

Palestine Focus

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Editorial:

Peace Process Continues: Where Is the U.S.?

November 15 marks the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the Palestine National Council in 1988 and December 9 marks the second anniversary of the beginning of the intifada. After two years, the intifada continues to grow and develop, despite major escalations in Israeli violence aimed at weakening Palestinian protests. The building of national institutions in the midst of the uprising evidences the growing sophistication of the Palestinian people and their leadership. *Palestine Focus* joins people around the world in congratulating the Palestinian people on their accomplishments.

One such notable gain is that the intifada has forced the U.S. government to reverse its long-standing refusal to have formal contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization. Even though the United States views the talks with the PLO in Tunis only as a way to put pressure on the Palestinians, the fact that they are held at all is an important achievement of the intifada.

But the Tunis talks are hardly enough. The U.S. government maneuvers to keep Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's election proposal alive by entertaining Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's ten points. Meanwhile, Palestinians continue to die, undergo torture and imprisonment, lose their homes to demolitions, and get expelled from the West Bank and Gaza. Does the United States realize that stalling means more such suffering? Meanwhile, U.S. funding of Israeli violations of Palestinian human rights continues to grow as a thorn in the American conscience.

One year after the launching of the Palestinian peace initiative in Algiers, the U.S. approach is still a major obstacle to the peace process. Despite all the hundreds killed and other massive suffering, the U.S. government's main goal is still to end the intifada and prevent an independent Palestinian state. And U.S. aid continues to flow to Israel, despite the State Department's report naming Israel as a massive violator of Palestinian human rights.

This backward government policy flies in the face of massive shifts in the national political consensus. The Jesse Jackson campaign brought the issue of Palestinian rights to the Democratic Convention, where it was debated on the floor. A growing number of trade unions have passed resolutions, and trade unionists have been visiting Palestine on delegations, as have lawyers, health workers, religious activists, Latinos, and others. U.S. peace organizations are taking up the issue of Palestinian rights, and the issue of U.S. aid to Israel is increasingly addressed. There has even been unprecedented dissent by American Jews. Public opinion polls consistently show that most Americans favor a Palestinian state as part of a comprehensive peace settlement.

In Cambridge/Somerville, Massachusetts, a 1988 ballot initiative favoring a Palestinian state received 53 percent of the vote. The Massachusetts initiative also called for ending U.S. aid for the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and it passed despite opposition by the local political establishment. All these advances in public consciousness have occurred despite the fact that the media has become desensitized to the rising Palestinian "body count."

Grassroots pressure is building in the United States to challenge U.S. government policy toward Palestine and Israel. The challenges to the peace movement are clear: Demand that Congressional hearings be held on Israeli violations of human rights. Insist that the findings of such hearings influence the granting of aid to Israel. Pressure the Bush administration to join the peace process and the international consensus in calling for the UN international peace conference and a Palestinian state.

The coming year, 1990, will be an election year. All candidates, especially incumbents, need to feel the pressure now. Supporting Palestinian statehood and cutting U.S. aid to Israel are on the agenda to stay. It is about time our elected representatives start catching up with the rest of the American people. □



Palestinians demonstrate against Israeli occupation in the West Bank village of Beit Sahur, where a successful tax revolt has brought massive repression.

Photo: Alfred/SIPA Press

Viewpoint:

U.S. Peace Movement Agenda for the 90s

By Jeanne Butterfield

Imagine the headlines: PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST! INDEPENDENCE FOR PALESTINE! Far-fetched for the 1990s? Perhaps not, if the intifada continues to grow and if the peace movement in the United States shoulders its responsibility and puts the issue of Palestine squarely on its agenda as we enter the new decade.

Mighty changes have shaken international relations in recent months. Glasnost has helped usher in an era of improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, with the settlement of regional conflicts high on the agenda. The program of the peace and disarmament movement has been promoted by the Soviet Union, and the U.S. government has been forced to the negotiating table by an international consensus for peace.

Peace negotiations are under way to resolve regional conflicts from Namibia to Afghanistan. The Central American presidents have agreed on a plan to disarm the contras, and the FMLN has forced the Salvadoran government to the negotiating table. South African apartheid shows increasing signs of cracking under international and domestic pressure.

On the home front, however, the Bush administration is extending the Reagan policies into the nineties with increased attacks on civil rights, women's rights, and workers' rights, accompanied by a virulent outbreak of racist violence. Yet there are stirrings and sparks of a resistance movement at home. An outcry against racism and racist violence can be heard across the country in response to such outrages as the murder of Yusuf Hawkins in Bensonhurst. A resounding "NO" to further cuts in wages and benefits and working conditions reverberates from the ranks of communications workers, coal miners, and airline workers. Hundreds of thousands are marching in support of women's rights to

If peace is the best security for the people of the world, then why not for the people of Palestine and Israel?

choose safe and legal abortions. Housing activists, including the homeless, are marching on Washington to demand the basic human right of shelter. And AIDS activists are demanding an end to discrimination, along with adequate resources to fight the epidemic and to provide care for those ravaged by the disease.

But despite the winds of peace abroad and the upsurge in resistance at home, the United States government continues to pursue a militaristic policy in the Middle East with Israel in center stage as its strategic asset. The United States continues to arm Israel heavily and to give it essentially free rein to suppress the Palestinian uprising.

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INS Continues Deportation Trials against Palestinians

By Phyllis Bennis

In January 1987, seven Palestinians and a Kenyan were arrested at gunpoint in early dawn raids in Los Angeles and taken away to maximum-security federal prisons, where they were held in shackles and chains for deportation. The FBI admitted that it had thoroughly investigated the eight and could find no evidence whatsoever of criminal activity. Nevertheless, the Immigration and Naturalization Service remains determined to deport them because of their political activities under the infamous McCarran-Walter Act, a remnant of the McCarthy period in the 1950s. Phyllis Bennis is UN correspondent for Frontline newspaper.

Civil libertarians, Arab-Americans, and immigrant-rights and political activists have long known that the Los Angeles Eight face deportation because of their political ideas—not because of anything they have done or planned to do. But recently, new legal developments have made this fact much more apparent to the press and placed the government in the unenviable position of trying to deny the obvious.

From the beginning, the Eight's legal team has claimed that the deportation proceedings were fundamentally unfair—that the eight defendants were being deported selectively in violation of constitutional guarantees. A number of challenges were brought before Judge Ingrid Hrycenko in Immigration Court. These challenges were based on a vast array of evidence documenting the presence in the United States, with government knowledge and usually support, of a wide variety of noncitizens who are "members or affiliates of an organization advocating or teaching the destruction of or damage to property," the current political charge facing two of the eight defendants.

That evidence featured the testimony of former contra leader Edgar Chamorro, who described his lavish CIA-sponsored welcome to the United States. Chamorro was only threatened with deportation when he publicly broke with the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan rebels. Aside from the contras, hun-



Seven of the L.A. 8 (l. to r.): Ayman Obeid, Khader Hamide, Aiad Barakat, Michel Shehadeh, Naim Sharif, Amjad Obeid, and Julie Mungai.

dreds of pages of testimony documented the government-sanctioned and often-violent operations in the United States of anti-Castro Cubans, Vietnamese anticommunists, Afghan mujahedin, RENAMO thugs from Mozambique, Angola's UNITA

cally, he referred to the statement by former FBI chief William Webster, during the Senate hearings confirming him as head of the CIA, that there was no evidence of any criminal violations by any of the eight. Webster admitted that the case was turned

U.S. government efforts to deport the Los Angeles Eight closely parallel the expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza

rebels, and other Reagan-backed "freedom fighters." To date, Judge Hrycenko has denied the fundamental fairness motion.

But on July 26, 1989, Federal District Court Judge Stephen Wilson agreed to hold a hearing on the issue of selective prosecution. While he later expressed some after-the-fact reservations about his decision, he had already indicated his belief that there was at least the appearance of improper motives on the government's part. Specifi-

over to the INS for possible deportation only when the FBI could not come up with any evidence of criminal activity.

The Eight's claim of unconstitutional government action was also strengthened in documents recently obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. Dramatic new evidence now confirms longstanding defense allegations that high-level Reagan administration immigration officials were involved in plans for the mass arrest and

deportation of noncitizens from seven Arab countries and Iran.

The newly released documents identify David Milhollan, director of the Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR, the immigration judges department), and Robert Bombaugh, director of the Justice Department's Office of Immigration Litigation, as prime movers in the case. According to the government's own records, both officials participated in the meetings of the interagency Alien Border Control Commission (ABCC), whose "contingency plan" for mass roundups and deportations was leaked to the *New York Times* shortly after the Eight were arrested.

The two officials' ties to the ABCC, in the context of Milhollan's job overseeing the immigration judges (including Judge Hrycenko) and Bombaugh's supervision of the Justice Department team prosecuting the Eight, raise serious conflict-of-interest challenges to the legitimacy of the government's case.

In a parallel development, lawyers from the Eight's legal team have sued U.S. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, the FBI, INS, EOIR, and others. The suit, based on the government-acknowledged wiretapping of the L.A. Eight and their legal team, charges illegal interference with the Eight's right to confidential attorney-client relations, as well as violations of the right to privacy of the lawyers and their other clients.

Last year Judge Wilson ruled that the sections of the McCarran-Walter Act, on which the deportation efforts against the L.A. 8 were originally based, are unconstitutional. But despite this finding, government surveillance continued. As recently as May 1989, Justice Department attorneys refused to state that wiretapping of the defense team was not still continuing.

Defense attorney Peter Schey called the wiretapping of the Eight and their legal team, "a violation of their First Amendment rights to hold and express views in support of the Palestinian people, whether or not these views are consistent with the U.S. government's foreign-policy positions in the Middle East."

In fact, the continuing U.S. government efforts to deport the Los Angeles Eight

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FOCUS ON ACTION

By Ginny Kraus

NAJDA Initiates Campaign in Support of Palestinian Women Prisoners

Since the beginning of the intifada, Israeli military authorities have detained or arrested hundreds of Palestinian women and some Jewish women acting in solidarity with the intifada. Their "crimes" range from throwing empty bottles at vehicles or protecting themselves from attack by soldiers to preventing the arrest of a son or husband, distributing leaflets, and transferring funds for local Palestinian institutions. Their arrest and imprisonment are clearly of a political nature.

NAJDA—Women Concerned about the Middle East has recently initiated a campaign in support of Palestinian women prisoners. The proceeds of the campaign will go directly to support the Women's Organization for Political Prisoners (WOFPP), a Tel Aviv-based group which aids women prisoners through legal proceedings and public pressure aimed at their release. Some of the WOFPP activists have themselves been arrested as a result of their efforts.

The three-pronged NAJDA campaign involves the purchase of ID bracelets engraved with the name of a woman prisoner, biographical information circulated about

these women, and postcards addressed to various Israeli prison authorities and police chiefs which protest prison conditions and demand an end to torture and other harsh treatment of Palestinian women prisoners. For more information about the program and to sign up, contact NAJDA—Women Concerned about the Middle East, P. O. Box 7152, Berkeley, CA 94707 or phone (415) 549-3512.

Austin Chapter Holds "Palestine Awareness Week"

From October 13 to 22, the Austin chapter of the Palestine Solidarity Committee held "Palestine Awareness Week," featuring a series of activities at the University of Texas, including Palestinian music, a lecture on the Israel/South Africa connection by a representative from the African National Congress, evening showings of videos about the Palestinian struggle, an eyewitness account and discussion, and a cultural evening with poetry from Palestinian, Hispanic, African-American, and other poets.

Housing Now Demonstration Planned This Fall

"Housing Now" is a national march on Washington, D.C. held on October 7 this year to demand that our government restore funds for federal housing programs, fund the construction of affordable housing, and end homelessness in the United States Now! Hundreds of grassroots organizations (both national and local), including labor unions, tenants' groups, homeless organizations, peace and religious organizations, as well as prominent representatives of various communities have come together to organize tens of thousands of people to march on Washington to demand that the federal government restore its commitment to affordable housing.

PSC has endorsed the event and planned to participate. A statement was written linking the homeless issue in the United States and U.S. aid to Israel with the Palestinian struggle for an independent state and a "home" for the Palestinian people. For more information about Housing

Now!, write to them at Cathedral St. John the Divine, 1047 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, NY 10025 or phone (212) 316-0188 or at 425 - 2nd Street, NW, Washington, DC 20001, (202) 347-2405.

New York PSC Chapter Participates in Labor Day Parade

The New York PSC chapter participated in the Labor Day parade on September 4 when more than 200,000 marched in honor of working men and women in the United States and the world over. PSC distributed 14,000 copies of a statement to marchers. Issued in both English and Spanish, the statement responded to a Palestinian labor appeal to support Palestinian prisoners, protest the assassination of trade unionists, and protest the recent escalated use of identity cards, which the majority of Palestinians are forced to carry. The statement also protests the harsh working conditions of Palestinian labor, including the lack of benefits, low salaries (one- to two-thirds less than Israeli workers receive), the banning of Palestinian trade unions, and the arrest of their executive boards. Labor for Palestine, a newly formed affiliate of PSC in New York, coordinated participation in the parade. This project is just the first of many planned by Labor for Palestine in support of Palestinian workers.

Pro-Choice Demonstration

The National Organization for Women is planning a women's pro-choice demonstration in Washington, D.C. on November 12. NOW is demanding to keep abortion safe, legal, and accessible. Similar regional demonstrations are being planned in San Francisco (October 15) and Los Angeles (October 22). The Palestine Solidarity Committee has endorsed these demonstrations. For more information contact NOW, 1000 - 16th Street, N.W., Suite 700, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 331-0066. □

By Sharon Rose

This column highlights recent events of the intifada that convey the magnitude of repression and the breadth and depth of the resistance. It is the continuing chronicle of what ordinary people can do in an extraordinary time. And because the gains achieved by the day-to-day resistance in Palestine are registered as well on the political and diplomatic fronts, our aim is to provide our readers stories not only of the clashes on the ground, but also of their repercussions around the world.

July 30 The Israeli Supreme Court ruled that Palestinians whose houses are targeted for demolition as part of the collective punishment for the intifada have the right to "due process." The families of those accused of crimes may appeal decisions by the military to bulldoze or blow up their homes. The ruling did not call into question the legitimacy of collective punishment, a practice begun by the British during their pre-1948 rule over Palestine. Demolitions continue, and there has been no indication that the Israeli courts will move to overturn such military decisions to impose collective punishment.

August 11 The Israeli Defense Ministry extended the period Palestinians can be held in administrative detention without charges or trial from six months to one year. Currently, thousands of people are being held in administrative detention. In the past, regulations permitted the six-month terms to be renewed by the military authorities, and the Defense Ministry reported that such renewals applied to 20 percent of all those held. Now the military has granted itself free rein to hold all detainees for a full year.

Amnesty International and other international organizations, as well as civil-rights advocates around the world, and even the U.S. State Department have denounced the practice of administrative detention as a gross infringement of the right of expression of political views.

Evidence continues to mount of the existence of Israeli civilian and military death squads. Following are several recent reports:

July 10 An Arab informant fingered Yasser Abu Ghosh, 17, to three Israeli gunmen dressed in civilian clothes and driving an unmarked van with Arab license plates, according to eyewitnesses interviewed in Ramallah by *Los Angeles Times* staff writer Daniel Williams (*L.A. Times*, July 31, 1989). Abu Ghosh, wanted by the Israelis for leading street demonstrations, was chased and shot several times in the back at close range. A doctor was prevented from giving medical assistance; Abu Ghosh was driven around, his limbs dangling from the jeep, until he died. The killing followed several other recent incidents of armed Israeli plainclothes agents traveling in unmarked vehicles and functioning, in Williams's words, as "mobile judges and executioners." Al-Haq, the Palestinian human-rights organization, issued a detailed report based on interviews and sworn testimony of at least

30 eyewitnesses. The report condemned the willful killing of Abu Ghosh as "a grave breach of the [Geneva Convention], equivalent to a war crime." (Al-Haq report provided by the Database Project on Palestinian Human Rights.) **August 19** The body of Amjad Jibreen al-Tawil, a 14-year-old Palestinian-American, was found in a field near Ramallah. He had been shot in the chest, his skull smashed, and his

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Jewish settlers attempt to abduct a Palestinian child while his mother fights to set him free.

Photo: Azzan Oebid/The Return

told AFP the boy was last seen in an army jeep; the *Jerusalem Post* reported a released prisoner said he saw Jibreen in custody. Dr. Derrick Ponder, a Scottish doctor representing the Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights, performed an autopsy at the request of the boy's family. He said Jibreen was killed by a single shot in the back. **August 19** Three Israelis posing as tourists opened fire on a group of Palestinians who allegedly threw rocks at an army jeep in Bethlehem. Radi Salah, 24, was killed, and four others were wounded. **August 23** Israeli troops

accused of leading the intifada. The five include Taysir Aruri, a physicist whose struggle to remain in his homeland received international support in recent months.

August 30 Fear in Israel that the intifada has galvanized nationalism among Palestinians in Israel has reached the level of official paranoia. Sami al-Hafez, a singer, was detained for 48 hours for questioning on suspicion of singing the Palestinian national anthem during a festival in the Galilee village of Sakhnin.

Israeli police raided several children's camps this summer to investigate charges of incitement and anti-Israel activity. The alleged criminal activities at the camps, which are run by Arab organizations in Israel, included naming sections after Palestinian martyrs and personalities and having pro-PLO posters and slogans. A police spokesman in the northern district told the *Jerusalem Post* (July 24), "We are now spending more time investigating weddings and summer camps and nationalistically motivated offenses than we are in dealing with crime generally and the war against drugs."

September 15 The vast majority of Palestinians have heeded the call of the intifada leadership to resist Israel's new system of identity cards. Both supporters and critics have likened the system to the infamous passbooks of South Africa, which

workers must carry in order to work in areas where they are forbidden to live.

When the system was first imposed over a month ago, Israeli authorities boasted of their success in forcing thousands of economically desperate Gazans to produce the computer-readable cards at checkpoints on the road leading to Israel. The western press carried numerous stories

technological control of the occupied population. Such accounts have been conspicuous by their absence in recent weeks. The reality is that the identity-card system has failed to drive the hoped-for wedge between the Gazan population and the intifada leadership. Instead, reliable sources told *Palestine Focus* that the identity-card system has actually backfired, as new links are forged between Gazan workers and the Palestinian leadership. Large numbers of workers have turned over their cards to representatives of the intifada infrastructure in the community, with the knowledge that the cards will be returned to allow passage into Israel in the case of hardship. Meanwhile, resistance to Israeli apartheid continues.

September 22 Daoud Kuttab reports from Nablus in *Middle East International* that rumors are circulating widely of Israelis transplanting vital organs stolen from the bodies of Palestinians killed by the army. As macabre as it sounds, it is not an impossibility. When two youths were killed in a shootout with soldiers, the army first denied the deaths and then refused to return the bodies to the families. Angry protests in Nablus, Palestine's largest city, brought an admission from the military governor that the bodies were buried in a secret cemetery used to bury "terrorists" killed in confrontations with the army. If killing people were not serious enough, stealing their bodies compounds the outrage.

Publicity and continued protests finally forced Israeli authorities to exhume the bodies. An autopsy will be performed by a doctor chosen by the families of the dead youths, and the families have appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court for return of the bodies. The intifada leadership appears to have wide support in Nablus to keep up the protests until the army's stealing of bodies ceases. The army responded by keeping the city under almost continuous curfew during September.

September 27 The union representing workers at the Royal Crown Cola factory in Ramallah recently defeated a plan to deduct wages from workers who remained off their jobs on general strike days called by the Unified National Leadership of the intifada. The factory is owned by Palestinians, who, like many other industrialists, are permitted by the intifada leadership to purchase Israeli-made raw materials and pay taxes to assure they will be allowed to remain in operation and continue to help



Women are breaking from traditional roles to challenge the Israeli occupation.

Photo: Beverly A. Orr/The Return

disguised as Arabs and driving a car with Gaza plates shot and killed an 18-year-old Palestinian who was painting slogans on a wall. The young man was masked, and the troops were apparently carrying out the orders of Army Chief of Staff Dan Shomron, who has authorized the army to fire without warning at any masked Palestinian.

Palestinian Identity under Attack

Born and raised in Harlem in New York City, Barbara Cross has served as regional director for mental health in west Contra Costa County, California for eleven years. She has specialized in children's behavior and development for 30 years. In the 1960s, after the killing of her friend Michael Schwerner in Mississippi, she became very active in the civil-rights movement there. Cross directed a center for autistic children in Florence, Italy, for five years and then moved to Richmond, California. In Richmond, she led a community struggle for a police-civilian review board. She visited the West Bank and Gaza with a delegation of the Middle East Children's Alliance in April 1989 and was interviewed by Steve Goldfield for Palestine Focus in July 1989.

BC: When I heard through a friend that this group was going to Israel, I immediately wanted to go because I had been puzzled about the issue for years. I didn't really know what Zionism was. I had read about it but couldn't click with it. I had been thinking more and more about what was going on. I had been reading the reports. Even the reports in the media were sounding like some really bad things were going on to the Palestinians. So when the chance came for this trip, I thought this was a time to clear up some of the cobwebs.

I went with a relatively open mind. I thought some bad things were going on, but I said, "I really don't know. I think 99 percent that some bad things are going on against the Palestinians," but this might be a good time to go, especially since it was related to children and what had happened to children since the intifada and also since the—people call it the occupation, I call it the invasion. Again, I went even a little bit pro-Palestinian, but I honestly went with a mind to really look.

From the day I got there I have never seen such tragedy in all my life, even in Mississippi. I've thought about it a lot since then. In Mississippi, there was the murder and the violence and intimidation, but somehow I think with all of that, there was not an attempt—and I don't think there not being an attempt was through niceness—to take away identity. They still saw Black people as formidable opponents and knew they were going to be there. Or if they weren't going to be there, they weren't going to be there, but that wasn't going to be taken away by taking away their identity. I don't think that ever became an issue. I think genocide was an issue in the civil-rights movement in the sixties in the South. In Palestine, I saw a real concerted effort to make sure that male children didn't live long, that they got injured, that they got intimidated and terrified. I'm talking about young children.

We went to hospitals, one main hospital that I went, where I stopped counting after I got to twenty children—from twelve or thirteen to seventeen or eighteen-years-old—I saw with bullet wounds that had been shot. I don't think any of them had a weapon. One kid was shot while he was kicking a soccer ball out near his home. It was really for nothing that these kids were shot. I heard about rubber bullets and plastic bullets; these so-called plastic bullets were bullets that had about the circumference of a penny, coated with a plastic that was like an onion skin. Inside the onion skin was lead; the plastic coating was extremely thin. This is what they were shooting at kids, the damned plastic bullets.

I just had never seen that degree of violence in such a short time in my life. We saw places where homes were just leveled because supposedly they didn't have a permit or a kid in the family had thrown a stone. So they were either bulldozed or blown up. I think if I had just been told that here, I probably would have thought, "Well, I don't know." But we saw those situations where homes were just bulldozed and not even a chance to get cherished items outside. It was probably lucky that people didn't get caught inside the homes when they bulldozed them. They gave them ridiculously short warning. They came in and said, "We're going to do it."

It was by far the worst experience that I've ever had in my life. I haven't been to South Africa or Central America, but I think that with both those places, as horri-

ble as they are, I have the feeling that they've been left fairly intact in terms of their identity, even though in South Africa, it's not your homeland. Your homeland is in this little piece of crap. But with the Palestinians, I think there's been a real attempt to say, "you're not people, you have no identity, you have no homeland." Not even that this is part of your homeland and we'll let you live over there. You have nothing; you don't even have a flag. The flag is illegal. Your schools are illegal. Your existence is illegal.

It was the first time in my life that I was physically afraid. I was born and raised in

to fight, but not to fight in a way that he's going to get killed. By the time I left there I understood that some of the lives they were living, especially in the camps, weren't worthwhile. So in some ways you throw a stone and get a movement going and you die. It still bothers me to think that, but I understood it much better after a short period of time. At first, I was adamant that there's no reason on earth for a child to be killed if there's anything you can do to stop it. Their lives are so miserable that they're not worth living the way it is now.

We saw kids in some of the schools and centers that we went to, run by the popular

Children were more fearful of beatings from the Israelis than they were of dying.

Harlem. I did a lot of stuff in the deep South, got shot at there. I've been in some difficult situations. I have never felt as physically in danger as I did there. We went into an Israeli settlement, and I was really intimidated like I was twenty years ago going into a store in Mississippi where I had no business going. It brought back a lot of those feelings. We went up to people to ask what they thought was happening. We talked to a young man who was from Detroit. He sounded at first like he was supportive of the Palestinians and of the cause. But as we talked to him he denied the issue of racism.

The major issues for me had to do with racism and land. This is what I thought the whole struggle was about. This young man didn't really think there was racism, said people lived in the camps because they wanted to. I asked him, "How do you feel about raising children in this situation?" He said it would be fine under these conditions

committees, kids for whom childhood was already gone, play and frivolity was gone. There was a seriousness, a lot of sadness, and no future, no thought of future whatsoever. But with the sadness and no sense of future was also a real sense that the intifada would survive and continue. And there was, without exception—when we talked to people from two to a hundred—a sense that the intifada was real, was solid, was right, and was not about to be given up.

PF: What was the impact of the closure of schools?

BC: For one thing, for a lot of these kids that probably was the only social situation they had, especially in the camps, with any kind of structure whatsoever. There was a complete absence of any kind of normal existence of children socializing, playing. For some kids who were coming out of high school or going to kindergarten, this

go to and from school and that the mothers have to come and get them and take them back and forth because they were so afraid of the soldiers coming to get them. He stressed that.

This man also felt real strongly that the children would like to be martyrs because it would make their parents proud of them. The worst part was that they were more fearful of the beatings from the Israelis than they were of dying. This man's own nine-year-old child had been kidnapped by soldiers. He was found the next day blindfolded in a field. He had asked for water; so the soldiers had peed on him and peed in the water. They threatened to rape him. Talking to the parents and some of the kids and young men who had been beaten, there was constant insinuations or threats of rape, of castration, almost an obsession with Palestinian boys. I'm sure that's attached to reproduction and to genocide, to make sure they don't procreate.

PF: Did you get a chance to talk to children who had been beaten?

BC: In one of the clinics we saw a young boy who had been beaten. He'd just been brought into the clinic that day. He had been beaten on his genitals. He had welts all over him. He was about thirteen or fourteen. He said he hadn't done anything. I'm sure he hadn't. If he had, he would have been dead. We talked to other kids in hospitals who had been shot for little or nothing, some for throwing stones. Some for being in the wrong place at the wrong time.

The kids who had thrown stones were proud of it. These kids had thrown stones at soldiers who were maybe two or three blocks away. So the stones couldn't have reached the soldiers, but the bullets reached the kids. We saw kids in kindergarten—five, six-years-old and even young—who would run out of the schools and yell out at the soldiers, who didn't have fear but had a sense of the intifada. The intifada is something I've never seen anywhere and hope that it can be copied in this country and South Africa and a lot of other places. These kids had a real sense that there had to be this struggle on every level. Everybody of any age and every level of the society had to struggle against the occupation.

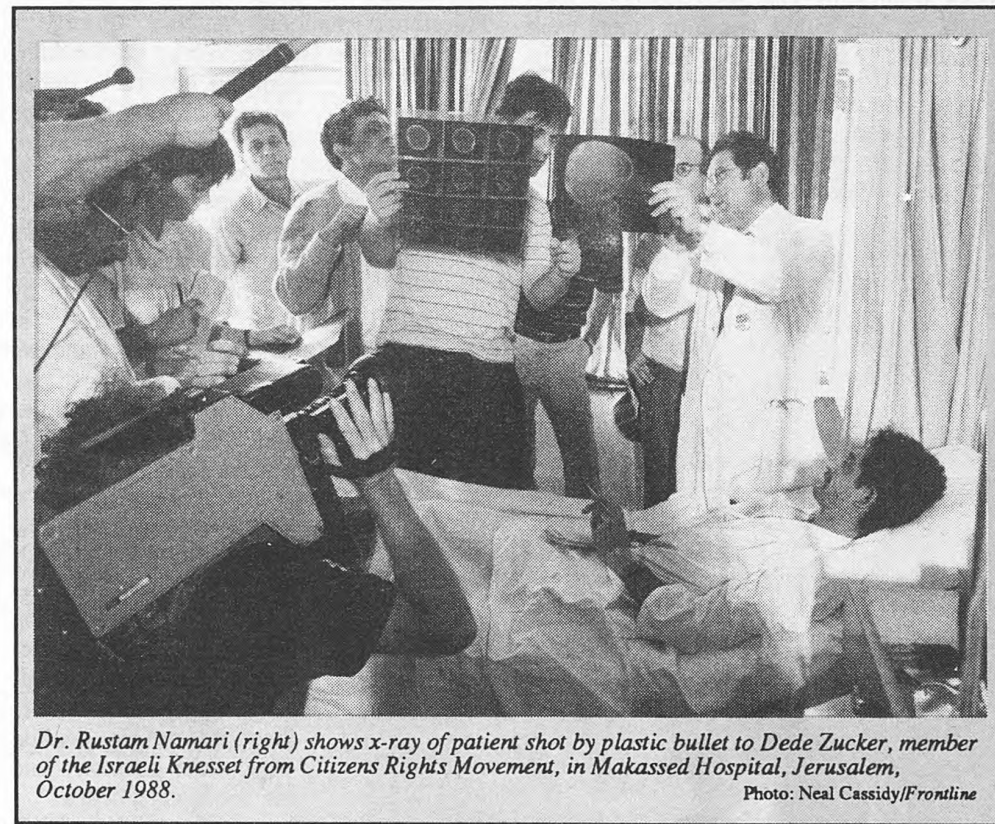
PF: You saw mostly boys as victims. What effects did you see on young girls?

BC: Yes. The girls began to feel that if the boys got hurt, they would have to take up the battle, they would be the backup. The struggle was mainly by the boys, and the attacks were mainly against the boys. Clearly, the murder and the shootings and beatings, from what I saw, tended to be against the boys.

I saw Israeli soldiers as boys, too. I saw them with Uzis and other weapons and no training for them, no background in how to deal with weapons, carrying themselves in a way that was threatening, intimidating, and destructive. I wondered about some of the things that were going on with the Israeli young people and children. From just a few superficial reports I'd heard, there was a lot of guilt, not understanding what was going on for them either. So when one group is oppressed, the oppressor is also affected and negatively impacted.

I see much the same situation with young Black men here. There is a real intended destruction mainly of Black boys, letting drugs go rampant in the community. Crimes happen, and police go in with a real vengeance. I've been in homes of friends in an all-Black community where they come in with sirens blaring, jumping out of cars with guns drawn, that kind of thing. And there's a lot of intimidation of young Black men here. I think there's a very, very similar kind of intimidation and attempts to make fearful young Palestinian boys I saw there. They go about it even more aggressively than they do here. There was not a lot of restraint. Once, in Gaza, from a distance I saw soldiers shooting at kids who were quite far away from the soldiers.

I thought about whether I want to say this publicly: there is a lot of denial in the Palestinian community about the effects on the children. I've been trained in a traditional way about how children are affected



Dr. Rustam Namari (right) shows x-ray of patient shot by plastic bullet to Dede Zucker, member of the Israeli Knesset from Citizens Rights Movement, in Makassed Hospital, Jerusalem, October 1988. Photo: Neal Cassidy/Frontline

but he wishes there would be peace, but he would have no problem raising children there. But I posed it as: is it right to want to raise children in a situation where they would only meet themselves every day, where they would only meet Israeli children in the settlements and not meet different kinds of children, different races of children. He said there were different children: Germans, Czechs, Parisians, and whatnot there but just didn't want to connect it to the race issue.

PF: What sense did you get, in your brief visit, of the impact of the intifada and the repression on children?

BC: When I first got there, I was arguing with Palestinians about children throwing rocks and getting killed. I didn't like that and didn't agree with the sense of martyrdom that your child should throw a rock when he might get killed for it. Let's try and find something else for him to do

was an interruption of a crucial year and a half out of their lives. I think for a lot of kids who came out of school there was no hope of going back.

With not being in school and closing the schools, the sense of hopelessness became really intense. There's no way that there'd be any jobs, that there'd be any education, any livelihood, it just has produced a couple of generations of hopelessness and anger. If the anger isn't directed to help the intifada but at the same time to try not to have these kids killed, I'm not sure how it's going to end.

I visited a clinic attached to a school in Gaza, one of the UN clinics. A teacher I met in the schoolyard had a son in the school. He ran down the problems real fast: children never feel safe, they can't settle down to study, there's always fear that the Israelis are going to come in and disrupt or hurt them, dismantle everything. So they're always afraid. This man felt that the most dangerous period is the time that children

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Mazin Rantisi is a doctor at Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem and also volunteers his skills as a member of the Popular Committees for Health Services. He was interviewed by Douglas Franks for Palestine Focus in July 1989.

PF: What medical burdens do you face as a Palestinian doctor during the uprising?

MR: The whole health system in the West Bank and Gaza already had real problems before the uprising. It faced 22 years of destruction and pressure as did all sectors of our community. The medical sector faces great challenges during the uprising.

It isn't easy dealing with the large number of injuries, 40 or 50 thousand now, with very limited technical and material means and almost no experience with very severe injuries from gunshot wounds—in one day 50 or 60 such cases in small hospitals. The operating rooms are not able to accept all of them; some have to be put on waiting lists until the more severe cases can be treated. In many cities we don't have neurosurgeons when bullets have hit the head or spine. Many people have lost their lives or become disabled because of the lack of technical or financial means to help them.

Imagine somebody with a bullet in the skull needing to be transferred from Nablus or Jenin by ambulance to Makassed Hospital, the only one that does neurosurgery. If he's lucky enough to arrive without being stopped on the way by Israeli authorities, he'll arrive after two hours, bleeding the whole time. His chances get worse and worse. He arrives at Makassed, and maybe somebody is already in the operating room.

The army and settlers regularly attack our medical teams. One ambulance driver was even killed. They don't respect the signs of hospitals or medical workers. It's not easy for the system to function under occupation. Just like the other parts of the Palestinian community, the medical sector is doing its best to make it easier for our population to live under the circumstances.

PF: Doesn't the Israeli military respect the needs of Palestinian doctors and their patients in case of medical emergency?

MR: No, I don't notice any such respect. It isn't their policy. We are always witnessing ambulances being stopped. The Israelis remove everything from the ambulance for hours even if they see a dying or injured patient inside.

I remember once getting some patients from the village of Kufr Nahme on a Friday. Some people from the village came to me at five o'clock in the morning and told me to hurry up, there are three injured people in the village. One had a broken leg, a bullet in the femur. It was very bad; he was in great pain. Another had a gunshot wound behind his ear. The bullet had struck one side of his neck and went out the other side. He was lucky. The third had a wound in his shoulder near his heart.

These three had been injured for hours. The army was waiting to pick them up. They knew they were injured and were waiting to capture them. The people from the village took them by donkey via a back route and after three hours brought them to a nearby village where we met them. We gave them first aid. I went ahead of them to Makassed Hospital. I would be able to help them.

Five kilometers beyond Ramallah, a police car stopped the Volkswagen van they were in. The police asked what injuries they had. They said this guy fell from a tree and broke his leg. They were afraid to say they had been shot, as if it were a crime, because if the Israelis knew the army shot you, it was another crime they would torture you for. The police stopped the car for half an hour. Everything was okay, documents and license. Nothing was wrong. But the policemen enjoyed stopping them and keeping the Palestinian in pain. He knew his leg was broken.

After half an hour, I went to talk to the policeman and said, "I'm a doctor; I'm from Makassed. I know this man is on his way to the hospital. Can I take him?" The policeman just looked at me and said, "Why are you in a hurry?" I said, "I'm in a hurry because he has a broken leg." The policeman was very nasty. He seemed to enjoy seeing him suffer. But he let him go.

There are other stories. In Gaza a Pal-

Interview with Dr. Mazin Rantisi

"What security reason should prevent a doctor from saving someone's life?"



Doctors at Al-Ittihad Hospital in Nablus repair small intestine of youth shot in abdomen with a plastic bullet. Photo: Neal Cassidy/Frontline

The army and settlers regularly attack our medical teams; one ambulance driver was even killed.

documented by the Database Project. It happened in Jabalya camp last April. There are hundreds of stories of such cases, hundreds. They don't respect our lives. They don't consider that we have the right to be

treated and get medical assistance.

PF: What other medical transport problems are caused by Israeli military authorities or settlers?

MR: Sometimes the military authorities close areas. They don't permit anybody to enter. For example, the Jerusalem area has been completely closed many times. Nobody from the West Bank is allowed in. Even when surgeons and doctors who run the operating rooms and who live in the nearby city of Ramallah, ten miles away, come in the morning to do their work, they are sent back and the hospital is left with almost no doctors. The soldiers tell you to go back. You try to get in through other streets or from other directions, and the soldiers block them also.

That is what happened on the day our independence was announced. Most of the doctors live in the suburbs of Jerusalem. A doctor shows proof he is a doctor working at the Makassed Hospital. That's the only hospital we have which provides services no other hospital can provide. The Israelis know this but they still block doctors from going to their job, even though the doctors have proof from the military authorities that they work there. The Israelis say it is because of security reasons. I can't understand what security reason should prevent a doctor or surgeon from saving someone's life.

PF: Do the Israelis specifically target the medical community and institutions as a form of intimidation and to make life as difficult as possible?

MR: In times of war throughout history, the medical sector is the only party left out of the conflict. They don't bombard hospitals in wars. They don't attack or stop ambulances. However savage they are, enemies have bilateral agreements. The Israelis know we don't have the ability to respond; they know we are unarmed people. So there isn't even this logic or ethic of war, supposing there are ethics in war. They act as freely as they want without any respect for anything.

For Israel to achieve this level, to attack medical personnel, to close hospitals, to raid hospitals, to beat the injured inside hospitals, to torture medical workers, to stop ambulances: All these policies prove they've reached a great level of hatred toward our people, a great level of racism. They do things not even allowed in times of war between two armies. It shows how much they disrespect human values.

PF: Can Americans help in terms of material aid?

MR: In the area of health, there are many, many things which can be done for us: fundraising to support concrete projects; adopting clinics. We have thirty clinics, and any one of them can be adopted, enabling it to provide more advanced medical services. Adopting cases of injured patients who come to the United States to be treated; going to the occupied territories to see how the situation is "on the ground"—all these can be a great help for our people who really need it.

American doctors and medical workers, in particular, can do a lot. They are in a better position than others to donate medications and equipment, to raise funds, to send eyewitnesses or volunteers.

PF: Are there difficulties in getting material aid into the occupied territories?

MR: For many years we have faced a blockade and many difficulties in getting

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Healing the Wounds of Occupation ... Building the Palestinian State

After 22 years of military occupation and particularly since the beginning of the intifada, health conditions in the West Bank and Gaza have deteriorated dramatically, especially in remote villages and refugee camps. To help provide services for Palestinians where the need is greatest, Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) is helping to fund several medical-aid projects.

PSC's medical-aid campaign is rais-

directly to patients in remote areas and clinics in the Nablus district and in Beita in the West Bank and a health clinic in Jabalya camp in Gaza. The campaign is also helping to fund an ambulance project sponsored by Mercy Corps International and the Roots Relief Fund.

These projects work not only to meet the immediate needs, but to build an infrastructure of health services for the new Palestinian state. They need our support now

the intifada until freedom and independence are achieved. Your contribution will help buy badly needed medical equipment and supplies. Please be as generous as you can. Your dollars will, quite literally, help heal the wounds of occupation.

Please take a moment to write out your tax-deductible donation in any amount to MECEF (Middle East Cultural and Educational Foundation) with the

L.A. 8 ...

Continued from Page 2

closely parallel one of the most widely criticized anti-Palestinian practices of Israel: the expulsion of Palestinians from their homes and country because of their nationalist political ideas and because of their roles as leaders of their communities. During the almost two years of the Palestinian intifada, Israel has expelled more than sixty Palestinians from their life-long homes in the West Bank and Gaza. They are charged with no crime, given no opportunity to examine the so-called "evidence" against them—they are claimed to be the "leaders" of the intifada, the "fomenters" of the uprising.

Even the United States has protested this treatment, in an almost unprecedented vote against Israel in the United Nations which condemned the practice of expulsion. But in an extraordinary display of hypocrisy, the L.A. Eight face government deportation from their U.S. homes, thousands of miles from the West Bank and Gaza expulsions going on at the same time. For some of them, their Los Angeles homes replaced the forced exile from the place of their birth.

The Bush administration knows the L.A. trial is one of the most important political cases of this decade. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh seems to think he can carry out Ed Meese's dream of stopping debate on U.S. Middle East policy by imprisoning and expelling its critics. Three years is long enough. The Palestinian intifada has shown the world that the idea of Palestinian independence and freedom cannot be suppressed. It is up to us to ensure that the right to speak out in the United States in support of those Palestinian national rights will not be suppressed either. □

This important case continues through the courts, at great expense but with even greater import. For more information or to contribute to the defense fund, contact the Committee for Justice to Stop the McCarran-Walter Act Deportations, P. O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, CA 90051, (213) 413-2935.

We once had to ask "Where were the 'Good Germans'?" Now we have to ask "Where are the 'Good Jews'?"

We are Americans and Jews and we come together at this time publicly to express our strong desire to see the United States take meaningful steps to dissociate our country from the policies of Israel and to support mutual recognition between Israel and the new State of Palestine proclaimed last November by the Palestine National Council.

For some years we have witnessed Israel increasingly deviating from political policies that we find acceptable and from moral values that we hold dear. These developments are not the responsibility of any particular political party in Israel but rather stem, in our judgement, from a tragically misguided approach toward the Arab world in which Israel is located, a racist ideology and a growing militancy. We can no longer condone or be associated with such Israeli behavior, nor, do we believe, should our country.

In recent years Israel has twisted away from basic commitments made at Camp David in 1978; annexed further territories, including East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, while continuing to expand settlements in all the occupied territories; and grotesquely invaded Lebanon, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinians as well as hundreds of Israelis and Americans, and the taking as hostages of others.

Furthermore, Israeli policies and attitudes toward the Palestinian people have made it evident that only major changes in Israel's basic posture will allow for a peaceful political settlement with the Palestinians.

Israeli complicity in Irangate and Conragate coupled with Israel's employment of American Jews as spies against our country further underscore the growing dangers inherent in the current U.S.-Israeli relationship. The close identification in the public mind between Israel and Jews — an equation vigorously fostered by both the Zionist movement and the American Jewish lobby, which has come under its control — threatens to stigmatize Jews everywhere.

The recent acts of killings, beatings, curfews, expulsions and house arrests—all against unarmed Palestinians living in areas Israel has occupied for 21 years — further demonstrate that Israel has become a badly divided country with many unfortunate similarities to the situation that prevails in South Africa.

Our ancestors came to the United States because, as a result of their Jewishness, they were discriminated against and abused. The European experience culminated in the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust. How tragic that in our own time the very State established by Jews in the aftermath of this evil has become a place where racialism, religious discrimination, militarism and injustice prevail; and that Israel itself has become a pariah state within the world community. Events taking place today are all too reminiscent of the pogroms from which our own forefathers

fled two and three generations ago — but this time those in authority are Jews and the victims are Moslem and Christian Palestinians.

We believe that Israel's course could not be maintained but for the continuing financial, political, military and covert support of the U.S. government. And we fear that unless firm steps of disengagement from Israel are taken now our country might get dragged into a major war for which preparations are under way.

In addition, we believe that unless the United States takes serious steps to distance itself from Israel the Israelis will mistakenly continue to think that the course they are on is acceptable to the American people.

For all these reasons we believe the time has come to **normalize** the U.S. relationship with Israel. A complete re-evaluation of what has become since 1967 the American sponsorship of Israel is required. The unprecedented amounts of economic aid should be cut back over the next two to three years to much smaller levels. Furthermore, the considerable military and intelligence assistance should also be radically reduced.

Unfortunately, in recent years much the opposite course has been followed, and Israel has practically become a ward of the United States. We urge an urgent and open debate about the serious problems and dangers which have resulted from the current structure of U.S.-Israeli relations. Few foreign policy issues are of such importance to our country. Consequently, we urge everyone, including our elected public officials, to resist the widespread inhibitions from speaking up about Israel, inhibitions which result from the severe financial, political and ideological pressures often brought to bear against those who do.

We further believe that the time is overdue for negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO, which is quite clearly the chosen representative for the great majority of Palestinians — negotiations that should quickly lead to full recognition of the Palestinian State in today's occupied territories and reasonable security guarantees for all parties. In the security guarantees we think our country should participate; but no longer in the financing and supporting of the kinds of policies Israel has been pursuing. The continual oppression and denial of Palestinians of their right to self-determination is an injustice which has become intolerable not only to those demonstrating for their freedom in Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza and throughout Israel itself.

The citizens of Israel, of course, will ultimately choose their own country's destiny. But at the very least the citizens of the United States should stop financing and supporting policies that are contrary to the principles and values we hold precious as Americans and Jews.

newoutlook middle east monthly

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A BIMONTHLY JEWISH CRITIQUE OF POLITICS, CULTURE & SOCIETY

ISRAEL HORIZONS
The Socialist Zionist Journal

What Do These Jewish Publications Not Want You To Know?*

* The only publications to refuse to publish our JCOME Statement of principles as a paid ad are these "liberal" and "progressive" Jewish and Israeli magazines.

For details call (202) 362-JCOME at any hour.

Letters to the Editors

- Does it bring a smile to your face to hear children cry?*
- Do you gloat in happiness when you watch innocent babies die?*
- Is it the 'thrill of your day' to commit genocide?*
- Does it bring joy to your life to bury living people and leave them for dead?*
- Does it "tickle your fancy" to shoot a rubber bullet through a little boy's head?*
- Does it make you feel good to treat*

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Whether you are Jewish or not...
Please help! Your support and contributions are vitally needed if JCOME is to be effective in bringing these issues to the attention of the public, the press, and the Congress.

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PLEASE COMPLETE AND RETURN THIS FORM TODAY
Copies of this Statement and other JCOME information will be sent to you
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Arabs like dirt?
I wonder; are you not human?
Do you experience happiness?
Are you ever hurt?
No, quickly I must expel this thought from my mind!
Bloodthirsty machines, they could not be of mankind?

Dear Palestine Focus,

These are just a few of the thoughts that keep me up at night. A whole generation being deprived of life, and good old Mr. Bush is funding it with our tax dollars. One can only pray God will hear our cries, and I'm sure he will.

Nadia Ameri
age 17
Tarzana, California

U.S. Peace Movement...

Continued from Page 1

On the international level, the Palestinian/Israeli conflict is surely among the regional conflicts which can be settled through a negotiated peace. The leading national liberation movement in the region, the Palestine Liberation Organization, has launched a bold peace initiative. The vast majority of the world's governments, including most of the European allies of the United States, continue to press for an international peace conference under United Nations' auspices to resolve the conflict. International public opinion continues to press for a peaceful and just settlement. However, the U.S. and Israeli governments remain committed to a brutal and rejectionist policy of suppression and expansion.

The United States must be held to account for the contradictions in its own foreign policy: If other regional conflicts can be settled, why not this one? If the threat of conflict with the Soviet Union no longer frames international relations, what makes Israel any sort of "strategic asset" in the Middle East region? If peace is the best security for the people of the world, then why not for the people of Palestine and Israel?

On the domestic front, the human and financial costs of U.S. Middle East policy are increasingly clear to the peace movement and the American people. The price of U.S. bankrolling of Israeli occupation, about \$10 million a day, is the lion's share of a military and foreign assistance budget

which ballooned throughout the Reagan era at the expense of human needs for housing, health, job training, affirmative action, and community programs right here at home.

The intifada has made the faces of resistance come alive in the hearts and minds of people in communities across the country. Palestine has become an issue of peace and justice in the United States. People who struggle against racism can understand that Palestinians live under a racist occupation. People who struggle for housing for the homeless can understand that tens of thousands of Palestinians were made homeless in 1948 and again in 1967. People who fight to protect women's right to choose can understand that Palestinian women are not allowed to make the most basic choices about their day-to-day lives under the boot of occupation. And people who fight to disarm the world's nuclear stockpiles can understand that Israel's nuclear arsenal makes the Middle East another potential flashpoint for nuclear war.

The challenge for the months and years ahead is to keep Palestine high on the agenda as the tremendous force of the uprising continues to build. Fueled by the dynamism of the intifada and linked with the democratic forces around the world, including those in Israel, we are not alone in our concern for a just peace which addresses Palestinian rights. We have both a responsibility and an opportunity to make peace and justice a reality. □

Join Palestine Solidarity Committee

We invite you to join us to work for Middle East peace and Palestinian rights. Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) is a national grassroots organization working to change U.S. government policy to support steps toward a just resolution of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict. The tremendous upsurge of the Palestinian intifada has struck a responsible chord with many Americans. You can help reach these potential supporters and to press our government to sup-

port self-determination for the Palestinian people through the United Nations international peace conference and an independent Palestinian state. You can help build a grassroots, activist movement which can organize for a just peace. Your political commitment, in the form of membership in PSC, will help achieve this goal. As a member, you will receive *Palestine Focus* and our bimonthly *Members Update* with reports on the latest PSC activities across the United States.

Yes! I Want to Join The Palestine Solidarity Committee!

Name _____
Street or Box # _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____

Enclosed is a check for:

\$30/year, Regular \$15/year, Student/Low-income
 \$50 \$75 \$100 Sustaining Member

I wish to be a monthly sustainer and will contribute \$ _____ monthly for the next year. (Make checks payable to Palestine Solidarity Committee or PSC.)

I wish to send material aid directly to Palestinians under occupation. Enclosed is my tax-deductible donation of \$ _____. (Make checks payable to Middle East Cultural and Educational Foundation or MECEF.)

Send your check or money order to:
Palestine Solidarity Committee
P.O. Box 27462, San Francisco, CA 94127.

GETTING IT ALL IN Focus

By Hilton Obenzinger

On August 21, NBC television reported that Israeli military trainers, notably a Col. Yair Klein and two associates, were working for the leaders of the cocaine cartels in Colombia. A brief blip of scandal appeared on media radars—but faded from sight when the Israeli government made assurances that the "individuals [were] acting on their own ... in violation of Israeli law and contrary to Israeli policy, which is strongly committed to the war on drugs." With profuse promises to investigate and high-minded words of scandalous outrage in Tel Aviv, the Israeli government hoped once again to put the proper "spin" on a news story.

However, Jane Hunter, in the September issue of *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, spins the story back toward truth. The three trainers were members of Spearhead Corporation, whose "antiterror" training business was listed in the annual *Defense Sales Directory* of the Israeli Ministry of Defense. All three of the Israeli trainers reported to be working in Colombia are ranking reserve officers in Israeli Defense Forces anti-terror units. Jane Hunter reports that one of the trainers, Mike Harari, is said to be a long-time Mossad agent. Between 1982 and 1985, he "ran the Harari Network, a group of Israeli, U.S., and Panamanian operatives established to secretly support the contras fighting against Nicaragua. According to several sources, in cooperation with the Medellin Cartel, the Harari Network used the same aircraft and airstrips it used to transport arms to bring cocaine from Colombia to the United States."

According to Hunter, the Israeli drug connection is only the tip of an iceberg of lingering Iran-contragate scandal. As to official Israeli disclaimers that Spearhead is a private concern and the three trainers were "freelancing," Hunter explains that "the distinguishing feature of Israeli military aid abroad is that it is structured to give that impression. There are estimated to be 800 'private' companies—fronts, or cutouts, in intelligence parlance—providing weapons and military expertise abroad and the Israeli government controls all of them...."

"The private fronts are specifically designed to allow Israel to deny any official connection when embarrassing questions arise. Indeed Israel assigns these front companies to jobs it is embarrassed to be caught doing itself." And the United States assigns to Israel jobs it is embarrassed to do itself. In this case, however, what Israel is doing makes a mockery of Bush's war on drugs.

The NBC video footage provided both dramatic visual proof and establishment media legitimacy. But *Israeli Foreign Affairs* actually reported Israeli involvement with the Colombian cocaine cartel many months earlier. No other publication so closely monitors the covert international actions of the Israeli government throughout the world. If you want to know the real story of the Israel-cocaine-contras connection, you must subscribe to *Israeli Foreign Affairs*. Subscriptions are \$20 a year. Write to P. O. Box 19580, Sacramento, CA 95819.

As the intifada approaches its third anniversary, dissent on Israeli policies has become even more noticeable in the American Jewish community. Peace activist Dr. Jerome Segal has launched a "Jewish Peace Lobby" to make sure that an alternative to the official pro-Israel lobby is heard in Washington. New Jewish Agenda and the International Jewish Peace Union continue to organize protests of the occupation (for example, the Passover Peace Coalition demonstration last spring in New York).

The Jewish Committee on the Middle East is one of the most hard-hitting of American Jewish groups. JCOME has printed a series of ads in major publications with a frank call "to normalize the U.S. relationship with Israel." Such normalization requires a "re-evaluation of ... American sponsorship of Israel," including the need to cut back U.S. financial, military, and intelligence aid to Israel. JCOME statements, signed by major Jewish intellectuals, have not been blunted by false "anguish" but instead describe Israel as "a place where racialism, religious discrimination, mili-

tarism, and injustice prevail," a "pariah state." Several magazines within the Jewish community have refused to print these ads, despite their own purportedly pro-peace leanings.

In this issue of *Palestine Focus*, we reprint JCOME's latest ad as a service to our readers.

The "Days of Rage" PBS TV controversy drove the point home: In order for Americans to get some real "balance" on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, we have to fight to get it. Pro-Israel forces pulled out all their guns to attack the program—including last-minute "exposés" (gasp!) Arab money behind Jo Franklin-Trout's outstanding production. What if people started talking about "Jewish" money? The whole smear campaign against the production reeked of racism.

Still, the overwhelming reality of the intifada plus public outrage over crass media manipulations kept the show on the air. This attempt to squelch anything sympathetic to the Palestinians comes after several other similar outrages: Joseph Papp's last-minute cancellation of East Jerusalem's El-Hakawati theater's performance at his Public Theater in New York and the National Endowment of the Arts demand that *Red Bass* literary magazine return its grant after it published a special issue "For Palestine," just to name some recent examples.

However, despite all the concessions—the "bookend" programs meant to supply pro-Israel "balancing," the panel discussion, and the disclaimer on the program's funding—"Days of Rage" finally reached the airwaves! The broadcast was a victory for everyone seeking not only peace in the Middle East but freedom of speech in the United States. In San Francisco, phone calls were three to one (621 to 181) in favor of "Days of Rage" after it was broadcast. In San Diego there were 96 positive and 66 negative calls, and in Minneapolis, 95 percent of the calls received favored the film. Louise Stoll, who leads a group of 45 Bay Area Jews who took out an ad against the film, told the *Northern California Jewish Bulletin* that "the pro-Palestinian grassroots lobby is effective." But the battle isn't over—not by a long shot. We have to keep public pressure on. Write or phone your local PBS station and tell them you support such programs. □

Dr. Rantisi Interview ...

Continued from Page 5

material supplies into the territories. We don't have equal rights with Israelis when it comes to getting aid for hospitals and other humanitarian activities through the borders or through the airport or through the ports, as is usually done all around the world. No Palestinian has the right to import anything, even those with businesses in the occupied territories. They get their trade importation through an Israeli third party.

Even when we receive humanitarian donations, the Israelis block them, such as ambulances which have been kept for years in the ports until they rusted away and got sent back to their points of origin. Usually the authorities give excuses and don't say directly that we don't want you Palestinians to get anything. They say, for example, that this ambulance is not equipped as it should be. So we spend more time and money on accessories to be acceptable to their standards. After this, the Israelis give another excuse. They keep giving excuses. And in

the end, when they have no more excuses, they just say "no" directly.

PF: Why do the Israelis feel so threatened by the Popular Committees for Health Services that they go to such lengths to hinder or attack them?

MR: The threat is that they don't want any Palestinian institution to stand on its own feet and say we are a nation, we can build something on our own regardless of the pressures, regardless of everything they have done during the years of occupation, regardless of all the false images they present about us: we are a group of terrorists, we are not a nation, we are extremists, we only know how to fight, we don't know how to build lives, we are not people who deserve life.

There's nothing wrong with what we are doing. The fact that these institutions come from us as a people and a nation—no matter what the sector—is something they are afraid of. □

Barbara Cross Interview ...

Continued from Page 4

by family, by violence, that kind of thing. I did feel some denial in the Palestinian community about how much the impact was on children of the occupation and the violence. This was mainly with women. But the more I talked with them, the more they acknowledged that it did impact them and it did hurt and that there was a problem. I think they felt that if they acknowledged that there was a problem, then they would have to do something about it. And there's not much they can do. I feel real ambivalent about saying it's a problem if the Palestinian women say it's not a problem. Whether or not I agree with it is something else. I don't like saying this is a problem when people who are experiencing it say it's not a problem. It's kind of an arrogant posture.

The thing I came away with is that women and teachers want some help working with children who have been affected. I was asked to find some way to do some trainings. I'm in the process of developing some tapes that teachers can use in doing some trainings in how to deal with children who are acting out in real hostile ways. Some of the kids, their play was real aggressive. I would expect that. I would be surprised if it wasn't because this is what they've been brought up with.

In the hospital where these kids were, to go through room after room and see these bullet wounds. One guy had his by

stomach just opened and held together with clamps. One kid shot in the side. Another in the eye. Another in the head. We went through the emergency room where a kid was on life-support systems. He died the day after, seventeen-years-old. It just kind of stuns you, rocks you back on your heels.

The wards are full. If you have a ward of eight or ten people in it, eight of the ten will have bullet wounds from the soldiers. They must wonder what we think when we come into a hospital and see all these kids wounded. The kids stay there because there are no resources, no place for them to go. They stay in the hospital for three or four months past what their wounds need. There's no rehabilitation. We talked to a wonderful doctor. I asked him, "How do you deal with this every day?" He said, "I go home and I take valium every day and I take a drink." To deal with that every day all day long can get to you.

I talked to two doctors in Ramallah in a health clinic. They said they were seeing many more situations of stress, inuresis, sleep disorders, much more depression, much more fear, a lot of psychosomatic illnesses and problems in children and in the mothers, too.

One of the things these doctors said to me when they were talking about the stress and things the kids were experiencing was that they did feel it was healthier for the kids to fight and die as they were doing then. That's when I was getting into real arguments. But by the time I left I knew they were right. □

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

The Palestine Solidarity Committee's task is to spark and support consistent, far-reaching, and effective activity which brings the issue of Palestine before the American people and builds a growing and deepening base of understanding. Our Committee organizes to stop U.S. intervention in the Middle East and to cut off U.S. aid to Israel. We educate Americans on the need to support the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to oppose Israeli policies of discrimination which deny the Palestinian people their rights.

Signed articles are not necessarily the opinion of the Palestine Solidarity Committee. Letters, opinions, and other contributions are welcome.

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Women and the Intifada

Eileen Kuttab is professor of sociology at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank of Palestine. She is a founding member of the Our Production Is Our Pride women's cooperative. Ms. Kuttab was interviewed for Palestine Focus in July 1989 by Sharon Rose during Kuttab's recent U.S. tour as part of a delegation invited by North American nongovernmental organizations.

PF: How has the involvement of women in affairs of the Palestinian community changed during the intifada?

EK: For the first time, women see that they are equal in the struggle. Historically, on many occasions, women have been in the national liberation struggle, but on an individual basis. Some active women did projects for the struggle. But this time it is more comprehensive. The intifada involves the whole population, and women became an inevitable part of it. For the first time, they are equal in the struggle even in violent actions, in demonstrations. They have their own demonstrations. Sometimes they stand in front of the people, guarding the men.

At the same time, women are sometimes more harassed by soldiers because they are in the front line, especially in the refugee camps. When troops come to arrest or beat people, women have been increasingly involved in direct confrontation. Some have been martyred this way because they see their honor requires that they guard the family and the land. That's another drastic change. The honor of the women has a more political and nationalist context now.

Women have initiated the organization of the families for the intifada. They have initiated the establishment of neighborhood committees where they can organize themselves on a grassroots level and, at the same time, try to activate even their domestic roles to have more input in the national economy. From women's traditional role as producers in the domestic economy has come the idea of producing collectively for the neighborhood. This development involves a change in ideology. They do it on a democratic basis; they are learning to practice democracy. And they are learning to feel that even their role in the domestic economy can be very important in the whole struggle.

It is very important because for the first time women are not only putting themselves on the front line in confronting the troops, they are also trying to be equal partners with men in building the national infrastructure. It is different from the Algeria model because the Algerian women really sacrificed a lot, but they were only liberated when they were in the field of battle. After liberation they were back in the kitchen.

Palestinian women are aware of this danger. That is why the women's committees, which is a new movement, are trying to guard the achievements of the political struggle and the involvement of women in it and also get women more involved in decision making. Now the Unified Leadership has recognized women's role in the struggle. There is now a new body, the higher council of women, which is part of the Unified Leadership. Women are now in politics, which is very important because they have to really guard and develop their achievements.

So a new image of women has penetrated the traditional context of femininity. In the past women were thought of as weaklings, people who don't think, who need to be protected. Now women are on the front line. I don't want to exaggerate things, of course. They are still partners with the men. They are not ahead of them, of course, because they have not been historically. But they are trying to take the initiative. Men are in prison, and the women have to play the men's role, which gives them more credibility.

PF: There are women in jail, too?

EK: Yes. But you can never count how many because women are sometimes jailed during demonstrations, and after three days they are released. More than one



Palestinian doctor teaches first aid class to girls in El-Khadi Village.

Photo: Neal Cassidy/Frontline

thousand have been in jail since the intifada began. At present, forty have been sentenced. Some drew light sentences; some got fifteen to twenty years. A few got some months for throwing stones.

The military troops have treated men and women equally in their harshness in the interrogations. Women continue to suffer sexual harassment. The traditional society has had to confront this problem. The women feel that their honor is really in protecting people, not their own bodies. So societal values are re-evaluated and advanced into other contexts, which is very important to women.

Women have been harassed sexually; they have been tortured. But they are surviving it. Many women have survived interrogation and remained politically active. They don't give confessions; they feel this is their honor, a way to prove themselves, that they can be equal to and as strong as men.

PF: What are some of the community institutions that are being built?

EK: The intifada as a whole has built a new ideology based on collectivism. The women feel that as long as there is solidarity and cooperation in group action, then

are two large cooperatives in the West Bank—in Ramallah and Hebron—and one in Gaza. There are also 22 smaller-scale neighborhood cooperatives to produce bread. They are also trying to start a new kind of production, in dressmaking and sewing, as part of the intifada's drive to build the economic infrastructure of the Palestinian state independent of the Israeli market.

Now the women are working to put these efforts together into a broader plan through building a cooperative school where women are trained to start their own projects. The course lasts for three months. First, women from the three large cooperatives met together to develop the curriculum. They have been trained to teach others about the most important things their experience has taught them. Then women are chosen from the camps and rural area, and they are trained to go back and start their own school for members of the cooperative. It has now become a condition of membership in the cooperative to take this course because they don't just want to dump women in a factory. It's a whole movement with a new ideology, which is building new values for the new society. It needs a long process of education; three months is not very much, but at least the

“This generation and the next are being trained to take power into their own hands.”

the intifada cannot be broken. They are working in this context, too, to build their own cooperatives. One of the main activities of some of the women's committees has been building the production cooperatives in the rural areas and the refugee camps, to help women find opportunities for work and have a little bit of income. At the same time they organize women in such a way that they see that together they can do something more productive than producing jam in the house.

What they are doing now is building these cooperatives around food production for the community because they feel it is a priority at this stage to be able to satisfy the needs of the intifada especially under curfews and sieges. They produce the basic foods in a traditional taste, which is very important because identity around food production is being emphasized: pickles, jams, drinks, bread. This work keeps them very busy and keeps their morale high. This work is now nationally accepted.

The Unified Leadership has been emphasizing in all its leaflets the return to the land as building the nation, as well as building the unity process against the Israeli attempts to starve people into submission. So the women feel they are serving the national needs. At the same time, they are helped socially to be involved in public life and to be trained to be democratic and to organize collectively. There

women get the principles to start building the cooperative.

PF: What kind of training is emphasized?

EK: There is both general discussion of the role of the cooperative, as well as concrete skills—in economics, in principles of childrearing, in principles of mass production of food, and in marketing because they do their own marketing. It is political; it is social; and it is economic. The students even get diplomas when they complete the three months. Imagine an illiterate woman who now has a diploma.

The course is designed so that there is no discrimination between literates and illiterates. It is more group education through group interaction; it's not an individual process. The illiterate woman finds she can communicate with more educated women, and she builds confidence in herself. The illiterate women have done very well, sometimes better than the literate ones, because they have to prove to themselves that they can participate in the cooperative project.

The course is only one day a week. The women don't want to exaggerate things because maybe still some men will not like this and confront them. So they want to make it look small and keep it quiet. Then some bolder steps can be explored at a later

stage when everybody is trained to do things.

There has been some resistance to building cooperatives from men, especially in rural areas, because this is very, very new and outside the traditional context. For example, in the Hebron area, men who heard of the idea of the cooperative thought the women would be producing alcoholic drinks, and they didn't want to rent them a place. It took some time to convince the men that the cooperative is there to help them, and now they are very supportive after they saw that the women are really involved in production and marketing and can get a little income, which makes it easier for everyone in the family. The production of national products is important to everyone.

PF: Have the women activists had any contact with Israeli women opposed to the occupation?

EK: Some of the women in the cooperative movement and some doing other political work have such contacts. In particular, there is political contact between Palestinian women and some Israeli women who are supportive of Palestinian women political prisoners. These are democratic Israeli women who accept our national rights: the right to a state, the right to return. But, of course, people want to guard against the danger that the Israeli government will try to use these contacts for public-relations purposes.

PF: How has the response you have received from Americans on your current visit compared to your previous visits?

EK: I lived in Boston from 1978 until 1981. At that time, I really disliked the community here because I felt I was not even accepted as a human being. When people heard I am a Palestinian, they would just look at me as a terrorist.

Now the intifada has been very successful in educating people all around the world, and on this tour I have noticed a changed attitude in people I meet. Because they know, through the media, a little more about the struggle of the Palestinian people, they react to a Palestinian as another human being. This reaction is very important, because it is only Americans who can pressure the U.S. administration to change its Middle East policy. I have a real appreciation for the efforts of solidarity groups who have worked so hard to change American opinion toward the Palestinian people. I met with three Congressmen when I was in Washington, and I could tell that they could see me as a human being. Now a new stage of the work is beginning, and it is made possible by the intifada. I am glad to see the new efforts being made to try to cut off U.S. funding for the Israeli occupation.

PF: What is your view of the future?

EK: I am very optimistic toward the future. The intifada has given Palestinians control over their own lives. When people achieve such control, they do not easily give it up. This generation and the next are being trained to take power into their own hands. The intifada has taught them to be afraid of nothing. Prison, even, has become an accepted part of life. And people are now proud to say, “I am a Palestinian,” anywhere they go. All of this is doubly true of the women. They are no longer only the mothers or the sisters of martyrs. They are martyrs themselves, and this status has earned them the right to be full partners in the struggle.

In the declaration of the state, one of the points is equality between women and men. But this is not going to happen unless people struggle for it. Palestinian women have the chance now to grasp the opportunity to make equality happen. If we want to safeguard the achievements of the intifada, the state must be built by all the people with their own hands. And the survival of the state does depend on all the people. Development cannot happen if a state neglects half the population. Emancipation is a long process, but everything that has been achieved thus far makes me optimistic about the future of Palestine. □