It is not a daily matter for the Israeli press to receive a declaration by a Palestinian group recognising Israel’s right to live in secure borders, but those who think there is a *free* press in Israel will certainly be interested to know that not a single newspaper published that declaration, until the League for Human and Civil Rights published it as a paid advertisement (*in Ha’aretz*, June 6, 1974).¹

There are very good reasons for believing in people whose families declare, in their names, even when they are behind bars, that they recognize Israel’s right to live in secure borders, since this declaration is very unpopular among their Palestinian brothers, as well as for believing their complaints about tortures.

Those people are politically left-wingers belonging to the West Bank Palestinians. In Israeli terminology every left-winger is called a communist. Some of them are indeed communists, but others are social-democrats; I do not think this matters much, the important thing is that they are under arrest without trial and that they complain of being tortured.

Q. What do you answer to the questions you are surely asked about the sufferings of the Arab Jews?

A. The Jews in Syria and Iraq are certainly being persecuted and they

¹ See p. 43 above.

suffer. But those in Lebanon, Tunisia and Morocco are in a much better situation than the Israeli Arabs, not to talk of the Arabs of the occupied territories. Therefore the use of the term “Arab Jews” is nothing but a demagogic one, which is not intended to help those Jews that are really persecuted, but to justify the persecution of Arabs here. I think there is a very efficient, simple and effective way to help the Syrian Jews, which is to connect the demands for investigating their situation and alleviating their suffering with similar demands for alleviating the even worse suffering of the Palestinians from the occupied territories, such as Suleiman Al-Najab. Even if it were for the very simple reason that no one believes in a government that does not want or is unable to answer Suleiman’s complaints, even if its “reasons” are just.

What the Israeli press publishes and what the conventions organized by the Israeli government say, has no influence in the world today. As everyone could see, in Kissinger’s treatment of our prisoners in Damascus, the whole publicity campaign organised by Israel did not help at all, until Kissinger connected the fate of the Israeli prisoners of war with the right of the Syrian refugees to return to Kuneitra ; then the POW’S returned to Israel.

Similarly, no one should think that he can help the Syrian and Iraqi Jews in any way without helping at the same time the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

* * *

PART THREE

INTERVIEWS WITH FELICIA LANGER

Felicia Langer has developed a reputation as one of the most committed advocates of Palestinians suffering from repression under the Zionist's system of administrative detention. She is an invaluable source of information on the mentality and procedures of this repressive "legal" system in Israel and the occupied territories, and Ms. Langer has published a book on the subject. She is also, as the following two interviews indicate, a brave and compassionate person.

Published here are an account of a meeting between Ms. Langer and Swedish Writer and Journalist Steffan Beckman, from a work of Beckman's entitled *Palestine and Israel*. Following it is an article, in Ms. Langer's own words, published first in the June, 1974 issue of *Free Palestine*, a British newspaper specialized in the activities of the Palestine Resistance.

* * *

(This is a translation from Swedish.)

... In Jerusalem we had a meeting with the young Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer, who since the June War has spent most of her time defending Palestinians whom the military authorities have arrested by administrative decision. In the course of this work she has come across some sixty cases of torture (up to the end of September 1968) and has been trying to trace the policemen and soldiers who carried out the tortures.

When we arrived at her office at 60 Jaffa Road in Jerusalem she was plainly nervous and said that we ought to go out and have a talk somewhere in the town. "Don't let us start talking until we get out of here", she said.

Out in the street she explained that she knew that her telephone was tapped and she suspected that *Shin-Bet* had also planted microphones in the

office. One of the first things she said was that she had received a telephone call one day from a representative of *Shin-Bet* (the Israeli security service) who said that he was surprised that “she or her son had not yet been the victim of a bomb”. She had taken that as an indirect threat.

We went and sat down in a Public place, on some seats which were fairly isolated from the other patrons. In a few minutes she became nervous again and whispered that she thought that a couple of people sitting five or six yards away were listening to our conversation. She got up and we went to another part of the room, where our conversation was drowned out by the noise. The minute anyone passed near our table Felicia fell silent.

TORTURE I: LUTFIEH AND ABLA

One of her cases concerns three girls, of whom two were apparently subjected to severe torture in the Jerusalem prison. Felicia Langer’s report on the tortures was circulated by the girls’ parents and the Arab women’s organization in East Jerusalem to all consulates and embassies in Israel—some weeks after the circulation of the report, the Chairman of the women’s organization was expelled to Jordan (international women’s organizations subsequently compelled the Israelis to allow her to return home).

The three girls were apparently arrested on a charge being involved in a case of arms-smuggling over the River Jordan. A bag of weapons was allegedly found on the Allenby Bridge immediately after one of the girls had crossed over. (These reports, however, are unconfirmed. The girls had been arrested by administrative decision and the lawyer is therefore not entitled to be informed of the charges).

The two girls who are said to have been tortured are Abla Shafik Taha from Jerusalem and Lutfieh Ibrahim Al-Hawari from Ramallah, both aged between twenty and twenty-five. Abla is married and was two or three months pregnant when she was arrested. Lutfieh is a teacher and a poet.

In order to keep as closely as possible to Felicia Langer’s account, I am reproducing *verbatim* the notes I took during our conversation:

“Lutfieh—first meeting. In the presence of the prison inspector, room No. 6—famous for beatings—the room is far below ground, without windows, and an almost invisible door in the wall—I had been there dozens of times before I saw it for the first time—I am sure that they give them the treatment there. I had met her before her im-

prisonment and almost didn't recognize her, she looked like a wild creature, a big man's pullover, pale, smiled at me, two teeth missing in her lower jaw. I asked how she was, she said fine and smiled at the inspector. I said it in Arabic and she said fine again and nothing more. I felt on unsure ground. There were other people in the room as well. So I realized that I had to question her although I was not supposed to. I said listen, we know one another, I know that when we last met your hair and teeth did not look like that. Mrs. Langer, said the judge, you are cross-examining her. No, I said, I am just enquiring because I have not seen her like this before. Then she began to talk. She said that, like Abla, she had been put with prostitutes who had beaten her, torn out chunks of her hair, ripped off her clothes—I said have you no comb, and gave her my comb—at that point the men around hated me more than her—she had been naked and the policemen had been watching through the door, she had asked them to intervene but they had signalled with their eyes to the prostitutes to continue and egged them on. They had burned her with cigarettes. The inspector looked at me and at her and one of the other men said what a democracy you have here, when you are allowed to speak with her this way. The inspector said we shall investigate. Then I said that I was shocked and ashamed to hear it. Someone who was listening said why, nothing has happened to her. They said: how would the Arabs treat us in a similar situation. She said: you say that you have a democracy, and you are punishing me although I did not do anything. Later she wrote a letter to her fiancé (also in prison) which was like a poem and another to her mother in front of the inspector who read them and I took them. He promised that everything would be worked out. But later on he said that I was going to too much trouble and making too many enquiries and that I should be on their side and not against them. One policeman said, it's because you yourself haven't got a bomb in your house that you can threaten me. I asked for his name but he and the inspector refused to give it."

And now the notes on Abla Shafik Taha:

"Meeting with Abla. Three weeks earlier, she had spent ten days in Jerusalem prison. I met her (she had also made a statement with the inspector to the mayor of Al Bireh) in the presence of the prison inspector. She started to cry. So I asked her what was wrong. I knew that she had been beaten, my assistant had seen her before. She said that I ought to have seen her ten days earlier when the marks on her arms had been clearer. She also said that she had been put in the same

room as the prostitutes, Jewish, who had begun to beat her—she was pregnant—and she had bled but they did not stop. They had torn off her clothes and left her naked—and the policemen had watched through the door and done nothing. The inspector protested that that could not be true and that I was interfering in the work of the police and he said that that had been merely a spontaneous outbreak on the part of the prostitutes. I said what did the police do then? She said that she had lost consciousness and had subsequently been beaten by policeman Dwak. She had asked for a doctor and they had said if she would ‘confess’ they would take her to the doctor. A police-woman had said: If you don’t talk we shall take out what you have in your belly. They had put her in a small room with no toilet and for three days had forbidden her to go out. She had had a haemorrhage in there. I immediately wrote a complaint about her treatment and asked for a doctor right away.”

(The Mayor of the occupied town of Al Bireh, Abdul Jawad S. Ata, had also visited Abla Taha. On a piece of paper he had written a summary of what Abla had told him, whereupon he had signed it and affixed his seal of office. His version reads: “I, the undersigned, Mayor of Al Bireh, visited Mrs. Abla S. Taha, in the presence of the Israeli officer, namely, Mr. Goulan, and I have been told in spite of the officer’s interference, ‘that 12 feet were dancing on my breat and stomach, while these prostitutes were demanding, “either you confess or we will kill your baby”.’ After torturing her she fainted, she said her right eye looked abnormal. Later when I met the military governor Mr. David Bren, who earlier had forbidden me to see the girl and denied any allegations of torturing; confronting him with the facts, he said ‘you are right and I believe you’. He promised me that the girls will be transferred. Abdul Jawad S. Ata, Mayor of Al Bireh”.)

According to the notebook, Felicia Langer’s account of a subsequent meeting with Abla, after she and the others had been transferred to a prison near Tel Aviv, where they went on hunger strike, reads as follows:

“Abla asked: Why do they hate us so much. They are really to kill us, we did not come here to take their houses or lives. Abla then wanted to take her own life and the baby’s. I told her to eat—in order to retaliate against those who want you to be weak. They said that they regarded me as a sister, I said that there were prostitutes and good Jews. As soon as they go to kindergarten the children here learn to loathe the

Arabs, and despise them, they learn rhymes, chants, have school books which say that we shall be victorious over the Arabs because we are superior in culture, civilization. Abla was shocked.

More notes on the conversation with Felicia:

“I have a feeling that if we ever have peace negotiations one day it is with these that we shall have to settle up—I said in court one day when I was defending a young research worker who had previously been on a scholarship in the U.S.A. and had now been seized as a Fatah member. I also said that I saw a trend in our policy to imprison everyone so as to prevent opposition from spreading—so you might as well imprison all seventy thousand in East Jerusalem.”

“We cannot get hold of the confessions made under torture—although there is always a pattern whereby they have one paper containing a denial and, a month later, another one containing a confession, in typical Hebrew phraseology. There are no appeals in military court proceedings, only petitions, which never yield results. We have had witnesses of tortures who saw traces and heard screams—people who were confined in the same cell—but the witnesses are always followed by a policeman who denies that it happened and says that the Arabs invent and lie a great deal.”

TORTURE II: SALAH

Another of Felicia Langer's clients in Salah Nashashibi, aged 37, from Jerusalem. He has been in prison for six months.

Here is his own account, taken from the notebook:

“They arrested him in December and took him to an officer who was supposed to ask questions, but asked none and, for nineteen days, he was in prison without any questions or answers, without soap and without a blanket. Then they took him to a room, blindfolded him, handcuffed him with his hands behind his back, drove him to a military camp and issued him with a certain number (285, on the trench coat). Then he was confined for two days in a toilet and could not sit down—trussed up in a heavy chain. Then they beat him in the back with rifle butts—he was still kept blindfolded, except when confronted with an officer. They then asked him if he knew why he was there. He said no. They

told him to give an account of what he had done. He had nothing to say. They shouted 'Liar'. (The officer was an Iraqi Israeli—the dialect.) Another officer came, large and tough. He asked why he was lying. They took him to a room. Put him on a bench, handcuffed him to an iron bar over the window, kicked the bench from under his feet, trod on the foot irons. 'My soul wanted to go out from my body'. He hung for ten minutes. No water. After ten minutes they laid him on his back on the floor, with the handcuffs eating into his back, his legs on a bench. His shoes had been removed, and they beat him on the soles of his feet, a hundred or two hundred lashes, and then on his toes, which still bear the marks. Then they beat the tops of his feet. Then they lifted him up and beat him on the palms and backs of his hands. Then they left him alone for two hours, and then the Iraqi came back and questioned him—'but I had nothing to say'. Said that he was politically committed, that he tried to incite people to strike, handed out papers, that he knew *fedayeen*. But he admitted nothing. Then a third officer had asked him why he was lying. Then they hung him up again and by then it was about 3 p.m. Then they gave him food but he did not feel like eating. They slapped him in the face to try and make him eat. Then they gave him two cigarettes and left him for the day, in a room with a blanket on the floor. Later I found out that this had been in the Sarafand Camp, a former English military camp on the Israeli side. The next day was very similar. "At 12 o'clock they took me to a place in a field where there was a mound of earth with a pair of feet sticking out. 'We shot your friend and we shall shoot you too.' I understood that they were joking. They fired machine guns outside the whole time in order to frighten us. Later on they put a large dog in the room and a major came in. The major said 'You must tell what you know, I can kill you and send you to hell and no one will come and ask about you. The dog can eat you up.' I was not afraid as I understood that he was joking. Then the major and the dog went out, the Iraqi officer remained and was friendly, said that I must talk, that they would help me. Another officer came with two soldiers. And they hung me up again. Then they beat me on the thighs, while I was hanging. My whole body turned as blue as the trench coat (which I was wearing the whole time—it was winter). I heard the sound of weeping coming from the other room while I was hanging. They said your friends are talking. Then they hung me up again and asked if I was married—I am not—

and they began to beat me—after they had pulled down my trousers—with a plastic stick on my . . . sexual organs. This went on for six days. The last night a civilian came and bullied me, said very bad words, about God, about me, about my nation. He was drunk, I smelled it. Two soldiers also came and led me blindfolded and handcuffed to a distance some twenty yards away. Then they took one of my hands and fastened it to an iron in the wall and the other to a door with my arms outstretched. Then they tugged at the door. Many times. My crying was very loud. Then they slung me into a room. I could not move my left arm for three months. In the morning they took me to another room where there was an electrical device on the floor with wires. The Iraqi officer said that this machine can be used for electric shocks, I do not want to use it on you. I said you can use it because I have nothing to say. He became very bad-tempered and left the room. They did not use the machine, they took me back to my room.”

A few days later he was transferred to another prison at Ramleh, from which he was released a few months later after Felicia Langer had worked for him.

Salah had previously been employed in the Jordanian Department of Agriculture and he had also been a health inspector at Jerusalem.

He is a Palestinian and is against both the Jordanians and the Israeli occupation of Palestine. Some more notes:

“I am not afraid of the dog, the machine, etc.—I have had some experience in Jordan. I was six months in a Jordanian desert camp—it is the same thing.”

“Why were you in prison?” “For the freedom of this land!”

He counted up his prison terms:

“Ten days in 1953, two years 1956–58, three months after the Iraqi revolution. In 1959, six months at Sarhah and five months in prison. Many times for a couple of days when King Hussein visited Jerusalem—ten days when the Shah was here. I don’t care. It is my life. I must fight our enemies and get them out of our country. I am a Palestinian.”

THE LAWYERS

Felicia Langer’s eyes glistened as she told of the gratitude of the tortured girls, emphasizing that they looked upon her as a sister. She said that her

office had been a pilgrim's halt for Palestinians and that there were parents who went there every day in tears asking for help. She said that she had done her work in an attempt to show the Palestinians that there are also some good Jews. Speaking of Salah, she also that at their first meeting—in the prison at Ramleh—he had been so depressed that he had said that he hated this place and wanted to go to Kuwait or Amman. I said that he should not do that as that was just what the Israelis wanted him to do.

When we met Felicia in Jerusalem she stressed time and again that we were not to quote her. She was partly afraid of losing the opportunity to continue her work and partly afraid of meeting with some "accident". But when we happened to meet her at Tel Aviv a few weeks later she said that it might be better if we were to write—one of the Tel Aviv evening papers had called her a traitor to her country a few days earlier. She now thought that it might afford her some protection if it was known that she had contact with foreign journalists.

Another lawyer, Jamil Shalhoub, of Haifa, dealt with a much discussed torture case in which the client, Uthman Bahsh, had been subjected to treatment similar to that undergone by Salah Nashashibi. He went so far that the case was taken up in the Knesset, the Government ordered an investigation, and one of Israel's leading physicians declared that Utman Bahsh's paralysed arm (which he said had been injured by the door-tugging method which Salah Nashashibi described) was immobile as a result of "psychological paralysis".

Lawyer Jamil Shalhoub did not dare to comment on his case—but then he is also a so-called Israeli Arab; Felicia Langer is Jewish and therefore more difficult to get at.

Shalhoub had something else to say, however, and I quote once again from the notebook:

"We were presumed to be unreliable, we have no chance to feel that we are citizens of Israel even if we wanted to. A witness who is an Israeli Jew is always believed, and is sufficient evidence against a witness who is an Israeli Arab. At any time any Arab can be arrested on the pretext that he has spoken critically about the State, about Dayan, etc.—and we know this, we are constantly aware of it. . . . In our situation we are unable to disprove any false charge that is brought against us."

* * *

F. LANGER'S REPORT IN *FREE PALESTINE*¹

I am a professional lawyer, appearing mostly before the Israeli Military courts in the occupied areas after the June 1967 war, and before the courts in Israel, in cases of Arabs and Jews (political cases).

I have to state, that according to my experience, based on many hundreds of cases, dealt with during 6–7 years, the maltreatment during the investigations of my clients became a system; many times I have seen marks on the bodies of my clients, as a result of beatings and tortures. I am ready to appear before any commission to testify about this. I have complained to the Israeli authorities and to the courts, but until now there was no impartial investigation and the standard answers I am receiving during all these years to my complaints are: “Your complaint is completely baseless.” I wish to stress, that no journalist, no MP, no Amnesty [International] people are allowed to investigate the charges of maltreatment, and the UN Commission as well. I have many difficulties in meeting my clients. Sometimes they are kept incommunicado for more than a month, especially if the authorities want the traces of beatings to disappear.

A new and massive wave of arrests is taking place in the West Bank. These new arrests are mostly of Communist, or Communist suspects or members of the Palestine National Front. The number arrested are approximately one hundred. Besides these fresh arrests there are some hundreds of people being arrested after the October War, on a variety of charges.

There is a movement in the West Bank for withdrawal of the Israeli Army. The Palestine National Front, in whose ranks are many Communists, together with PLO, is considered by the Palestinians, the inhabitants of the West Bank, as true and only representatives of the Palestinian people, who might participate in the Geneva talks. Instead of negotiating with them, the occupiers are doing everything to liquidate them. There are insinuations that the Communists participated in acts of murder, in order to justify the mass arrests of Communists, at a time when in Portugal they are released from jail and joining the government.

I was prevented from seeing my clients, and was not granted an interim order, nor *habeas corpus*. The reason for this, as expressed by the Attorney General, was that they might leak information during my visit. In other

¹ June, 1974.

words, I was by implication accused by the Attorney General of being in liaison with my clients, and not their advocate. It was the first time that such an argument was brought before the High Court of Justice. It was on 13 May 1974—I left for London the next morning and the hearing was adjourned until May 16 1974. I do not know the results. My petitioners are:—

1. Mahmoud Shakirat, E. Jerusalem—a teacher.
2. Gasan Hateb, Nablus—a student.
3. Mouhammad Al-Haq, Nablus—Chief Engineer of the Nablus municipality.
4. Abed Al-Maged Hamdan, Bethlehem—teacher.
5. Suleiman Al-Nagab, Rumallah
6. Adel Al-Bargouti, Rumallah—peasant.
7. Atallah Rashmawe, Bethlehem—worker.
8. Housny Haddad, Bethlehem—engineer.
9. Habel Hegazy, Nablus. (Arrested May 1974; some of them at the end of April).

No charges were brought against these petitioners and they are imprisoned according to an administrative order, by which the authorities are not obliged to give me any reasons for the arrest, except three short words: “for security reasons”.

I am defending now more than thirty detainees (new ones, as I explained). Some of them are detained for three months, some for six, some for a year, without any specific charge. Some of their names, in addition to my petitioners, are: 1. Farouk Al Salfety; 2. Houssein Abu Garbie; 3. Yacoub Farran; 4. Ibrahim Odeh; 5. Hasan Abu Kader; 6. Gasan Harb; 7. Abdullah Syriany; 8. Ayad Nemer; 9. Mohammad Abou Garbie; 10. Khadegah Abu Arkoob. I do not remember the exact names of my other new clients, whose families applied to me recently, some days before my departure for London.

I should like to give here some particulars about some of my clients (the second list).

1. The clients numbers 1, 2 and 3 are imprisoned now for three months, for the *third* time this year, as suspected Communists. They were released only for a short period, and re-arrested.

2. I have seen *Hasan Abu Kader* in the Jerusalem prison. He looked morally broken. He complained (it was on 3rd of May, approximately) that he

was beaten on his genitals, while he was naked, and the interrogators, after beating him on all parts of his body, compelled him to run through the room as a car, and to say 'beep, beep', many times. They threatened him that they will castrate him. He was not charged with anything; they said to him that he is a 'bloody Communist' and he has to pay for it. He is from East Jerusalem.

3. *Abdullah Syriany* disappeared for two months and the police refused to confess that he was arrested. After two months they admitted that Abdallah is in prison in Ramallah. He was in solitary confinement for more than a month. During the interrogation he was placed at night in the yard of the prison (January, 1974, while it was snowing in Ramallah) naked. He was beaten on all parts of his body, especially genitals, hanged by his hands, placed under cold shower. There is no charge against him, except being suspected of communism. He is imprisoned for six months. administratively.

4. *Ayad Nemer*, my new client, was brought to me to an office in Ramallah prison in the first days of May. He had a swollen face, and open wounds on it. I asked him, in front of the guards, who tried to prevent him from speaking, what is that, and he explained it as marks of beatings. The interrogator has beaten him by kicking him (with shoes) on his face and on his entire body. Other prisoners with whom I spoke after interviewing Ayad stated that they saw him after his arrest and he was completely all right. Ayad told me that the beatings started only after he had seen the representative of the Red Cross. I requested a medical examination for him.

5. *Khadigah Abu Arkoob* from Doora, near Hebron, a widow aged 27. Arrested in January 1974, without any specific charge, I was prevented from seeing her and only after using a trick, by asking her release on bail (it is possible only if she is not administratively imprisoned, because administrative warrant of arrest excludes any petition for release on bail). She was brought before a judge and I have managed to exchange some words with her. She showed me marks of nails on her neck and told me that the interrogator tried to strangle her. She also showed to me and to the judge her hair, which was pulled out to the roots from her head. She had it in a nylon bag, and I tried to present it before the court, but the judge (it was in Hebron) refused to react at all. She was released, without any charge, after two weeks. Now, on the 6th of May she was arrested again. being suspected of Communism. I had no access to her and nobody admits in which prison she is detained.

Another case of my client, on whose face I have seen marks of beatings

and swollen areas was *Khaled Al Ashab* from East Jerusalem, for whom I demanded from the High Court of Justice humane treatment.

I have to stress that the families of my clients, to whom I have no access, are very anxious about the fate of their arrested relatives.

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PART FOUR

SOME ZIONIST COMMENT ON DR. SHAHAK AND THE ILHCR

The following two articles, translated from the Israeli Hebrew-language press, speak entirely for themselves:

* * *

Yediot Ahronot 30.9.1974

Dr. Israel Shahak, a member of the Hebrew University teaching staff, flew to Holland to appear in a conference of the Arab terrorists in Amsterdam in a lecture on the “persecution of the Arabs by the Jews in Israeli-occupied territory.” And the Dutch Jews are alarmed.

And indeed, had it been an irregular instance, let’s say, one madman in a nation generally spritually healthy, like the case of the British “Lord Haw-Haw”, we would not have pointed out this case.

What was it that Z. Jabotinsky¹ once said? “It is our right to have, like every other nation, horse thieves of our own”. But this is the question: is the case of I. Shahak an irregular case in our society?

And with an aching heart one cannot answer this question but in the negative. I. Shahak *is not* a unique case in our midst. He is one of *many* among our people, one of many who *populate* the pages of our history, and they are characterized by hating us even more than we were hated by the worst of the “Aryan” anti-Semites.

One example out of many: Joseph Pepperkorn. who could be called the I. Shahak of 16th century Germany. He was a flaming, impetuous, blind anti-Semite. but of the race of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The historian

¹ Leader of the right-wing Zionist “Revisionists” in Mandate Palestine.

Graetz says of him that he was the terror of German Jewry. His books literally called for pogroms, and supplied material to the worst of our persecutors. Here are some of their titles: *The Confession of a Jew*, *The True Face of Judaism*, *The Book of Passover* (on blood libels), *Why the Jews Should Be Hated*, etc. When the Emperor Maximilian II read them he was so deeply affected that he ordered the destruction of “every single Jewish book except the Bible”, and only through the intervention of *Christians*, amongst whom were the Archbishop of Kolan and the leaders of Erfurt, Mainz and Heidelberg universities who *denied* Pepperkorn’s lies, a German “Auchwitz” of that time was avoided...

Or a more contemporary instance: Prof. Otto Weiniger (the author of the book *Sex and Personality*), a Jew who saw in his people every evil in the world, the worst worm among worms, the most poisonous among snakes, so much so that he Weiniger hanged himself, not having the strength to “free himself from the Jew residing within my own heart”.

And the Jew Karl Marx, who coined the notorious slogan according to which “the liberation of the world means its liberation from the *Judaism* within it”—his exploits are well known I would think.

And the *Yevsektia*, the Jewish bureau of the Soviet Communist Party during its first period of reign in Russia, which heaped fire and brimstone over us already in the days when Lenin’s people still supported the Moscovite Hebrew Theatre company *Ha-Bimah*.

And we thought that this phenomenon would disappear with the passage of time. This horrific phenomenon—so we thought—is one of the sub-horrors of the overall horrors of *Diaspora*. That when *it*, *Diaspora*, will disappear, *this* its accompanying phenomenon will disappear as well. And we console ourselves by saying that it is impossible that, under conditions of abnormal *existence*, a normal people should emerge; when *conditions* are normalized, the people will normalize as well, so we thought. And we awaited the future with hope [...]

What will you say of their friends, graduates of our schools, who are dispersed all over Europe and the United States in order to advance by speech and writings the Arab terrorist cause before the non-Jewish public? What will you say of the youth, graduate of our Zionist fighting undergrounds, who changed their minds and returned to the way that can only be compared with the course of the Jewish anti-Semites of old, perhaps with an added element of inner hatred: hatred of the *state*?

What will you say of the group of our writers, entertainers, actors and comedians, whose total existence is based on the blackening of the face of the state before the youth still unaffected by self-hatred?

What will you say of our pupils, who after having their fill of knowledge, are posing to us the question: whereof our right to this country?—a question which leads them directly to the ante-chambers of our Weiniger.

And what will you say of a Jerusalemite scholar who travels to Holland to assist the PLO?

Can one say that all these are “irregular cases”?

Of course, every people sustains inner conflicts. In old Russia, for instance, there were rich estate owners who questioned their right to exploit their riches, which “in reality belongs to the people”. They were called “the searching nobles”. They sipped their tea with jam and wondered if their ethics were not deficient. That’s very nice. But who among them lent his hand to the enemies of the people? Who among them supported the German Wilhelm or the Austrian Franz Joseph in their Eastern assault? Not one. Furthermore, even after the accession of Stalin (whom they hated), the Russians in their entirety, including the enemies of his regime, joined together to fight against the foreign invader, even if this involved fighting *for* the Stalinist regime. Since their love of their country superceded a thousand times their fathomless hatred of the police. They did not have a *Matzpen*.¹

Indeed the Jewish anti-Semites aspire to the destruction of the state and the people. In the book *Ogrium Recca* by a Soviet author, a Circassian by the name of Ibrahim Ogli is described, who was filled with one single desire: “to slay”; to slay every single of the “who’s who” in Russia. . . . What an enormous hatred, a fathomless hatred filled every cell of his soul and guided him in his acts. It was perhaps somewhat *more* than just hatred. It was a *pathology*. And in our ranks it is a pathology as well. Not an opinion, not a way of life, not an ideology—but the undermining of the Jewish soul. The hatred of your own origins. A conscious rejection of anything that smells of Judaism. All this as an irresistible urge—to slay anything that is called Jewish, even if this entails cooperation with the murderers of your children and parents. . . .

From where all this befell us I do not know. Probably we are here dealing with the consequences of an accumulation of thousands of years of spiritual

¹ A marxist anti-Zionist group in Israel.

suffering, which calls upon one to escape one's relatives, in whose company you knew nothing but pain and misfortune. If that is the case the situation is far worse still. This, *for certain*, cannot be eradicated easily.

And the greatest of surprises is that Jews are even not astonished. The phenomenon is so widespread among our ranks that it is almost *natural* in our eyes. We phoned the management of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and asked those in charge of the academic staff if Dr. Israel Shahak, who travelled to assist the PLO, is still a lecturer in the university, and the answer was that he was and still is a full member of our academic teaching staff, and not as a Lecturer, but as a *Professor*.... And our students *for their part* are willing to learn from him.

Indeed there are thousands of universities in the world, in democracies and dictatorships alike, and there is no single university where dispute does not abound in matters of belief and approach with all their implications. But this you will not find in any single one of them: that a Professor who joins the murderers of his people will continue to be counted a member of their teaching staff. In that we are unique in the world. And if Yizhar Smilansky no longer advocates the need of education to influence the course we are taking—this, it seems, stems from *despair* which has its roots in bitter reality.

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NOTE: It is perhaps not necessary to warn the readers that in this translation all the facts mentioned, whether about me personally or about Jewish history, are either completely false or grossly inaccurate.

Israel Shahak

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THE SHAHAK AFFAIR

by Amnon Rubinstein¹

Ha'aretz 10.10.1974

The activity of Prof. Israel Shahak against Israel reached something of a climax last week: he appeared in a public meeting held by the supporters of the Palestinian terrorists in Holland, in protest against the detention in Israel of Dutch subjects suspected of actively supporting the terrorist organi-

¹ Dean of the School of Law at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and considered something of a "dove" in Israel political circles.

zations. Shahak's tours abroad are hardly known in Israel. Many of us rightly regard his activities, like the deeds of Udi Adiv, as a mental perversion, something which is so utterly disgusting that it does even not deserve comment.

However, outside Israel and in certain intellectual circles, Shahak has acquired a wide reputation: in him they have the most conclusive "proof" for the "truthfulness" of anti-Israeli propaganda. Here stands a man, an Israeli, who serves as professor in Israel's best known university, a representative of the Israeli organization for human rights, and voices grave accusations against Israel. According to him this state is blacker than black. Its foundations are racist and Nazi; its cruelty towards the Arabs under its despotic rule is insatiable; this state tramples underfoot all the principles of the rule of law and human rights. Those who hear all this from Shahak and his group and do not know the truth and actual reality, and even if they are not anti-Semites, begin to believe it, at least in part.

Moreover, Israel Shahak, like many people of his sort, has a rhetorical talent and when he repeats his assemblage of so-called facts over and over again, he manages to impress many good people. His style is primitive, but that style is accepted nowadays as a faithful expression of social and national deprivation. Therefore in my view the effectiveness of Shahak's pro-terrorist campaign should not be under-estimated. From my personal experience I can testify to the destructive influence he has had on a number of personalities and journalists abroad. I have often had to work hard—sometimes in vain—to convince my interlocutor that those accusations are false.

What are the juridical and public implications of the Shahak Affair? As for myself, I have no doubt that there is much evidence—at least *prima facie*—that justifies bringing Shahak to trial on a charge of treason. His deeds are even worse than those of "Lord Haw-Haw" or "Tokyo Rose" during the Second World War. Moreover, Shahak—unlike those two—actually supports those who want not only war against Israel, but the annihilation of its people. Even so, if it was up to me, I would not bring him to trial because by so doing we would make a martyr of him, for by convicting him we would seem to substantiate his claims.

The question concerning Shahak is not whether to put him on trial or not. Unlike "Lord Haw-Haw" or "Tokyo Rose" Shahak's base is in the very same country which he is so busy defaming in a crude way. He goes abroad to meetings in support of the terrorists as an Israeli citizen using an Israeli

passport. Some of his tours—insane as it might seem—are financed by the tax-payers, although this year he went abroad during his holiday. It seems to me that one must not agree to such a degree of distortion. I know of no precedent, in any country, that would equal the Shahak Affair. According to all accepted principles of democracy and the rule of law Shahak does not deserve even one of these rights.

Citizenship denotes a mutual relation between the duty of the citizen to be loyal, and the protection that the state grants to its citizens. Shahak—as well as his other friends—have blatantly shirked their duty of loyalty. They do not serve in the Army, they do not bear the heavy burden which we all have to carry. According to a well-known rule they do not deserve Israeli citizenship.

For this reason par. 11 (a) (3) of the Law of Citizenship states that the Court can, at the request of the Minister of Interior, rescind the citizenship of a person who has “committed a deed of disloyalty to the State of Israel”. For reasons known only to him, the Minister of the Interior has not applied to the Court in the case of Shahak.

The right of citizenship does not automatically imply the right to an Israeli passport. In many cases, in Israel as in other countries, a citizen has no right to a passport. The Minister of Interior has discretion according to paragraph 6 of the Passport Law to refuse to give a passport or a travel document, to stipulate conditions, to cancel or to make reservations. Until now the Minister of the Interior has not used this authority in the case of Shahak.

In my view, the gravest aspect of the Shahak Affair concerns his high position in the Hebrew University as a professor in the Department of Organic Chemistry. It is not true that academic freedom protects him and those who are like him. This concept has received such extreme interpretation only in Israel, until it has become synonymous with academic lawlessness. Academic freedom, just as any basic right, is not unlimited. A tenure in the University does not mean that the holder of the tenure can ally himself with murderers and still keep his post. Academic freedom means that nobody *outside* the university has the right to intervene in the nomination of the teachers. Academic freedom means that only the institution itself, by means of an autonomous court, has the right to dismiss one of its members. Because of this there exist in well-ordered universities disciplinary courts, which have the right to judge members of staff. One of the accepted reasons for

doing it is that the behaviour of the member of the academic body is unacceptable both ethically and from the point of view of his status as a member of a university.

The Hebrew University has not behaved as an academic institution ought to behave. Worse than this: It has promoted him to the rank of associate professor at the beginning of this year—in the middle of his campaign of hatred. But as if all this is not enough, here comes the peak of the Shahak Affair: A considerable part of his tours for the benefit of the terrorists is financed by the University and the Treasury in the framework of his travels for the purpose of research and sabbaticals. There is something surrealistic in the fact that the Israeli tax-payers, including those who have to pay a big sum as travel-tax, must finance the expenses and the travel-tax of Shahak in order that he may be able to justify abroad the murder of their children.

Whoever thinks that the Shahak Affair is an example of the freedom of expression and democracy, does not know, it seems, some fundamental facts—the sad historical experience of our era proves that democracy has no greater enemy than anarchy, permissiveness. For lawlessness is the real enemy of the freedom of man and a sense of proportion is a necessary compassion to whoever cares for the rights of the individual. The Hebrew University has disturbed this balance. By granting absolute freedom to Shahak it infringed upon another basic liberty—the liberty of Israeli students not to be lectured to by such a person. It behaved strangely by refusing to explain itself in the Shahak Affair. Now after the man who carries its name went as far as serving the enemies of Israel we may demand that the University explain its behaviour.

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PART FIVE

APPENDICES

The following are selections from the Hebrew and Arabic-language press in Israel. All of the articles were chosen because they bear directly on the issue of human and civil rights under Zionist rule. The last selection is a memorandum, presented to the World Peace Council by the exiled Town Clerk of Arab Jerusalem, Ruhi Al-Khatib, on Israel's aggressive policy toward Jerusalem since 1967. This particular selection is one of the very few in the entire book which consists exclusively of testimony by an Arab on Israeli violations of human and civil rights; nevertheless, the comprehensive nature of Mr. Khatib's testimony warranted, in the opinion of the Editor, its inclusion in this volume. (On the subject of Jerusalem, readers are referred also to David Hirst's excellent article in the Summer, 1974 issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*).

* * *

The following is a translation from *Pi-Haaton*, the organ of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

TORTURES IN ISRAEL

An Editorial Introduction—1.7.74

The excerpts in the article below, taken from *Zu Haderech* of June 12th 1974, arrived at our editorial offices on Tuesday June 25, 1974. Soon after we read them and were shocked by their content, we decided to publish them. Alongside this the editorial staff decided to turn to the authorities to find out the truth and to see what they would say. On Wednesday morning, we turned to B. Leshem, the Assistant to the Police Minister. His office told us to contact the Police spokesman, Deputy Inspector N. Bosmi. This person was not in his office and we were told that the matter was not being dealt with by the Police, but was the responsibility of Army Headquarters in Judea and Samaria. We immediately called the spokesman there. He

too was not present. We spoke to one Chaya who, we were told, was his assistant. We told her, in outline, what the excerpts reported and asked her: 1. What was Souliman Najab arrested for? 2. Why was he being detained in keeping with the Emergency Regulations? 3. Why was not S. Najab given a Court hearing before being detained? 4. Were the facts and particularly the torture claim as reported by the article true? 5. Was it possible to visit S. Najab in order to clarify the matter? The Spokesman's assistant promised to give us a reply not later than Friday morning, June 28, 1974. After a further chat with Army Headquarters in Judea and Samaria, we were told that the matter is "delicate and political and therefore we are not dealing with it. Please turn to the Spokesman of the Defence Ministry."

On Friday, June 28th, 1974, we called Mr. N. Lavie, the spokesman. When we informed him of the above, Mr. Lavie claimed he knew nothing about the matter nor had he heard of S. Najab. He added that the information was conveyed to the members of the detainee's family in the district in which he was arrested and that information will perhaps also be given to the press. We have heard not a word and the reader is invited to judge.

Gideon Eshet
Editor

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THUS WAS SOULIMAN NAJAB TORTURED IN THE RAMALLAH PRISON

THE LIE OF "PREVENTIVE ARRESTS"

The signal was given on April 22nd of this year. Claiming they were carrying out "preventive arrests" on the eve of Independence Day, a wide campaign of night arrests was started. All those arrested, some 150 persons, most of whom were detained by administrative orders (in keeping with the Emergency Defence Regulations of 1945) are well-known figures in the Palestinian community: public functionaries, trade union activists, working intellectuals, workers and students.

The occupation authorities did not give out any information on the fate of the detainees, did not reveal where they were imprisoned and what their crimes were. The authorities rejected the requests of the family members and lawyers to meet with the detainees. They imposed a conspiracy of silence on the fate of the 150 men. No doubt remained that, by keeping the detainees

isolated from their families and lawyers, the authorities wish to continue their questioning, under torture, of the detainees.

Following the pleas of the families to the Supreme Court and after a tiresome procedure, a number of the detainees were allowed to meet with their lawyers but not with their families. This is the situation down to the writing of these lines. And when the lawyers Hana Naquara, Felicia Langer, Ali Rafeh and others began to meet with the detainees, an atrocious picture of brutal tortures was revealed.

A Cry From Within The Bars

Among the detainees is one Souliman Rashid Al-Najab. I will here present what was revealed to me by his lawyer, whom we met a week ago:

I learned of the arrest of Souliman Najab purely by accident. Lawyer Felicia Langer visited the Ramallah prison on April 30, 1974 in order to meet a number of her clients imprisoned there, and Souliman Al-Najab identified her from a distance. From within the bars of his cell, he called her by name and waved to her. He asked her where he was and she told him he was at the Ramallah prison. The policemen and jailers immediately halted the conversation. It was in this manner that the arrest of Al-Najab first became known and till I met him at the end of May, no one saw him and none knew of his fate.

I believe that were it not for this accidental meeting at the Ramallah prison, the authorities would have hidden the matter of the arrest and the whereabouts of Al-Najab and might have treated him with even greater brutality. The authorities would have hidden him and his fate would have been cruel and bitter.

Following the plea, to the Supreme Court of Justice, he said, we received a letter from Dr. Mishael Haseen, the deputy legal advisor to the government, in which he informed us that from May 22, the authorities would lift their prohibition on visits to a number of detainees including Souliman Al-Najab. The letter stressed: The visits are allowed provided that 1. Its date will be coordinated in advance with the authorities of the prison in which the detainee in question is held. 2. The meeting will take place in the presence of a representative of the authorities—in other words an investigator.

After some relaxation of tension, a vigorous conversation ensued. Souliman Al-Najab, a university graduate, spoke a literary Arabic. First he told of the circumstances of his arrest. He was walking along between “the two Jerusa-

lems”, as he expressed it, at five on the morning of Tuesday, April 30, 1974 in the Bak’a area; two civilian cars wedged him in, their passengers alighted and dragged him into one of the cars. In prison they blindfolded him, beat him and shouted incessantly: “where were you for four years?!”

The Tortures Did Not Break Him

To my question: How long did they question you, he answered “Eternally”. To my question, what did he reveal to his investigators, he answered: “I have nothing to reveal, I will answer all their question at Court only. All I have to tell them is my name, my I.D. number and my place of birth—everything that is recorded in my birth-certificate.”

Al-Najab also said that for 5 days he saw no light. All this time he was blindfolded. His right leg was chained to the iron door of his cell with a 30 centimetre chain. When compelled to stand, he had to do so with his body on the door and, when between tortures, he napped, he did so with his body on the door. His questioning was accompanied by tortures. He was beaten at regular intervals, mostly when stripped completely naked, so as to make the beatings most effective. He was beaten with a long and thick rod. At times, one of his feet was bound to the floor and the other suspended in midair.

He underwent another kind of torture. How was this torture perpetrated? One is made to sit on a chair with feet and hands bound. The chair is then arranged so that one’s feet jut out vertically. The soles of the feet are then subjected to the beating with a rod. Every time a rod is so applied, the head, which lies near a wall, is knocked on the wall. After the terrible beating on his soles, he was compelled to walk in the corridor and while doing so was pushed incessantly. In the Nablus prison, I was told that after the beatings on soles, the tortured prisoner is compelled to put on shoes into which salt water is poured, a terrifyingly painful experience.

Al-Najab underwent yet another kind of torture. Stripped naked, he was bound to a chair with his hands chained behind to manacles. One of the torturing team would step on the manacles with the entire weight of his body. This had the effect, because of his need to ease the pressure of the manacles on his hands, of raising his entire body. At this point other torturers hit his sex organ. The hitting of the sex organ till it bleeds and the crushing of testicles has become a common method of torture in the prisons under Israeli occupation. The torturers hope that the method will strike at the virility of the tortured. When the torturers tired, they were replaced by others.

What He Learnt From Nazim Hikmet

Fist blows and slaps were applied as a matter of course by the torturers. These were the conditions he was subjected to in the course of two weeks. To my question: what food did he receive in the prison he said: "I learned something from Nazim Hikmet: to begin eating from the end. I ate in order to endure the investigations and tortures. I hope you will never know this kind of food. I was offered some kind of mix, some kind of dough consisting of ingredients I couldn't distinguish."

On May 17th, Souliman Al-Najab was transferred from the Ramallah prison to the torture basements of a jail in West Jerusalem. He was brought there blindfolded. Though he saw nothing, he knew that there were two more tortured detainees with him: Adel Bargutti and Khalil Hejazi. All the way, they were beaten and their heads knocked on one another. He does not know what happened to the other two. He told me that here too, he was beaten and tortured so that he fainted. He had apparently lost consciousness for it was only when cold water was thrown on his face that he regained it.

The Immunity Of The El-Jaffar Prison

The tortures and questionings ceased on May 20th. Even after having been returned to the Ramallah prison following 3 days of torture, his legs continued to be bound to chains. On May 25th, they took him out of his cell and transferred him to corridor in the cell area. Here too his right leg was chained to an iron door.

To my question: What charges were brought against you, he said: "They claim that I am the top man in the Jordanian Communist Party, that I am No. 2 in the West Bank National Front and No. 3 in an armed organization which was supposedly set up by the former two groups. I made no reply. During the entire course of the torture, I did not once open my mouth. Eight years at the El-Jaffar prison of the Royal Hashemite regime of Jordan, between 1956 and 1965, had immunized me."

When I took leave of him, he asked me to give his regards to his wife, his two daughters and the rest of his family. He also requested that they send him underclothes and shirts. Till today, the authorities have not allowed his family to visit him or to send him the things he requested.

The Harmful Motives

The very fact that the authorities filed no charges against the detainees, but arrested them under administrative orders (in accordance with the Emergency Defence Regulations of 1945) for a period of 3–6 months, is an indirect confession on their part that the arrests were of political figures whose political positions and struggle are not to their liking.

For a time, the authorities maintained a conspiracy of silence, but later, they embarked on a publicity campaign in which all the detainees were described as members of the Jordanian Communist Party, as members of the National Front in the West Bank and supposedly as members of an armed body set up by the two former organizations.

The authorities and the establishment press are not telling the people in Israel that the Jordanian Communist Party and the National Front in the West Bank, both of which enjoy wide popular support, call, in their platforms, for opposing the continuation of Israel's occupation of the Arab areas occupied in 1967 and for their support of a just and stable peace based on the recognition of the national rights of the Arab Palestinian people, for their right to set up a Palestinian state in the areas from which Israel will withdraw and for the participation of the representatives of the Arab Palestinian people in the Geneva Peace Conference.

A Policy Harmful To The State Of Israel

The recent campaign of administrative arrests and the tortures in prisons of the detainees is in direct contravention of the Geneva Convention which the government of Israel has signed. The administrative arrests and the tortures sabotage the prospects of peace and cause inestimable damage to the future relations between the Israel and Palestinian peoples. The administrative arrests and the tortures in the occupied areas are a disaster for the State of Israel and it is therefore the duty of every person in Israel to do all to halt it immediately. It behooves us to tell of the atrocities of the occupation to every person. We should not remain silent. *Those who know and remain silent will by their silence share in those outrageous acts* [emphasis in the original].

* * *

LEADING ARTICLE. PI-HA'ATON OF 1.7.74.

TORTURE IN ISRAEL

An article on torture in Israel appears on page 2 of this issue¹. The article was taken from *Zu Haderech*, the organ of Rakah. On the chain of events that led to the publication of the article see its introductory remarks.

The reaction of the authorities to its publication and the facts it poses are curious and amazing. The spokesman of the Judea and Samaria Headquarters defined the matter as "delicate and political" and he therefore referred me to the spokesman of the Defence Ministry. The latter claimed that he knew nothing on the matter. Most interesting is the affair's political aspect. The assistant to the Judea and Samaria spokesman may have unintentionally defined the matter as political and may not have meant it. Yet, if the arrest of S. Najab is not political, then why did she refer me to the spokesman of the Defence Ministry?

Furthermore, the Defence Ministry spokesman claimed that "he knows nothing on the matter." The report in *Zu Haderech* appeared two weeks previously and it seems to me that it would be the job of the Ministry's spokesman to react to such reports accusing the authorities of torture towards detainees, arbitrary arrests and the like. The fact that the spokesman did not bother either to refute or to relate to the report not only casts doubts on the manner in which he is doing his job but lends greater importance and credibility to the report's content. This entire matter dismays me. *As one who is interested in a total denial of the facts in the article; as one who finds it difficult to believe such things do actually occur in Israel; as one who supports the struggle of Prof. Zacharov aimed at halting the political arrests in the Soviet Union; as one who condemns the persecution of Jews and the maltreatment of our prisoners in Syria, I am shocked by the manner in which the authorities are dealing with the matter.* [*Emphasis in the original*]

Gideon Eshet

* * *

¹ See preceding document.

AN ARMY RABBI CALLS FOR THE KILLING OF CIVILIANS

Ha'olam Haze'h 15.5.74.

As soon as the Yom Kippur War and ended, the government of Israel hurried to publicize to the world a document intended to prove to all how wicked and barbaric were the intentions of the Egyptian rulers when they started the war.

This was an Order of the Day issued by the Egyptian War Minister to the soldiers Egyptian army in which he called upon them to sacrifice themselves in a holy war against Israel, quoting from the utterances of Mohammed and from Moslem religious law requiring every believing Moslem to kill Jews, even those who surrender, without distinction.

If the Egyptian government wished it, it could now repay the government in its own coin. It could quote an official publication of the I.D.F. calling upon the soldiers of the I.D.F. to kill not only enemy soldiers but also enemy civilians. And this is contrary to the Geneva Convention which explicitly prohibits the harming of civilians even in the midst of war.

The call is phrased in the bluntest of terms:

“When our forces come across civilians either in the course of war or during pursuit or during a raid, and so long as one cannot be certain that such civilians are incapable of hurting our forces, one may, and in keeping with Halacha, one must in fact kill them.

“In no case should one trust an Arab even if he gives the impression of being civilized.”

This is the explicit phrasing which appears in the booklet issued recently by the Army Rabbinate at Central Command Headquarters. The booklet is entitled: “In the Wake of the Yom Kippur War, Some Reflections, Halacha and Research Studies.”

Not only does the face page of the booklet prove that it is an official publication: the booklet carries a preface penned by the General of the Central Command, General Yona Efrati, in which he notes that “these studies are dedicated to the memory of the soldiers who gave up their lives so that we can continue to exist. Let these studies be a candle to the fresh memory of our martyred sons.”

The Halacha article, which instructs on the duty to kill civilians, was written by Lieutenant-Colonel Rabbi Abraham Avidan (Zemel), the Chief Rabbi of the Central Command.

This ostensibly innocent booklet has been arousing a storm bordering on the scandalous in the I.D.F. No sober-minded person in Israel has dared, thus far, to call publicly for the killing of enemy civilians. And now such a call has gone out under the auspices of the I.D.F., a call which gives every soldier the right to kill civilian Arabs.

This permission, relying on the Halacha precepts of the Jewish faith, appears not as something incidental, but as a comprehensive, argued and researched essay entitled "Purity of Arms in the Light of the Halacha."

The Rabbi of the Central Command, Lieutenant-Colonel Avidan, introduces his article as follows:

"The I.D.F. is well-known as an army which educated its soldiers in strict adherence to the purity of arms. Before setting out on combat, and within the framework of the operational instructions, the commanders point out clearly and unequivocally to the soldiers that they may not hurt peaceful civilians. It is the intention of this article to deal with the various aspects of this complex and real issue from the viewpoint of Halacha . . ."

After this innocent opening, which in fact indicates that the orders of I.D.F. commanders to the troops go contrary to Jewish religious law, Rabbi Avidan sinks into a study of the sources and brings abundant quotations and proof on the matter of the killing of civilians in war.

He says among other things:

"It further appears, in the opinion of Tosafot, [a body of interpretation and a supplement to the Babylonian Talmud, in Jewish orthodox tradition possessing almost equal authority to the latter—tr.] that in time of war, when Israeli troops assault the enemy, they may, and in keeping with Halacha, must in fact kill well-behaved civilians, or in other words, civilians who are well-behaved. In such a case, it has been said 'kill the best of the Gentiles'; and no trust should be given a Gentile who will not bring harm to our troops, for the suspicion exists that in some phase of the fighting, he may cause harm, either by supplying resources or by providing information to the enemy. As had occurred, for instance, in the mishap caused the Jews

by those in Egypt who feared the Lord¹. Or the famous story of the 35 in the War of Independence who, when on their way to the Etzion Bloc, met an old Arab who aroused their compassion and who then passed on information to the enemy—an act which ultimately caused the murder of the 35 by the enemy...”²

Rabbi Avidan sums up: “We have here clear-cut sources indicating that a Gentile, even a progressive and civilized Gentile, is not to be trusted. And furthermore, one must always fear lest that same Gentile who seems, on the surface, to be a good Gentile, will render aid to the enemy. And therefore, it emerges unequivocally that those who render aid must be dealt with as if they were the enemy himself. In other words, the very fact that he renders aid turns him into an inimical object and he must be treated like an enemy who may be killed.”

The conclusion, as has been quoted above, is that “one may, and so long as one is uncertain that such civilians are incapable of hurting our forces, one must in fact kill enemy civilians in time of war...” But because in every case one should not trust an Arab, one can never be certain that an Arab is incapable of causing harm. Hence there can be only one way of dealing with an Arab and that is to kill him.

Rabbi Avidan adds only one reservation to his final conclusion. “Article Three is inoperative when special and specific political circumstances make it obligatory not to hurt civilians, for sometimes the greatest success in any military operation lies in its propaganda and political effects more than in the military operation itself, so that if any civilians are hurt, the propaganda and political effect for which the operation was planned may also be hurt...”

* * *

¹ See Exodus, Chapt. 9, Verse 20 and Chap. 14, Verse 7. According to Talmudic interpretation, the chariots of Egypt which pursued the children of Israel during the Exodus were hitched to horses belonging to Egyptians “who feared the Lord”. From this, Talmud deduces that even Gentiles “who fear the Lord” are better killed. It is this to which the Rabbi refers.—translator.

² This entire story is unsupported by evidence.—translator.

AN OPEN LETTER BY SHALON LUZ ADDRESSED
TO THE STUDENTS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY
OF JERUSALEM, TRANSLATED FROM
THE HEBREW BY DR. ISRAEL SHAHAK

The interview given below was meant to be published in the student paper *Epsilon*.¹ Yael Kan submitted the article on Monday, the 19th of August, to the editor, Beni Sagiv. After reading the article, the editor claimed that he had no space for it, but Yael got the impression that his intention not to publish it derived from ideological inclinations. The author of this article turned to me in order that I, in light of my experience as the editor of *Epsilon*, would express my opinion regarding the quality of the article. Reading it, I have reached the conclusion that it is of importance to bring the information given in the interview to the public's knowledge, since it is exclusive, and cannot be found in any other daily paper. I turned to Beni Sagiv and asked him why he rejected the interview. Sagiv claimed he had no space for it. At that point Arie Finkelstein suggested that his article (on Zionism and Anti-semitism) be taken off and the interview be published instead. Sagiv again evaded the issue. It should be emphasized that the claim of no space is irrelevant, since usually there is a lot of material for publication, and selections are made according to preference. Sagiv, when asked whether he intended to publish the article in the next issue of *Epsilon*, again refused to promise anything. Since I reached the conclusion that the editor intentionally prevented the publication of the interview, probably for ideological reasons, I have decided to help Yael to publish the article outside *Epsilon* in light of its exclusive information. In order to do that, I joined some tens of students who contributed for the publication of this page. Finally, I think, the studnets should severely condemn this attempt to censor the information given by *Epsilon*.

Yael Kan, first-year student of physics, interviews a Druse conscientious objector:

Headline: "56 Conscientious Objectors in Military Jails; 200 Deserters in Caves and in the Mountains.

"In 1956 the conscription law was applied to the youth of the Druse sect.

¹ The students weekly newspaper of the Technion, in Haifa

At the same time grievances started up among the conscripts. Later, for some young people, grievances were translated into refusal to enlist in the army. One of the experiences among the conscientious objectors is Asam Al-Halib:

“When I was a high-school student, I was summoned. I felt I owed them nothing. I organized a petition against conscription, which was signed by about 45 boys. We sent it to Ben-Gurion, then Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, and copies to the Arab press in Israel. Nothing was published in the media. The only response was a warning against not enlisting. I sent another letter, in which I specified the reasons for my refusal. Since then, I was not bothered. Probably it was feared the case would be publicized and would encourage some others to refuse joining the army. This was in 1962.

“Q. How do the authorities regard conscientious objectors nowadays?

“A. At the time I refused there were only a few objectors. Since then, the movement of conscientious objectors has grown, and it expanded over all the Druse villages. I have a list of 56 objectors from different villages and various families, who are held today in military jails. About 200 deserters are subjected to persecution and sudden searches by the police. They hide in attics, in cellars, in caves and in the mountains. Sometimes, even their parents do not know where they hide.

“Q. Do all the objectors take a stand prior to their military service?

“A. Definitely not! Some prior to their military service, some ran away while being in the service, and the rest object to serving in the reserve. About two months ago, for instance, 50 men from Pekiin village, in Galilee, organized themselves, and they had all finished their military service. They sent a petition to the commander of the minorities unit, in which they had specified the reasons for their refusal to serve in reserve.

“Q. From your words, it can be understood that the movement of conscientious objectors is large and active. How else does its activity express itself?

“A. About two years ago, because of the situation in our community, a group of young people and sheikhs was organized and named itself “The Independent Druse Initiating Committee.” This committee took upon itself, among other things, the responsibility for the organization of activity

for the annulment of conscription of the Druse. The committee organized about 2000 signatures among the sect against conscription of the Druse. Lately, resentment has increased. On 25/4/74, the Day of Independence, at the pilgrimage to Nebi Shueyb, the committee initiated a demonstration. The demonstration was set against the government policy towards the Druse in general and against conscription in particular. About a thousand—young and old—took part in it. Because of the great uproar, no one was arrested during the demonstration, and only later (at the barriers on the way back, and at the houses) some were arrested, and I was among them.

“Q. What is background of the uproar among the Druse?”

“A. The uproar is not a new one, but today, because of its dimensions, the authorities cannot conceal it or suppress it. The cause of the uproar is the false way in which the authorities treat the Druse. On the one hand, the Druse ‘get,’ as the rest of the Arabs do, expropriation of land, dispossession, confinement orders, troubles in getting construction licenses, etc. The standard of services is low, schools are poorly provided, and teachers are not qualified. The medical services are poor, and some villages have no electricity (in spite of the attempts made by the population). On the other hand, the Druse are obliged, just as Jews, to serve in the army.

“Q. The Israeli press generally considers the Druse as a non-Arab community, which is related to the Jews on the grounds of the relation of Ytro to Moses. Who, actually, are the Druse?”

“A. The Druse are a Moslem *sect which was created in the 11th century*. The basis of this religion is the Koran. Their language is Arabic and they are part and parcel of the Arab nation. The official policy is aimed at concealing the real identity of the Druse sect. In 1960 the government cancelled the Ramadan (the Druse used to celebrate it together with other Moslems) as an official holiday of the Druse. But they are trying to make the day of pilgrimage to Nebi Shueyb, which used to be celebrated only by religious Druse, an official Druse holiday. They have made this holiday a political show where government members give political speeches (which is in contempt of a holy place) about the renewal of the “alliance”, so to speak, between the “Druse leaders,” as they are called, and the Israeli government.

“Q. So what is the basis of the government policy towards the Druse sect?”

“A. Up to 1955, the government policy was the same towards all Arabs.

In 1956, the conscription law was applied to the young Druse on the basis of an agreement with people who were appointed by the authorities as leaders of the sect. Actually they are puppets who blindly adhere to the government policy. Already at the time of the agreement there were objections to it among the Druse.

“Q. Why is the government conscription policy towards the Druse different than policy towards other Arabs?”

“A. They inherited the policy of “divide and rule” from the British: In villages comprised of different communities, they spur one against the other. After the latest elections, this occurred in Rama, in Abu-Senan and in Shfaram. In villages comprised of a single community, they try to spur one family against the other, etc. Part of this policy is the policy towards the Druse sect. This policy is expressed principally in the role the Druse are given in the army (which explains the effort to falsify its real identity and the creation of a false alliance) which is to oppress the Arab population, especially in the occupied territories, in order to create hatred against them by other Arabs. After military service, the young Druse are faced with a policy directed at creating difficulties in attaining work. The employment bureau leaves them no other alternative but Service in the regular army, in prisons, etc.—jobs which tie them to the authorities and increase the hatred of other Arabs towards them.

“Q. How can you explain the silence of the Israeli press regarding the uproar and the conscientious objection among the Druse?”

“A. I report to the press about all the activities of the committee and send copies of the leaflets we distribute. The press is silent in the case of the activities of the committee, whereas it renders much place for reporting how satisfied the Druse are with the Israeli authorities: the case of the three girls who, for personal reasons, preferred to stay under the Israeli occupation rather than go back to Syria (after the agreement of separation of forces) was advertised as if it was a mass movement. If this is the case, let them explain why tens of Druse from the Golan Heights are imprisoned in Israeli jails. On the whole, I doubt the reliability of the Israeli press. This phenomenon of lies and evasion of facts shows that the press in this country is tendentious and it is not a free press. It is even possible that there is an unofficial government control of the press.

“Q. Do you anticipate any qualitative change in the government policy towards the Druse?

“A. Because of the racial character of Zionism, it cannot grant non-Jews equal rights. The meaning of equal rights is the application of the Law of Return,¹ the laws concerning buying land and various other rights, which are conserved for Jews only, to non-Jews as well. Therefore, as long as Zionism exists, there is no possibility of a qualitative change in regard to the Druse in particular, and the Arabs in general.

“Finally, I want to add that our struggle is part of the struggle for the rights of the Palestinians and that we take part in the struggle of any progressive movement in Israel against the discriminatory regime.”

* * *

“ARABS OUT—EILAT STYLE.”

Ha'olam Hazeh May 1, 1974.

Policemen spread through the streets of Eilat like locusts, entered every yard, checked in every house and corner. Wherever they spotted an Arab-looking youth, they stopped him, asked for his Identification Card and work-permit. Whoever did not possess a permit was immediately taken to the police-station for a short arrest, until enough Arabs were rounded up to fill a bus. In this manner, within three days, 22 buses were loaded with about 1000 Arabs who were sent up north, and were forbidden to return to Eilat without a work-permit.

After a few months of Eilat being the same as other Israeli cities, it again became what it had been for approximately 15 years: a city without Arabs, a strictly Jewish area, closed and bolted.

After the city of Eilat was ridden of the beatniks, at the demand of the Workers Council there, it lost some of its cheap laborers.

The other natural source of cheap labor were the Arabs, but Eilat had been a closed area for years². Enormous pressure was put on the security author-

¹ The law which allows any Jew anywhere in the world to become an Israeli citizen immediately upon his “return” to Israel.

² Meaning an area where, nominally, every one has to obtain an entrance permit by the 1945 Defence Regulations. However, by Israeli practice, this requirement will never be applied to Israeli Jews or to foreign tourists.

ities, and a short while after the Day of Atonement War the restriction on the entrance of Arabs to Eilat was lifted, and Arab laborers were allowed to be brought there, after having received a work permit. At first everybody observed the rules carefully, but after a while those who had permits forgot to renew them, and others would arrive without permits at all. The demand for workers was so great that everyone closed an eye.

Here a new factor entered the scene: the municipal election campaign. Two people fought for the candidacy of the Alignment. One—the secretary of the Workers Council Tzvi Shtachman, and the other—the manager of the Eilat branch of the Eilat pipe-line, Cadi Katz. Katz was backed mainly by supporters of development of the city, including hotel owners and other enterprisers. In the first poll, Katz was beaten by one vote.

Immediately after the voting they found out that in the Alignment branch council one person without the right to vote did so. Re-elections were held, and Cadi Katz won and became the Alignment candidate, and the mayor of the city.

Since then, the relations between the municipality and the Workers Council resembled warfare, with the Workers Council searching for every way possible to hit at the municipality. The right occasion came its way after the Kiryat Shmoneh massacre¹.

The Workers Council took advantage of the hostile attitude toward Arabs in the country, and began demanding their evacuation from the city. Added to this a fight that broke out between Arabs and Jews, in which the commander of the Eilat police was beaten up. Suddenly people “discovered” that Arabs were working in Eilat without a permit.

Told about what happened, said Gadi Katz: “They came to me and said I had to enforce the law, and send away all Arabs who had no permit. Obviously I felt obliged to do so”.

The day after the Arabs were sent away the (Passover) holiday began, and hotels were filled with visitors. Close to half of the hotel workers in Eilat were Arabs who were deported, and the same goes for the restaurants in the city. From the 1000 Arabs sent away, half worked in hotels and restaurants. The result was felt immediately.

Service was terrible. A meal in a hotel was hell. Hotels that tried to get

¹ Reference to an attack by Palestinian guerillas on the settlement of Kiryat Shimona on the norther border.

waiters from Tel-Aviv were astonished to hear that they demanded 150 IL a day in addition to their official wages.

In construction the situation was a little bit better, because in quick action the military government brought over many bedouins from the Sinai, who entered construction work. In the Sinai there is today widespread unemployment, due to the cessation of all public work because of the uncertainty concerning the future of the territories.

Close to 5000 Bedouins were unemployed, and they were rescued by the evacuation of the Arabs from Eilat. But these people cannot work in the hotels and restaurants.

The Mayor, Cadi Katz, believes that as time passes many of the deported Arabs will return to Eilat, after obtaining the necessary permits.

But in the meantime the hotel industry in Eilat is undergoing a serious crisis.

* * *

“UM-MOHAMMED—HER LIFE
IN THE AL-BRIDGE REFUGEE CAMP
FOR 26 YEARS”

Žu Haderech, 19.9.74,

By: Joseph Elgazi

Last week, when I visited the refugee camps *Al-Shatia*, *Al-Nosairat* and *Al-Bridge* in the Gaza Strip, I was troubled the whole time by one question: do people, wherever they are, know what it means to live 26 years as a Palestinian refugee? One should visit one of the Palestinian refugee families in the camps, see and hear the conditions under which it lives, and try to perceive the fact that this has been the life of a million and a half human beings for 26 years, which are divided into about 312 months, 1352 weeks, 9464 days, without seeing the day in which they will live differently. I will put aside the thoughts, and try to describe the facts.

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According to the data of UNRWA there are a million and a half Palestinian refugees, 272,000 in Gaza, 503,000 in the East bank of the Jordan river,

227,000 in the West bank 157,000 in Lebanon and 150,000 in Syria. 249,000 of them are displaced persons of the June '67 war (all are round numbers).

590,000 refugees, which is 39 percent of the total number of refugees, live in refugee camps. 820,000 refugees, which are 55 percent of the total number of refugees, get their food rations from UNRWA.

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More than half of the population of the Gaza Strip are refugees. The vast majority is concentrated in eight camps: Gebelia, Al-Bridge, Al-Nosairat, Modgazi, Khan Yunis, Dir-El-Balah, Rafiah and Al-Shatia. UNRWA supplies about 200,000 refugees in the Gaza strip with food rations. About 10,000 refugee families are recognized as very difficult welfare cases, who are in need of additional aid.

The food ration per-head, which is supplied once a month to each refugee in Gaza, comprises 10–11 kg. of flour, 700 gr. of sugar, 500 gr. of rice and 375 gr. of fats. I was a witness to the distribution of food rations in the refugee camp Al-Nosairat. The families were huddled at the entry of the depots. Some reached the place with a cart harnessed to a donkey. It was mainly the women, dressed in black and veiled, who entered the depots. At the entrance, a clerk checked the register and announced aloud the entitled number of rations. Therefrom, as in a production line each woman moved forward along the long counter. At every station she received a different article. The flour, the rice and the sugar were separately poured into a white bag, and the oil—into a bottle or a can. I was told and I heard about about the process of distributing food in Europe after World War II; there, people pushed and shouted; but here everything was conducted quietly and in an orderly manner. Why? In Europe, the people were refugees for months or some years, but here they are refugees for 26 years and have already learned that there is no use in shouting and pushing; there already exists an order, a routine; getting the food rations has become a routine.

Some families whom I had asked whether the food rations are sufficient for them, answered explicitly: “*NO.*” The employees of UNRWA explained to me, “We distribute food according to what we can and according to what we are told to give. We know that it is not enough. In the past, even pulses, soap and other articles were given to the refugees. This was stopped, and it is to be regretted. The food rations which are distributed are not sufficient, and they cannot supply the minimum food and calories needed by a human

being. We assume that they are borderline—they prevent a man from dying from hunger, but they do not satisfy one's hunger.” This is the cause of the phenomenon of tens of thousands of refugees who suffer from severe and chronic malnutrition. The refugees do not get food which includes proteins such as eggs and meat. I was told that during the October '73 war, the depots were almost empty and the refugees received reduced food rations. There was a danger of starvation. And if, occasionally, the refugees were given additional food rations, such as condensed milk etc., mainly for the infants, the old and the sick, it depended upon the generosity of this or that country. The Palestinian refugees have lived by the meagre bread of charity for 26 years.

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The housing, if it can be called housing, is not of uniform type in all refugee camps. Those which I saw are light, small and narrow constructions, usually with a tin roof. UNRWA calls these constructions “abri” in French, namely shelter. The area of such a shelter is about 9 sq. m. and on the average 4 people live there. There is no lavatory attached to it, but most primitive public lavatory constructions serve some tens of families. At the refugee shelters, it is very hot during the summer, and very cold during the winter. During the rainy season there are floods and the shelters are flooded with water. Sometimes the roofs leak and the rain water gets into the shelters. A foreign journalist who joined in the visit to the refugee camps asked why it is that in a unit of 4 shelters wherein 12 people live, he had found only two beds. The answer given to him: “Most of the refugees sleep on mattresses put on the floor, since they have no beds. Even if they had enough beds, such narrow shelters have no room for them.”

The housing situation in the refugee camps in Gaza was aggravated because the Israeli conqueror has blown up and destroyed the houses. According to the data of UNRWA, in the course of the collective punishment operations, the Israeli authorities destroyed 361 shelters in the refugee camps in the Gaza Strip; this is apart from other houses which they blew up and destroyed in the towns of the Strip, and not in the camps. Between August 1971 and April 1973, in the course of operations “of paving of security roads,” “for lessening the population,” and “for security targets,” the Israeli occupation authorities destroyed 2,540 refugee shelters in Al-Shatia, Gebelia, Hafiah and Khan Yunis refugee camps. Only under political pressure, after long and tedious

negotiation, did the Israeli authorities supply substitutional housing for some of the refugees whose shelters were destroyed in operations “for widening the approach road in the refugee camps.” As to the remainder, the authorities are insistent about not supplying them with substitutional housing. Sometimes they hide behind the fact that there were cases in which the military authorities gave the refugees time to destroy their shelters with their own hands, so that later, they could collect the construction materials and build other shelters for themselves in another place. According to the data of UNRWA, 700 families live in horrible housing conditions in the refugee camps of Gaza, for whom an immediate solution has to be found.

In Al-Shatia refugee camp I saw those “security roads,” as the I.D.F. authorities call them. These are not roads at all, but spacious plains where previously there were large quarters of refugee shelters. In one of these places, the only thing left is the mosque. The width of those “security roads” exceeds the width of the widest highways in Europe, and even a jumbo airplane could land there if it was flat and paved.

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There is no sewer network in the refugee camp and the sewage is poured outside. In El-Shatia camp I saw some sort of open sewage channels in the pathways which separate the shelters. There is nothing like sanitary services. The garbage is heaped outside between the shelters and is a focus for the gathering of flies, insects, rats and snakes. Hygiene and ecology cannot be found here; they end far away from the refugee camps. The horrible overcrowding in the camps and in the shelters is, in itself, a severe sanitary nuisance. It is no wonder that many diseases, which attack mainly children, are spread in the refugee camps. Thus, it is not clear why the distribution of soap to the refugees stopped. Did soap become luxurious?

The U.N. publications reveal that the rate of mortality of infants in the refugee camps in Gaza reaches 85 of every 1000. These U.N. data reveal that 33% of infant mortality among the Palestinian refugees is caused by intestinal diseases, 25% by premature delivery. In 1970, 6% of infant mortality was caused by a German measles epidemic. The Palestinians have been living under these conditions for 26 years. UNRWA institutions attempt to supply health and educational services to the refugees. These services, too, depend upon the limited budgets and the generosity of the states.

I visited a clinic at Al-Bridge refugee camp and I got the impression that with the modest means it has got, the medical team tries to do its best. Everything was sparkling clean. We met a new mother who praised the medical team. But what can the most trained and devoted medical team do, when only one doctor is in charge of 11,600 people? In the clinic I visited, one doctor examines more than 130 patients daily.

The educational services are better. The young have academic and vocational education. The young of the Gaza refugees have attained fame as scholars. At least, education is given to them. The talented among them, whose parents can afford to give up their help in supporting the family, travel, mainly to Egypt, to continue their studies. Since the worsening of the economic situation in the Gaza Strip, many young of the Gaza refugees have looked for work in the state of Israel, as daily workers, in physical work.

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I visited the shelter of the *Al-Mubayed* family in the Al-Bridge refugee camp. The head of the family, who works in Israel, was not there. Until the occupation he was a repairer of kerosene cooking stoves. The mother, who welcomed us, told us that she and her husband come from Jaffa, where they had lived in Manshia quarter. They came here as refugees in 1948. All their ten children were born as refugees. The Al-Mubayed family has eight daughters and two sons. The small one is still a suckling. The mother, Um-Mohammed, introduced her nine-year-old son, Mohammed, to us. He was a bit astonished by our visit and by the inquiry he had to face. Mohammed goes to the third class, his marks are satisfactory. To our question, where he is from—Mohammed answered that he is from Jaffa, although his father and mother have never taken him, since the June '67 War, to visit Manshia, Jaffa, the house where they had lived. Moshe Dayan's expectation that the grownups (the Palestinians) will die, and the young will forget, is proved false. The Palestinian refugees, grown-ups as well as young, who already live a few generations in camps, do not forget the homeland, that they had a home, and they do not reconcile themselves to the fate which the Israeli government assigned to them—always, to live as refugees.

Before we left the Strip, we went to visit one of its prominent persons who lives in the town of Gaza.

“In my opinion,” he said, “the main problem we are facing here is the lack of confidence about the future, which was created as a consequence of

the long occupation. The people do not know what the next day may bring and this paralyses life and initiative. The official Israeli politicians repeatedly declare their annexationist intentions and this is not good news. The economic deterioration in Israel affects the Strip. Gaza's workers know that their work is far from being stable, even within the framework of the occupation. The taxes are too heavy a burden. Everything becomes dear. The public services are very poor. The Israeli authorities work systematically in order to create facts of Israeli presence, with the purpose of eternalizing it. In any case, they want to create physical, economic, colonial and mainly military presence. The relations between the occupation authorities and the population are worsening. The occupation authorities aggravate their autocratic rule. In the last months they performed many arrests, as was the case in the West Bank, among the patriots, mainly among the communists. Among the arrested are *Dr. Mufid Abu-Ramdan, Hazan Abu-Sund, Said Safadi, Fadel Al-Borno*, and others. We know that the latter is very ill and the imprisonment might be very dangerous for him. Dr. Mufid Abu-Ramdan, who was released a month ago, was imprisoned again, before he even passed through the prison gate. This is a cynical and a cruel act. The reason for the timing of the last arrests is obvious to all. Towards the possibilities which might emerge from the discussions of the Geneva Peace Conference, the Israeli authorities want to prevent any influence of the patriotic elements upon the attitudes of population in the occupied territories. People believe that the last arrests were coordinated with King Hussein and with Washington. The Israeli authorities try to lead astray public opinion; and as an example, I will tell you what had happened in the last meeting of the Minister of Defence, Shimon Peres, with the public leaders in the Gaza Strip, and what he said about that meeting at a press conference which he held later, in Tel-Aviv. At the press conference he stated that the representatives of the inhabitants of Gaza demanded that the economic relations between the State of Israel and the Gaza Strip should continue. As one who took part in the meeting in Gaza with S. Peres, I have to say that this is a lie. This issue was not raised at all. The main topic which was expressed by all present was a political one. Time and again the claim for the Palestinians' right of self-determination was raised. Those who were present demanded Israeli withdrawal from the territories. It was pointed out that withdrawal is the first step towards peace. It was pointed out that withdrawal and respecting the right of the Arab-Palestinian people to self-determination

will help in finding the formula for Israeli-Arab peaceful co-existence. The Minister Peres answered cynically. He argued that the solution of the Palestinian problem has to be found within the confines of East-Jordan; he argued that the plans for the development of East-Jordan with American aid will make the absorption of all the Palestinians possible; and he boasted that although there are no diplomatic relations with Jordan, there are very good relations between the Israeli government and King Hussein. This is what happened in the meeting, and not what S. Peres stated at the press conference in Tel-Aviv. We are dealing with a cruel enemy who is a liar," concluded the Palestinian leader, inhabitant of Gaza.

* * *

“AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE FROM
THE WEST-BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP
DEMANDS AN INQUIRY INTO THE
SITUATION OF THE ARAB PRISONERS
IMPRISONED IN ISRAEL”

(Translation from Arabic)

ASHA'AB, 19.3.74

Jerusalem—Because of the deterioration of the situation of the Arab prisoners in the Israeli prisons, and the suffering caused to them, a delegation of mothers of the prisoners from all the areas of the West-Bank and the Gaza Strip visited the French consulate, asked to see the Consul and told him about the bad treatment given to their sons, especially in the central Nablus prison. They gave the Consul a letter signed by several mayors of cities, chairmen of professional organizations and women's organizations. The delegation also visited the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem. Many of the women told the Consul about the suffering of prisoners in Israeli prisons and petitioned him to ask his government to negotiate about the conditions of those prisoners with the Israeli government and to ask for the lightening of the severe restrictions on the prisoners. They gave the Consul a petition on that subject. Afterwards, the mothers went to the centre of the International Red Cross, met with those responsible for it and asked them to visit the Arab prisoners and check on their condition.

The message submitted:

“To the U.N. Secretary General, Dr. Waldheim, the Human Rights League in Geneva, the International Red Cross and the foreign consuls in Jerusalem:

“From the time of the Israeli conquest in June 1967, the Arab prisoners in the Israeli prisons have suffered from brutal and humiliating treatment which is contrary to the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights signed by 52 states in 1949, including Israel. The inhabitants of the conquered territories have sent many requests to international organizations, asking them to act in coordination for cessation of that treatment in the Israeli prisons. Although those organizations acceded to the requests and did send delegates to check the situation inside the prisons, the Israeli authorities prevented their entrance and the situation remained as it was. A whole people asks for justice and the realization of human rights, and this demand receives no echo from international organizations or international conscience. No attempt to stop this tragedy is made.

“Therefore the Arab prisoners in the conquered territories proclaimed a general (hunger) strike on 8.3.74, in protest against the bad treatment. The authorities refused to allow the delegates of the organizations and the people to come into contact with them. This caused great concern because of the danger to the political prisoners, because of their hunger strike, other conditions, and the maladies prevalent there which call for treatment.

“We demand in this message, in the name of humane principles and of justice, immediate intervention to save the lives of those political prisoners, and intervention with the Israeli authorities, so that they will allow a delegation to investigate the conditions inside Israeli prisons, and for the realization of the Geneva Conventions and Human Rights inside Israeli prisons”.

Signatures: Kharim Khalaf-Mayor of Ramallah; Mayor of Tulkarem; Mayor of Jenin; The Association of the Professional Organizations in the West-Bank; Hashem El-Khazander—the Imam of Gaza; Women Organizations; and a great number of prisoners’ mothers in the West-Bank and the Gaza Strip.

* * *

“THE ELECTION DISAPPOINTMENT IN EAST-JERUSALEM”

HA'ARETZ, January 8, 1974

Two serious-looking Catholic priests hurriedly left the ballotbox in East-Jerusalem. They did not want a word with reporters. The head of the ballot committee does not agree to let foreign T.V. crews film the voters. Everything is done secretly. In Jebel-Mukhbar, near the Commissioner's Palace [UN headquarters—tr.], ten young men are standing in line to vote. They are not talkative, and turn away when I pass them. They are tense and nervous, as though they are waiting for an appointment with the dentist.

The fence around the ballot building is covered with slogans sharply denouncing the elections: “Anyone who votes betrays the Arabs”, “Our only representative—the Palestine Liberation Organization”. A border-policeman apologizes with a smile: the slogans were painted last night and haven't yet been erased. And indeed, older slogans have been painted black by municipal workers. One of the *Mukhtars* in the neighborhood is asked if the threatening slogans did not scare him. “No”, he answers, “I haven't seen anything. I haven't seen any slogans. We are workers and therefore all our people here are voting for the Labor Party”.

Four party activists, equipped with walkie-talkies, are supervising the voting from afar and reporting every hour to the party center in East-Jerusalem. The reports were sombre: Voting was slow, almost no lines at the voting booths. The relative success of the 1969 municipal elections did not repeat itself. Out of 45,000 eligible voters in East-Jerusalem, only ten percent participated in the elections. Four years ago, approximately 18 percent of all eligible voters participated in the municipal elections.

Many of those who did take part in last week's elections looked as though they were forced to. In East-Jerusalem, party activists worked much more energetically than in the western part of town. It was hard to notice preparations for the elections on the surface. Except for the last days before the elections, leaflets were not distributed, notices were not posted around town, election announcements were not printed in local papers. The Day of Atonement war changed the situation completely. Nationalistic feelings were aroused in many East-Jerusalem residents, and also the confidence in Israel's having to leave the occupied territories in the near future.

Before the war, party activists, and mainly Teddy Kollek's [The Mayor of Jerusalem—tr.] men, were convinced that the percentage of voters in 1973 would be much higher than in 1969. They believed then, and not without reason, that after four years many more residents had gotten used to Israeli rule. Following the war, the various parties, which had noticed the change in atmosphere among the Arab residents, took to quiet and intensive work. "Convincing" talks took place with the Mukhtars in different quarters, and with Arabs close to the various parties, in order that they would act among their friends and relatives.

A few weeks before the election date, the Alignment tried to use a sure method which had assured them many votes in 1969. In that year the ballots were situated on the borders of the Jewish quarters. In his book "Jerusalem—A City Without A Wall", Uzi Benziman says that the reason given for putting the ballots outside their quarters was a desire to form joint Jewish-Arab ballot-boxes. In fact, another important consideration lay behind the decision on the placing of the ballots. The Labor Party was interested in putting the ballots far from the Arab neighborhoods, in order to prevent the other parties from hunting votes on election day.

Four years ago and now too, there was not one Arab name on party lists. A few months ago, the parties tried to include Arab candidates in their lists but they found out that they could only find mediocre activists, and therefore gave up the idea. The traditional Arab leadership in East-Jerusalem was consistent in its refusal to recognize Israeli rule over East-Jerusalem, and that includes the elections to "Teddy Kollek's Municipality" as they call the Jerusalem Municipality.

Only on the last days before the elections did intensive propaganda work start in the eastern side of town. The various parties put notices on billboards and in local newspapers. The Alignment, the "Likud", the National Religious Party (NRP), and the Traders List, requested the Jordanian citizens of East-Jerusalem to trust them as their sole representatives. The Alignment emphasized the personality and actions of Teddy Kollek in the different quarters. The "Likud"¹ did not use its nationalistic slogans in the east side of the city, and didn't even say one word about matters such as the non-

¹ A recent coalition of some of Israel's most reactionary parties.

division of the Land of Israel. The NRP, on the other hand, was glad to announce to its supporters that “the party heading the Ministries of Interior, Religion and Welfare will act on behalf of the Arab residents in the city”.

The most intensive propaganda was that of the Labor Party, their election headquarters in the eastern city headed by Mr. Meiron Benbenisty, the man formerly in charge of the eastern city affairs. A separate notice was posted in each quarter, detailing what the city had done in that quarter. Enormous notices were printed in two local newspapers about the Municipality's deeds in East-Jerusalem.

In two instances, the propaganda boomeranged against the Alignment. In a poster meant for residents of the Old City who were originally from Hebron, there appeared a large photograph of the Mayor of Hebron, Sheikh Ali Jabary, speaking to Teddy Kollek. On the following day, Sheikh Jabary published a sharp denunciation of the Alignment's use of him for their election propaganda. On that same day, Teddy Kollek was forced to send the Mayor of Hebron a telegram of apology, in which he said that he “did not know about the existence of the poster”.

In another case, the Alignment published an enormous announcement in the daily *Al-Quds* and distributed the paper freely in the streets of the city. Members of the paper's editorial board strongly protested to the editor against the fact that their work was being distributed for nothing by a Zionist party—and were fired. The competing newspapers took advantage of this case to stress the fact that *Al-Quds* cooperates with the Jerusalem Municipality and the Alignment party.

Mayor Teddy Kollek said after the elections that the number of voters on the eastern side of town was “a great achievement; if considering the present situation 4,500 voted, it is excellent”. But in fact, the voting of the Arabs of East-Jerusalem disappointed all those who were active in the elections there. The small number of voters in the eastern city caused Teddy Kollek to lose his absolute majority in the City Council (in 1969, 6,500 Arab residents voted for Mr. Kollek; in 1973 only 3,048 did so) and clearly testified to the fact that the polarization and estrangement between the two parts of town, especially after the war, are growing.

One of the public figures in East-Jerusalem said after the elections: “If you haven't understood until today, you had better understand now: At a time when all the Arab world is demanding that Jerusalem be returned to the Arabs, it is unthinkable that we, here, should participate in the elections

and vote for parties that demand a united Jerusalem under Israeli rule. As far as we are concerned, it is not logical and not worthwhile”.

Distribution of the Votes in East-Jerusalem

Out of 45,274 eligible voters in East-Jerusalem, 4,531 voted, as follows:

| | | | | |
|--|---|------|---|-------|
| Alignment | – | 3048 | – | 71.8% |
| NRP (National Religious Party-rightwing) | – | 280 | – | 6.7% |
| AGI-PAGI (Extreme Religious parties-Agulat Israel) | – | 127 | – | 3% |
| Black Panthers (Jews of Eastern origin) | – | 72 | – | 1.7% |
| Likud (Rightwing) | – | 335 | – | 7.9% |
| JDL (Rightwing) | – | 31 | – | 0.8% |
| Independent Liberals | – | 72 | – | 1.7% |
| Immigrants from Babel | – | 78 | – | 1.8% |
| For Jerusalem | – | 34 | – | 0.8% |
| Traders List | – | 164 | – | 4% |

* * *

“FOR SOUTH-AFRICA’S SAKE I WILL
NOT HOLD MY PEACE”

MA’ARIV, March 14, 1974

By Yosef Lapid

[The heading of this article is a paraphrasing of a well-known Zionist slogan: “For Zion’s sake I will not hold my peace”, Isaiah 62, 1. -Translator].

The Israeli Foreign Ministry—the same ministry that, only a few years ago, contributed to African liberation organizations—decided last week to raise the Israeli delegation in South-Africa to the level of an embassy. And this proves that the Day of Atonement War had positive consequences too.

I would like to take advantage of this festive occasion in order to give vent to some truths that have long burdened anyone who ever took interest in

Israeli-African relations. After Black African states severed their relations with us in such a brutal manner, after they turned their backs on us in our most difficult hour, after they displayed such ungratefulness and insolence towards us—after all this, we are relieved from the obligation of discretion to which we used to be so faithful. The positive side of being excommunicated is that you have nothing more to lose. Consequently, you are allowed to tell everything.

Well, the liberated, as it were, African states, are almost all a bad joke and an insult to human honor. They are governed by groups of corrupt rulers, some of whom—Idi Amin from Uganda, for instance—are insane according to all rules of psychology. I feel better just saying this; I've wanted to say it for years, and all the while I felt that we were misleading the public when, for diplomatic reasons, we did not tell them this: Most of the African states are one big disgusting thing.

The situation of the blacks, "liberated," as it were, from the burden of colonialism is worse, in most cases, than it used to be in the imperialistic period. In half a dozen states—among them our "historic ally", Ethiopia—thousands of people die from hunger each day, while the rulers drive Cadillacs and steal the food sent to the aid of their people. Only in the sick imagination of "progressive" people do babies die of hunger with a smile on their faces, only because the ruler starving them is dark-skinned.

A few weeks ago a research project by Prof. Baker was published in Britain, in which, among other things, he compared the history of the Jews to that of the Blacks in New-York, as an example of differences in development, under similar conditions, between races having different intelligence and other qualities. The argument is now about whether the Blacks' inferiority is a *result* of their difficult conditions for many generations (chronic undernourishment, etc.) or whether their inferiority is the *cause* of their difficult conditions. Despite the strong objections of "progressive" circles who call such researches "racist", it seems nevertheless that there is a hereditary difference between the intellect of a person whose father lived in the jungle, and a person whose "fathers were priests in the Temple"—as Disraeli put it.

Whoever deduces from this that intellectual superiority is also a permit for oppression is really a racist, a fascist, and a Nazi. (For some reason, it is today accepted that Blacks are allowed to oppress Blacks, but white people are not; just like Vietnamese are allowed to kill Vietnamese, but whites are not.) In any case, we no longer have to take part in the game of flattering

Black Africa. We can recount aloud the horrible stories of Israelis who stayed in Africa—about the corruption, the cruelty, the backwardness, and the black racism they witnessed there. (Some time we may even tell a few stories about the African representatives who came here).

*

It is a thing to be regretted that the white rulers of South Africa have not found an opportunity to grant full civil rights to the black majority of their country. I suppose they would do it, if they could be sure that the black majority would not oppress the white minority, would not rob it, and would not turn a rich and flourishing country into another parody of political independence. In any case: The last black person in South Africa has more civil rights than the most famous Soviet author; the most exploited Black in South Africa has more to eat than the millions of blacks in “liberated” Africa; and the most extreme white in South Africa does not treat blacks as blacks did and do treat white people in the Congo, in Uganda, and in other African states. (By the way: “Progressive” people, who are so worried about the rights of the majority in South Africa, never raised their voices for the majority in Hungary or Cuba, in China or Egypt).

Believe me, if I have to chose between friendship with Black Africa, as it is today, and friendship with a white country, orderly and successful, where a Jewish community flourishes, then I prefer South Africa.

And it is a pity we waited until the blacks threw us out.

* * *

MEMORANDUM

Beirut: 12/12/1974

TO : The Chairman and members of the World Peace Council,
meeting in Beirut from Dec. 13–16, 1974.

FROM : Ruhi Al-Khatib
Town Clerk of Jerusalem

SUBJECT: The aggression, violations, and contraventions committed by the Israeli Occupation Authorities against the population, properties, and holy sites of Jerusalem between June 7, 1967 and December 12, 1974

1. Despite the termination of warfare on all fronts in the Middle East the war continues in Jerusalem; every day it kills more of the Arab population of Jerusalem and destroys more of the ancient and modern city of Jerusalem, replacing the population with Zionist foreigners imported from abroad and transforming the unique character of the Holy City through a program of Israeli “modernization”. This criminal war is daily submerging a new part of the Christian and Muslim holy places, one after another.

2. In spite of the Geneva Conventions, which oblige an Occupying State to protect and honor the interests of the civilian population (in their persons, and in the form of religious, judicial, and all immovable properties); despite the numerous resolutions passed by the United Nations Security Council, the General Assembly, and UNESCO since June 1967, all of which resolved not to recognize the Israeli annexation of Jerusalem, and which deemed all of Israeli political, administrative, legislative, and religious measures as null and void, and asked Israel to desist from further measures; In spite of these resolutions and the Geneva Conventions, Israel has committed and is still committing inhuman and illegal aggressions, the most prominent being:

1. The political annexation of Jerusalem, as from June 28, 1967.

2. The dissolution of the Municipal Council of Arab Jerusalem—whose members are elected by the Arab population of the City—and the merger of its officials, employees, and immovable property into the Municipality of the Israeli Occupation as from June 29, 1967.

3. The cancellation of local Jordanian laws and regulations, and their replacement with Israeli ones, as from June 28, 1967.

4. The closure of the Jordanian courts of justice, compelling the Arab population of Jerusalem to apply to the Israeli ones.

5. The freezing of sentences passed by the Muslim Shari’a (religious) Courts in Jerusalem, and the application of pressure upon the Muslims of Jerusalem to apply to the Jaffa Shari’a Courts, where Israeli laws pertaining to matters of personal civil status are applied, in direct contradiction to Islamic doctrine.

6. The forcible confiscation and sequestration of 22,000 dunams (1 dunam = 1000 sq. meters) of Arab-owned land in Jerusalem and its suburbs; about 10,000 Arabs had worked these lands and were evicted therefrom by force of arms.

7. The forcible confiscation and sequestration of title to more than 1,500

separate parcels of Arab-owned real estate both inside and outside the walls of Jerusalem; this is in addition to the confiscations by the Israeli authorities made after the year 1948 elsewhere in Jerusalem, amounting to 80% of the Arab-owned real estate in the city and causing the eviction of approximately 60,000 owners and tenants.

8. The demolition of about 800 Arab-owned buildings inside and outside the walls of Jerusalem.

9. The erection of 13 new and exclusively Jewish living-complexes on the sites of demolished and confiscated Arab lands; these complexes, according to the Israeli Minister of Housing, will eventually accommodate 122,000 new Zionist immigrants. The erection of these complexes was arranged in such a way that they would surround and enclose the remaining Arab population of Jerusalem; these exclusively Jewish built-up areas resemble and can function as military fortifications, as attested to by the illustrations and text published in the Supplement of the English-language *Jerusalem Post* of November 8, 1974, which acts as a [unofficial] spokesman of the Occupying State.

10. The eviction and expulsion of about 15,000 Arabs since June 1967 to the present, some after the demolition of their homes and others after the confiscation of their properties following evacuation orders...

11. The continuous encroachment and aggression through official Israeli channels, both religious and civil, against Islamic holy sites. The most prominent of these actions are:

a) The fire in the holy Al-Aqsa Mosque on August 21, 1969.

b) The demolition of 2 mosques and 135 Waqf (Moslem charitable) properties adjacent to the holy Haram-esh-Sharif, on the western side.

c) The confiscation of four Arab and Islamic areas adjacent to the holy Haram-esh-Sharif on its western side, comprising 4 mosques, 4 schools, 1,048 housing units, and 437 shops, inhabited and run by approximately 600 Arab citizens.

d) The forcible seizure by Israeli soldiers of control over the Bab-Al-Maghraba, one of the main entrances to the Holy Haram-esh-Sharif; this gate was opened to uncontrolled use by Israeli visitors, and was the gate which provided access to the perpetrator of the Aqsa Mosque fire on August 21, 1969; this gate is still under Israeli military control.

e) The excavations under Waqf properties adjacent to the Beraq Wall of the Haram over an area 230 m. long, 9 m. deep, and 10 m. wide; these excavations have caused cracks in the structures of 14 Waqf properties,

as well as destruction in the Honorable Center (Zawia Fakhria), which is the seat of the followers of the Shafei Imam, on June 14, 1969; the excavations have also caused cracks in the structure of the Jowharia School, which is situated in the center of the Beraq Wall, and have threatened with collapse about three hundred adjacent Waqf-owned properties inhabited by about 3000 other Arabs.

f) Fissures caused by the excavations carried out behind the southern wall of the Haram up to the foundations of the Aqsa Mosque and of the Haram itself in 4 spots, on July 4, 1974; one of these fissures occurred directly under the Merhab of the Mosque and the other three spread along the bottom of the eastern side of the Mosque, thus threatening both the Mosque itself and the southern wall of the Haram with cracking.

g) Immoral and illegal behavior by Israelis within the Haram, offending local morals and interfering with worship.

h) The organizing of Israeli demonstrations inside the Haram, and the carrying out of Jewish prayers by Israeli Army and Parliament officials within its halls.

i) An order by the Israeli Minister of the Interior, on March 4, 1973, designating the Muslim cemeteries adjacent to the southern side of the holy Haram as a National Israeli Park area; this indicates an intention to confiscate these areas; they are the oldest Islamic cemeteries in Jerusalem and contain the graves of a number of important Companions of the Prophet Muhammed, including writers, scientists and governors who have been buried during the past 13 centuries; most famous of these men are the two honorable Companions: Shadad Ben Aws Al-Ansari, d. 633, and Abadat Ben Al-Samet Al-Badri, d. 677 in Jerusalem; the annexation of this area to the Israeli National Park means their confiscation from Arab domain and a further attempt to conceal the City's Islamic Arab history.

j) The demolition of the Aqsa girl's school adjacent to the Aqsa Mosque; the school used to service 3,300 Arab students from the neighboring quarters.

k) The conversion of the cellar of the old Shari'a (Muslim religious) Court behind the Beraq Wall into a Jewish place of worship (Kenis)...

l) Vandalism in the Church of the Resurrection, the oldest Christian church in Jerusalem and the world; after only two months of Israeli rule, the Jewel of the Crown of the Virgin Mary was stolen by Israelis; the Church had remained inviolate during 12 consecutive centuries of Arab rule.

m) Vandalism against the Holy Sepulchre at the Church of the Resurrec-

tion on March 24, 1971, during which an American Zionist broke the antique glass lamps over the Sepulchre.

n) An attack on the Coptic Convent by Israeli police on Easter Eve (April 25, 1970) during which nuns were beaten.

o) An unsuccessful third attack against the Church of the Resurrection on the night of April 12, 1973, by three armed Zionists who attempted to steal the jewelled diamond crown which lies over the Cross of the Calvary inside the Church; the robbery failed thanks to the efforts and resistance of a Franciscan Friar who was pistol-whipped by the attackers and rolled down the stairs; he was later hospitalized for three weeks.

p) The arson against the International Bible Center on the Mt. of Olives on the evening of February 6, 1973, by a group of fanatic Zionists.

q) The burning of centers and a printing press belong to Christian institutes on February 11, 1973 by Zionist mercenaries.

r) An attack against the Greek Orthodox church at Ain-Karem.

s) The pressure on Christian pastors to give up the lands and properties of their respective communities through sale or long-term (99 yrs.) lease; the expropriation of the lands of the Greek Orthodox Convent in Al-Mossalabat; of the Katamon and Karm-Al-Rohban quarters in Jerusalem; and of the Fast Hotel building belonging to the Armenian Patriarchate, as well as large areas from the Latin and Syriac Convents around the walls of Jerusalem; and the expropriation of the Moscovia from the White Russian Church in the center of Jerusalem.

t) Pressure on Christian inhabitants (merchants, landlords, craftsmen) causing them to quit their premises. Christian sources report that the numbers of their respective communities have been reduced as follows:

| | Before Occupation (1967) | At Present |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| Greek Orthodox | 5000 | 4500 |
| Catholics | 7000 | 4000 |
| Armenians | 3000 | 2000 |
| Other communities | 3300 | 2360 |
| TOTAL | 18,300 | 12,860 |

The previous Apostolic Ambassador, Mgr. Laggi, in his position as Archbishop, has commented that the continued immigration of Christians from Jerusalem will lead to the local extinction of Christianity and the transformation of the churches into mere historical sites.

13. The substitution of Israeli for Jordanian currency, and the closing of Arab banks and the confiscation of their assets; their replacement with Israeli banks and the obligation to deal with them.

14. Discouraging the entry of Arab produce and manufactures into Jerusalem through the imposition of heavy taxes which are not applied to Israeli goods, the purpose being to create conditions of unequal competition and to undermine Arab production.

15. The transfer of Arab medical service centers (including the Vital Statistics Office, the central medical clinics, the health laboratories, the anti-T.B. center, and the blood transfusion center) from Jerusalem to Ramallah and Nablus, compelling Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem to apply for parallel Israeli services.

16. The closure of the Arab Social Welfare Services Office, in Jerusalem, and the subjection to Israeli control of all Charity Associations with their affiliated institutions, hospitals, clinics, and schools.

17. The substitution of Israeli names for Arab names of streets, roads, and public squares; each of the old Arab names has important associations in the history of Jerusalem and their abolition is part of the Israeli plan to conceal and deny an important part of the Arab history of the Holy City.

18. The subjection of Arab education in the city to Israeli programs under Israeli State control, as per the law issued by the authorities on July 17, 1969 (called the Law of the Control of Schools) published in the Israeli Official Gazette no. 564.

19. The subjection of Arab tradesmen, merchants and companies in Jerusalem to Israeli laws, as per the Law of Legal and Administrative Organizations, promulgated on August 23, 1968; this Law obliges every Arab merchant or company or individual whose work or business requires a permit to exchange his Jordanian permit for an Israeli one.

20. The effective expulsion of all Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem who were not in the country during the census of July 1967, by depriving them of their right to return home. The number of such Arab citizens, who were absent at the time due to business, visits, or education abroad, exceeds 20,000. This number is in addition to an additional 80,000 inhabitants and their

offspring who left the country in 1948 and were denied the right to return home, in accordance with an Israeli law promulgated in 1950, which deprived all Arabs of Palestine who left the country during 1948 of the right to return home. (This law is in clear contravention of Article 3 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and contrary to UN Res. 194 of 11/4 1948, which stipulated the right to return home of all Palestinians.)

21. The deportation of large numbers of clergy, administrators, writers, municipal counsellors, craftsmen, union leaders, merchants , and students to Trans-Jordan and Lebanon, contrary to Article 49 of the relevant Geneva Convention.

22. The transformation of a new and modern Arab hospital in Jerusalem into an Israeli police headquarters, and the placing of the Israel Ministry of Justice offices in the Jordanian Law Courts in Jerusalem.

23. The confiscation of 70,000 dunams of Arab-owned land between Jerusalem and Jericho, on a site called Alkham Al-Ahmar, and the official Israeli cabinet decision to build an industrial city housing 100,000 new immigrants on the site, thus effectively surrounding eastern Jerusalem with Zionist settlement.

24. Increasing the number of Zionist settlers in Jerusalem, from 100,000 in 1948 to 250,000 today, and simultaneously reducing the number of Arab inhabitants in the same period from 140,000 in 1948 to about 70,000 today.

Thus the Zionist war against Arab Jerusalem continues, against its Arab population and its Islamic and Christian holy places; it is a war waged by a powerful alien colonialism against an unarmed civilian population; the Arab inhabitants raise their voices in appeal and address themselves to their brethern in humanity to cooperate and unite to oppose this war and to reassert the rule of peace, based on right, justice, and humanity. God bless you and thank you.

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