



Distr.
GENERAL

A/39/360
26 July 1984

ORIGINAL : ARABIC



الأمم المتحدة

الجمعية العامة

الدورة التاسعة والثلاثون

البنود ٣٣ و ٣٦ و ٩٨ و ٩٩ و ١٢٥

و ١٢٦ و ١٢٧ من جدول الأعمال المؤقت*

قضية فلسطين

الحالة في الشرق الاوسط

العهدان الدوليان الخاصان بحقوق الانسان

التعذيب وغيره من ضروب المعاملة او العقوبة القاسية
او اللاانسانية او المهينة

تسوية المنازعات بالوسائل السلمية

مشروع قانون الجرائم المخلة بسلم الانسانية وامنها

تقرير اللجنة الخاصة المعنية بزيادة فعالية مبدأ عدم
استعمال القوة في العلاقات الدولية

A/39/150

*

.../...

84-18118

رسالة مؤرخة في ٢٣ تموز/يوليه ١٩٨٤ وموجهة الى الامين العام
من الممثل الدائم للجمهورية العربية السورية
لدى الامم المتحدة

يشرفني ان اتوجه الى سعادتك بطلب تعميم رسالتي المرفقة طيا ، والتي
وجهتها الى رئيس مجلس الامن بتاريخ ١ ايار/مايو ١٩٨٤ والصادرة في الوثيقة رقم
S/16520 بتاريخ ١١ ايار/مايو ١٩٨٤ ، بوصفها وثيقة رسمية من وثائق الجمعية العامة
تحت البنود ٣٣ و ٣٦ و ٩٨ و ٩٩ و ١٢٥ و ١٢٦ و ١٢٧ من جدول الأعمال المؤقت .

(توقيع) ضياء الله الفتال

السفير

الممثل الدائم للجمهورية العربية السورية
لدى الأمم المتحدة

رسالة مؤرخة في ١ أيار/مايو ١٩٨٤ وموجهة الى رئيس
مجلس الأمن من الممثل الدائم للجمهورية العربية
السورية لدى الأمم المتحدة

بالإشارة الى رسالة مندوب اسرائيل المعمنة في الوثيقة رقم (S/16479) بتاريخ ١٣ نيسان/ابريل ١٩٨٤ ، أشرف بالافادة بما يلي :

١ - ان المندوب الاسرائيلي في رسالته يحاول مرة أخرى ذر الرماد في العيون وتحول الأنظار عن الفظائع التي ارتكبتها وما زالت ترتكبها اسرائيل ضد الشعب العربي ضحية الاحتلال والاستعمار الاستيطاني الاسرائيلي في كل من فلسطين والجولان ، هذا الاحتلال الذي شمل أيضا في عام ١٩٨٢ جنوب لبنان الشقيق .

٢ - ان الرسالة الاسرائيلية تعبر عن حقد شديد ضد الأمم المتحدة ، وذلك لأن أهداف اسرائيل العدوانية وسياساتها التوسعية تتعارض كليا مع ميثاق المنظمة العالمية ، وكذلك لأن الأمم المتحدة ومختلف هيئاتها تطالب بالحاح بانسحاب اسرائيل الكامل من جميع الأراضي العربية المحتلة واستعادة الشعب الفلسطيني للحقوق التي اغتصبتها اسرائيل ، وفي مقدمة هذه الحقوق حقه في تقرير المصير ، وحقه الثابت بالعودة الى دياره .

٣ - تتزامن الرسالة الاسرائيلية المشار اليها أعلاه وغيرها من الرسائل مع تصريحات عدوانية ومناورات وتحركات عسكرية اسرائيلية مشبوهة تتجاوب معها الولايات المتحدة الامريكية ، وكلها تدل على ان اسرائيل تنوى القيام بأعمال عدوانية جديدة ضد الجمهورية العربية السورية .

٤ - تفيد التقارير الواردة من الأراضي العربية المحتلة بأن هناك تنسيقا بين سلطات الاحتلال الاسرائيلية والمستوطنين الصهاينة للقيام بأعمال ارهابية واسعة النطاق ضد العرب . وهذا ما يجعلنا على الاعتقاد ، في ضوء معرفتنا لتاريخ الارهاب الصهيوني ، بأن هناك توزيعا للأدوار يقوم على ممارسة الجيش الاسرائيلي للارهاب الرسمي والمستوطنين الصهاينة للارهاب الخاص ضد المدنيين العرب . وكل ذلك بهدف تحقيق هدف الصهيونية الأول ألا وهو افراغ الأرض العربية من سكانها الأصليين واحلال المستوطنين المستوردين مكانهم .

٥ - ان سجل الصهيونية العالمية وقاعدتها الاقليمية اسرائيل يبرهن على ان الارهاب هو عماد العقيدة الصهيونية الذي من خلاله وبواسطته تمكنت اسرائيل من اغتصاب فلسطين وغيرها من الاراضي العربية . وبهذه المناسبة نود التذكير بان الارهاب الاسرائيلي الصهيوني المؤسسي لا يختلف بشئ عن ارهاب نظام الفصل العنصري ضد الملايين من الافارقة في جنوب افريقيا وفي نامبيا (انظر المرفق رقم ٦) كما انه لا يختلف في جوهره وطبيعته عن الارهاب النازي الذي سفك الدماء الاوروبية وأنزل بشعوبها الخراب والدمار .

٦ - ان قادة اسرائيل اليوم مثل قادتها في الماضي يتباهون جهارا بماضيهم وحاضرهم الارهابي ويتنافسون في امتداح جرائمهم ضد العرب في يومياتهم ومذكراتهم وان هذه الجرائم هي في معيار القانون الدولي جرائم حرب وجرائم ضد الانسانية وتحمل اسرائيل وتحمل مرتكبوها مسؤولية دولية . ولو أردنا سرد تاريخ اسرائيل الارهابي لاحتجنا الى مجلدات ومجلدات ، ولذا نكتفي ، في مرفقات هذه الرسالة بالتذكير ببعض الأعمال الاجرامية التي ارتكبتها العصابات الصهيونية واسرائيل بشكل منهجي لتحقيق اهداف الاستعمار الاستيطاني في الأراضي الفلسطينية والعربية المحتلة وفي مقدمة هذه الأعمال الاجرامية مذابح دير ياسين وقبية ، وكفر قاسم ، واخيرا وليس آخرا مذبحه صبرا وشاتيلا التي تتحمل مسؤوليتها كاملة اسرائيل وبصورة خاصة مخططها وزهر الدفاع الاسرائيلي السابق " شارون " .

وبالرغم من كل ذلك ، فان هناك من يدعي بان الكيان العنصري الاسرائيلي هو امتداد للقيم الديمقراطية الامريكية في الشرق الأوسط . وقد رأينا مؤخرا كيف تنافس المرشحان للرئاسة الامريكية على دعم هذه " الديمقراطية " الدموية المجنونة بكل الوسائل لتركب المزيد من الارهاب والقتل والتشريد ضد امتنا العربية ، وبذهبان الى حد خرق مبادئ القانون الدولي بالدعوة الى نقل السفارات من تل ابيب الى القدس .

وفي الختام ، فان مضمون رسالة مندوب اسرائيل المشار اليها اعلاه يجب ان يقيم في ضوء اقوال قاتل الكونت فولك برنادوت وسيط الأمم المتحدة لفلسطين (انظر المرفق رقم ٣) ، فلقد قال شامير رئيس عصابة " شتيرن " الذي يرأس الآن حكومة اسرائيل ان اسرائيل :

" لم تأخذ الأراضي بالغزو من اصحابها الشرعيين ،
انما حررتها من بلدان غزتها في عام ١٩٤٨ " ، ويقول :

" ونحن لم " نضمها " ولن " نضمها " فهي جزء من أرض إسرائيل ،
وما هو جزء من بلدكم فانكم لا تضموه " .

اني اذ ارجو التكرم بتعميم هذه الرسالة مع مرفقاتها كوثيقة رسمية من وثائق
مجلس الأمن ، انتهز هذه المناسبة لأتقدم اليكم بفائق الاحترام .

(توقيع) ضياء الله الفتال
السفير العنود والدائم

المرفقات : (٦)

الملاحق

سجل ببعض الأعمال الارهابية الصهيونية
التي رافقت قيام الكيان الصهيوني الاسرائيلي
ولغاية اليوم

✱

العرق رقم ١

فيما يلي بعض أهم أعمال عصابة الايتسل ضد العرب الفلسطينيين مأخوذة فـسي معظمها عن كتاب وضعه الارهابي المعروف شموئيل كاتس الذي عمل بعد صعود الليكود للسلطة في اسرائيل مستشارا اعلاميا لزميله ورئيسه الارهابي الشهير مناحيم بيغن ثم استقال من منصبه وانضم الى حركة هتسيا الفاشية اليمينية ، وعنوان الكتاب بالعبرية "يوم هائيش" أي (يوم المعركة) ، ومن كتاب آخر وضعه المؤرخ الصهيوني دافيد نيف بعنوان (معارك المنظمة العسكرية القومية) ومن مصادر أخرى معظمها اسرائيلية ، والكتابان المذكوران يستعرضان أعمال عصابة "ارغوان زفاي ليثوي" أو (الايتسل) وهي العصابة التي تزعمها مناحيم بيغن منذ أواخر عام ١٩٤٣ ، وكانت قد انشقت عن الايتسل عام ١٩٤٠ التي عصابة ارهابية أخرى عرفت باسم (عصابة ليحي) أو "شترن" ، وكان رئيس وزراء اسرائيل الحالي "يتسحاق شامير" من أبرز زعمائها :

١ - قبل قيام الكيان الصهيوني (اسرائيل) في فلسطين المحتلة :

(أ) من أبرز أعمال "الايتسل" في تلك الفترة ضد العرب الفلسطينيين ما يلي :

* في ١١ / ١١ / ١٩٣٧ ألقى أحد أعضاء الايتسل قنبلة على مقهى عربي في حديقة يافا مما أدى الى مقتل شخصين واصابة آخرين بجراح .

* في ٦ / ٣ / ١٩٣٨ ألقيت قنبلة في سوق حيفا فقتل ١٨ شخصا عربيا وجرح ٣٨ آخرين .

* في ٦ / ٧ / ١٩٣٨ انفجرت سيارتان ملغومتان وضعتهما الايتسل في سوق حيفا وأدى انفجارهما الى استشهاد ٢١ مواطنا عربيا وجرح ٥٢ آخرين . وفي نفس اليوم انفجرت في القدس القديمة قنبلة وضعتها الايتسل وأدت الى مقتل شخصين وجرح أربعة .

* في ١٥ / ٧ / ١٩٣٨ انفجرت قنبلة ألقتها أحد عناصر الايتسل أمام أحد مساجد القدس أثناء خروج المصلين منه فقتل ١٠ أشخاص وجرح ٣٠ .

* يوم ٢٦ / ٧ / ١٩٣٨ انفجرت سيارة ملغومة وضعتها الايتسل في السوق العربية في حيفا ، فاستشهد في الحادث ٣٥ مواطنا عربيا وجرح سبعون .

* في ٢٦ / ٧ / ١٩٣٨ ألقى عنصر من عناصر عصابة الايتسل قنبلة في سوق حيفا أودت بحياة ٤٧ عربيا وأصابت آخرين بجراح .

.../...

- * يوم ٢٦/٨/١٩٣٨ انفجرت سيارة طغومة وضعتها عصابة الايتسل في سوق القدس العربية فقتلت ٣٤ شخصا وجرحت ٣٥ آخرين .
- * في ١٣/١١/١٩٣٨ قتلت عصابة الايتسل في ثلاث حوادث متفرقة خمسة من العرب وجرحت أربعة آخرين .
- * يوم ٢٧/٢/١٩٣٩ فجرت عصابة الايتسل قنبلتين في حيفا ، فاستشهد من جراء ذلك ٢٧ مواطنا عربيا وجرح ٣٩ آخرين ، وفي اليوم نفسه قتل ثلاثة من العرب في تل أبيب وجرح رابع ، وقتل في القدس ثلاثة وجرح ستة على أيدي اراهابي الايتسل .
- * في ٢٩/٥/١٩٣٩ ألقى أعضاء من الايتسل قنابل في سينما ركس بالقدس فأصيب ١٨ شخصا بجراح .
- * يوم ٢٦/٨/١٩٣٩ فجرت عصابة الايتسل قنبلة في يافا قتلت ٢٤ عربيا وجرحت ٣٥ آخرين .
- * في ٢٣/٣/١٩٤٤ نسفت الايتسل منزلا مكونا من أربعة طوابق في يافا بحجة أن به مقرا للشرطة العربية البريطانية ، ونفس الذريعة نسفت منزلا ثانيا في القدس وثالثا في حيفا .
- * يوم ٢٢/٧/١٩٤٦ نسفت عصابة الايتسل الجناح الجنوبي من فندق الطلك داوود في القدس حيث توجد مكاتب الادارة الانتدابية وأدى ذلك الى مقتل ٨٣ شخصا من المواطنين وخمسة من المارة بينهم عدد كبير من العرب .
- * في أواخر كانون الأول / ديسمبر ١٩٣٧ ألقى أحد أعضاء الايتسل قنبلة في سوق الخضار المجاورة لبوابة نابلس في القدس فأودت بحياة العشرات من العرب بينهم كثير من النساء والأطفال .
- * في ٣١/١٢/١٩٤٧ ألقى وحدة اراهابية تابعة لعصابة الايتسل قنبلة على عمال عرب في ساحة معمل تكرير النفط في حيفا ، فاستشهد ستة أشخاص وجرح ٣١ آخرين .
- * ليلة ١٠/٩ نيسان / ابريل ١٩٤٨ ، نفذت عصابة الايتسل وليحي باط-لاع وموافقة قائد عصابة البهاغانا في منطقة القدس المدعو دافيد ساليثيل مذبحه رهيبه في قرية دير ياسين العربية الواقعة على مشارف القدس الغربية ، حيث قتل ٢٥٤ شخصا معظمهم من النساء والأطفال والشيوخ وقد استهدفت المذبحة القا العرب في قلوب العرب واراهابهم لحطهم على ترك قراهم وديارهم (راجع العرفق رقم ٢) .

.../...

(ب) وقد شاركت عصابة الهاغانا التابعة لحزب مباى وما يسمى بالحركة الصهيونية العمالية في أعمال الارهاب والقتل ضد المدنيين العرب من شبوخ ونسبا وأطفال، وفيما يلي بعض ما أوردته المصادر الصهيونية نفسها عن أعمال الهاغانا وقوتها الضاربة البالماخ في هذا المجال :

* في ١٩٣٩/٦/١٢ هاجمت عناصر من عصابة الهاغانا قرية بلد الشيخ بجوار حيفا واختطفت خمسة أشخاص من سكان القرية وقتلتهم .

* في ١٩٤٧/١٢/١٩ هاجمت الهاغانا قرية الخصاص بالجليل الأعلى وقتلت عشرة أشخاص بينهم خمسة أطفال . كما هاجمت قرية سلواد بمنطقة القدس وقتلت امرأة وطفلين ، وهاجمت كذلك باصا عربيا في حيفا وقتلت جميع ركابه .

* ليلة ٣٠ / ٣١ كانون الأول / ديسمبر ١٩٤٧ أغارت قوة من البالماخ على قرية بلد الشيخ قرب حيفا وقتلت أكثر من ٦٠ شخصا من أهالي القرية .

* في ١٩٤٨/١/١ هاجمت الهاغانا قرية أخرى في منطقة حيفا وقتلت وجرحت ١١١ مواطنا عربيا .

* ليلة ١٤ / ١٥ شباط / فبراير ١٩٤٨ هاجمت قوة من الهاغانا والبالماخ قرية سمسع العربية في الجليل الأعلى ودمرت ٢٠ منزلا على رؤوس أصحابها وقتلت أكثر من ٤٠ شخصا .

(ج) هذا بالإضافة الى سلسلة اخرى من الأعمال الارهابية التي ارتكبتها العصابات الصهيونية ضد المدنيين العرب دون تحديد اسم العصابة التي قامت بها ومنها :

* يوم ١٩٤٧/١٢/١٣ قتل ١٨ مواطنا عربيا وجرح ستون آخرون في ثلاث حوادث القاء قنابل الأولى في سوق القدس ، والثانية على مقهى يافا ، والثالثة في قرية العباسية قرب اللد .

* في ١٩٤٧/١٢/٢٩ ، قتل ١١ مواطنا عربيا وجرح ٣٢ آخرين في حادثة القاء قنبلة قرب بوابة دمشق في القدس .

* يوم ١٩٤٨/١/٤ ، قتل ٤٠ شخصا وجرح ٩٨ آخرين من جراء انفجار سري الحكومة لحي مدينة يافا .

* في ١٩٤٨/١/٥ انفجرت فندق سمير أميس في القدس وقتل ٢٠ من نزلاءه معظمهم من العرب ومنهم القنصل الاسباني في القدس .

.../...

- * يوم ١٧/١/١٩٤٨، قتل ١٧ مواطنا عربيا في حادث القاء قنبلة في بوابسة يافا بمدينة القدس .
- * في ١٦/١/١٩٤٨ نسف ثلاثة مباني مات في أحدها ثمانية أطفال تتراوح أعمارهم ما بين سنة و ١٢ سنة .
- * يوم ٣/٣/١٩٤٨ نسف مبنى في حيفا قتل فيه ١١ شخصا وأصيب ٢٣ شخصا بجراح .
- * في ٣١/٣/١٩٤٨ نسفت العصابات الصهيونية للمرة الثانية خلال شهر قطار حيفا - يافا أثناء مروره بالقرب من مستوطنة نتانيا شمالي تل أبيب ، وقتل في الحادث ٤ شخصا وجرح ستون آخرين .
- * يوم ١٩/٤/١٩٤٨ نسفت العصابات الصهيونية منزلا عربيا في مدينة طبريا قتل ١٤ شخصا من سكانه .

٢ - بعد قيام الكيان الصهيوني (اسرائيل) في فلسطين المحتلة :

أصبح الارهاب والقتل وهدم القرى والمنازل وتشريد سكانها واستخدام العنف والقوة لمصادرة حقوق وأراضي العرب في الأراضي التي احتلتها اسرائيل عام ١٩٤٨ ، والعدوان والتوسع على حساب الأراضي العربية المجاورة سياسة اسرائيلية رسمية ومعلنة، فلم تكتف اسرائيل بما احتلته من أراض عام ١٩٤٨ ، والتي تشكل ثلاثة أرباع المساحة الكلية لفلسطين ، وتندمر أكثر من ٣٥ قرية وبلدة عربية وازالتها من الوجود بعد تشريد سكانها والاستيلاء على نحو ٣٢٥ مليون دونم من أراضيها الزراعية (١) بل واصلت عطية نهب ومصادرة أراضي المواطنين العرب الذين ظلوا صامدين على أرضهم في الجليل والنقب والمثلث ، وحاولت وتحاول بشتى السبل والوسائل اقتلاعهم من أراضيهم وتمزيق وحدتهم ، مستخدمة في ذلك مختلف أشكال وصنوف التمييز العنصري والاضطهاد ومجازر الإبادة ، بالإضافة الى مصادرة الحقوق الانسانية والقومية والسياسية والثقافية . فتحت ذريعة الأمن ، وحجة الطوارئ ، فرض على الأقلية العربية في اسرائيل الحكم العسكري بكل تعسفه وإساءاته لمدة عشرين سنة ، وطبقت اسرائيل بحق السكان العرب قوانين الطوارئ الانتدابية التي كانت سلطات الانتداب البريطاني قد أصدرتها عامي ١٩٣٦ ، ١٩٤٥ مستهدفة في حينه قمع الحركة الوطنية العربية في فلسطين ، وأصدرت السلطات الاسرائيلية مجموعة أخرى من القوانين التي تنطوي على أكثر أشكال التمييز العنصري ضد العرب بشاعة وفظاعة ،

وهي مجموعة القوانين التي تعرف باسم قوانين الأراضي والتي تستهدف تبرير مصادرة وسلب أراضي العرب وطردهم منها مثل قانون أملاك الغائبين الصادر عام ١٩٥٠، قانون استغلال الأراضي البور عام ١٩٤٨، قانون مناطق الأمن وقانون الاستيلاء على أراضي ساعة الطوارئ الصادرين عام ١٩٤٩، قانون استملاك الأراضي عام ١٩٥٣، وقانون تركيز الأراضي لعام ١٩٦٠، وقد وظفت السلطات الاسرائيلية أيضا في مجال مصادرة الأراضي العربية بعض القوانين الانتدابية كقانون الطوارئ لعام ١٩٤٥ وقانوني الأحراش وتقادم الزمن بعد تعديلهما.

(أ) وعلى أساس تلك القوانين والأنظمة العنصرية تم الاستيلاء على أراضي ٦٢ قرية عربية أخرى في الجليل والمثلث وتشريد سكانها منها إما الى خارج البلاد أو الى بعض القرى المجاورة (١) :

- * ففي الفترة ما بين ١٩٤٩ - ١٩٥١ تم الاستيلاء من قبل السلطات الاسرائيلية على أراضي القرى التالية في الجليل بعد تشريد سكانها : البروة ، البص ، صفورية ، كفر عنان ، قميم ، عمقا ، النخشة ، عرب سبت ، سمحاتا ، معلول ، الرويس ، الشجرة ، الغابسية ، الدامون ، حدشيا ، العباسية ، الطهرة (قضاء بيسان) ، أم الفرج ، ميعار ، شعب ، الخصاص ، فيطة والجاعونة .
- * في شباط / فبراير ١٩٥١ طرد الى خارج حدود المنطقة المحتلة عام ١٩٤٨ سكان ١٣ قرية عربية في وادي عارة بمنطقة المثلث الشمالي وصودرت أراضيهم .
- * كذلك تم في الفترة ما بين ١٩٤٨ - ١٩٥٢ طرد أعداد كبيرة من بدو النقب الى الضفة الغربية وشرق الأردن والاستيلاء على أراضيهم .
- * في ١٩٥١/١٢/٢٥ ليلة عيد الميلاد المجيد ، قام الجيش الاسرائيلي بنسف منازل قرية أقرت في الجليل الأعلى بما في ذلك كنيسة القرية ، وكان أهالي القرية المذكورة قد أخرجوا منها في تشرين الأول / اكتوبر ١٩٤٨ بحجة الاعتبارات الأمنية ووعدوا بأن يعودوا الى منازلهم خلال اسبوعين .
- * في عام ١٩٥٢ طرد ما تبقى من أهالي بلدة محدل عسقلان الى قطاع غزة وتم الاستيلاء على أراضيهم ومنازلهم .
- * ليلة ١٦/١٧ أيلول / سبتمبر ١٩٥٣ لاقت قرية كفر برعم في الجليل الأعلى نفس المصير الذي تعرضت له قرية أقرت ، وكان سكان كفر برعم قد أخرجوا من قريتهم مع سكان أقرت وتحت نفس التهديدات .

(١) هارتس ١٩٧٢/٧/٢٨ ، معاريف ١٩٧٧/٨/٢٤ .

- * في الفترة ما بين ١٩٤٨ - ١٩٧٢ تمت بموجب القوانين والأنظمة العنصرية التي سبقت الإشارة اليها مصادرة أكثر من مليون دونم من أصل مليون ونصف المليون دونم هي مجموع أراضي القرى العربية في الجليل والمثلث، كما تمت مصادرة مساحات واسعة من أراضي الوقف الاسلامي منها على سبيل المثال أراضي وقف رومن جنوبي يافا ومساحتها ١٦ ألف دونم ووقف العسود وان مساحته ٢٠٠ ألف ووقف سيدنا على شمال يافا ومساحته ١٢٢ ألف دونم.
- * تجددت أعمال مصادرة أراضي القرى العربية عام ١٩٧٦ حيث قامت السلطات الاسرائيلية بمصادرة ٢٠ ألف دونم من أراضي قرى سخنين ودير حنا وعرابة وعرب السواعد في الجليل الأوسط، وكان هذا الاجراء هو السبب المباشر في تفجير أحداث يوم الأرض في الثلاثين من آذار/مارس عام ١٩٧٦ والتي استشهد خلالها ستة مواطنين عرب برصاص قوات الجيش وحرس الحدود الاسرائيليين.
- * في أوائل عام ١٩٧٨ تم اقتلاع سكان قرية الفجر العربية قرب الخضيرية من أراضيهم التي تم الاستيلاء عليها لصالح تطوير بلدة قيسارية اليهودية المجاورة (١).
- * في منتصف عام ١٩٧٨ صادرت السلطات الاسرائيلية نحو ٣٠٠ دونم من أراضي قرى جولس والمكبر وجديدة في الجليل الغربي قرب عكا (٢).
- * في نيسان/ابريل عام ١٩٧٨ تمت مصادرة حوالي سبعة آلاف دونم من أراضي قرية بيت جن (٣) وحوالي ٤٥٠ دونما من أراضي قرية كوكب أبو الهيجا (٤) في الجليل الأوسط.
- * في حزيران/يونيه ١٩٧٩ تمت مصادرة ٣٠٠ دونم من أراضي قرية معليا (٥) في الجليل الأعلى أقيمت عليها نقطة استيطان يهودية.
- * منذ عام ١٩٧٦ وحتى الآن والسلطات الاسرائيلية تخطط وتحاول الاستيلاء على ألفي دونم من أراضي قرية الرينة وثلاثة آلاف دونم من أراضي قرية عيسن ماهر الواقعة شمال شرق الناصرة من أجل استخدامها لتوسيع منطقة بلدية الناصرة العليا اليهودية (٦).

(١) عل همشار ١٩٧٨/١/٢٤.

(٢) عل همشار ١٩٧٨/١/٢٥ - ١٩٧٨/٦/١١.

(٣) جبروزاليم بوس ١٩٧٩/٤/٢٠.

(٤) دافار ١٩٧٩/٤/٢٩.

(٥) هآرتس ١٩٧٩/٦/١٧.

(٦) الفجر ١٩٨٠/١٢/٢٠.

* أصدرت السلطات الاسرائيلية خلال السنوات الأخيرة وخصوصا بعد صعود
الليكود للسلطة مجموعة جديدة من القوانين العنصرية التي تستهدف
التضييق على السكان العرب وتشريدهم من ديارهم وقراهم منها : قانون
كتساف لعام ١٩٧٩ والذي يقضي بمنع شركتي الماء والكهرباء وخدمات
الهاتف والبريد والمجالس المحلية من تقديم الخدمات للأبنية التي تعتبرها
السلطات الاسرائيلية غير قانونية ، والتي اضطر أصحابها لاقامتها بسبب
زيادة عدد السكان في القرى العربية وسياسة تقليص مساحات البناء لهذه
القرى ، وبطال هذا القانون التعسفي العنصري الذي تقرر تطبيقه بأشـر
ارتجاعي حوالي ٢٠ ألف مواطن عربي وستة آلاف منزل ، وقانون ما يسمى
"ضريبة التحسينات" الذي يقضي بفرض ضريبة جديدة على المزارعين العرب
لحطيمهم على ترك أراضيهم ، وقانون "طرد الغرباء" من أراضي الدولة " أي
طرد العرب من أراضيهم التي صادرتها السلطات الاسرائيلية .

(ب) أما عن جرائم القتل وهدم المنازل والاعتداءات ضد القرى العربية وفير
ذلك من الأعمال الارهابية التي ارتكبتها اسرائيل منذ قيامها فهي أكثر من أن تحصى في
مرفق كهذا . ويكفي أن نشير الى أن سجلات الأمم المتحدة ولجان الهدنة في الفترة ما بين
١٩٤٨ - ١٩٦٧ تشير الى أن عدد حوادث العدوان التي مارستها اسرائيل خلال تلك
الفترة تنوف عن ٢١ ألف حادثة ، ولذلك سنكتفي هنا بسرد بعض الحوادث على سبيل
المثال لا الحصر :

* يوم ١٢/٧/١٩٤٨ ارتكبت القوات الاسرائيلية مجزرة في مدينة اللد بعد
احتلالها ، ذهب ضحيتها أكثر من ٥٠٠ مواطن عربي على الأقل منهم ١٥٠
شخصا قتلوا في مسجد المدينة الذي كان يستخدم معتقلا للأسرى . وقد
اعترف المدعو موشي كلمان قائد لواء يفتاح التابع للبالماخ والذي احتل
المدينة اعترف بارتكاب المجزرة ، وزعم أن عدد القتلى كان ٢٥٠ شخصا (١) .

* في أوائل الخمسينات شكلت السلطات الصهيونية وحدة خاصة في الجيش
الاسرائيلي هي الوحدة (١٠١) بهدف القيام بغارات ارهابية على المدن
والقرى في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة ، وكان اريئيل شارون وزير الدفاع
الاسرائيلي السابق هو قائد هذه الوحدة التي قامت بعدد من
الغارات منها :

(١) يد يعوت احرونوت ٤/٤/١٩٧٢ .

- * الهجوم على مخيم البريج للاجئين في قطاع غزة يوم ٢٨/٨/١٩٥٣ والذي استشهد من جرائه ٣٠ مواطنا وجرح ٦٢ آخرين .
- * ليلة ١٥/١٤ تشرين الاول / اكتوبر ١٩٥٣ أغارت مجموعة من الوحدة (١٠١) الاسرائيلية على قرية قبيه في الضفة الغربية ونسفت ٤٥ منزلا ، واستشهد نتيجة هذا الهجوم ٦٩ مواطنا نصفهم من النساء والأطفال . وقد أدان مجلس الأمن الدولي هذه الجريمة الاسرائيلية بقراره رقم ١٠١ الصادر بتاريخ ١٩٥٣/١١/٢٤ (راجع المرفق رقم ٣) .
- * في ١٩٥٤/٢/٨ قامت وحدة عسكرية اسرائيلية بالهجوم مرة أخرى على مخيم البريج للاجئين في قطاع غزة فقتلت ٣٨ شخصا وجرحت ٣١ آخرين وقد أدان مجلس الأمن الدولي هذه العملية الاجرامية الاسرائيلية بقراره رقم ١٠٦ الصادر بتاريخ ١٩٥٤/٣/٢٩ .
- * ليلة ٢٩/٢٨ آذار / مارس ١٩٥٤ تعرضت قرية نحالين بالضفة الغربية لهجوم اسرائيلي استشهد فيه ١٤ شخصا وجرح كثيرون من سكان القرية .
- * في شباط / فبراير ١٩٥٥ تعرضت أطراف مدينة غزة لهجوم اسرائيلي أدى الى قتل وجرح ٥٥ شخصا .
- * في أيار / مايو ١٩٥٥ هاجمت مجموعات من الوحدة (١٠١) الاسرائيلية كلا من جنين وقلقيلية في الضفة الغربية ولدة الشونة في الضفة الشرقية للأردن .
- * ليلة ٣١ آب / اغسطس ١٩٥٥ تعرضت مدينة خانيونس وقرية بني سهيلة في قطاع غزة لهجوم اسرائيلي حيث قامت القوة المهاجمة بنسف مبنى الشرطة في خانيونس فاستشهد في الحادث ٤٦ شخصا وجرح ٥٥ .
- * في أيلول / سبتمبر ١٩٥٥ تعرضت قلقيلية في الضفة الغربية لهجوم ثان أسفر عن اصابات كثيرة بين السكان المدنيين .
- * في يومي ٤ / ٥ نيسان / ابريل ١٩٥٦ تعرضت مدينة غزة لقصف اسرائيلي بالهاونات ومدافع الموتر أدى الى قتل وجرح ٥٦ شخصا .
- * في ليلة ١١/١٠ تشرين الأول / اكتوبر ١٩٥٦ تعرضت مدينة قلقيلية بالضفة الغربية لهجوم اسرائيلي ثالث ، كما هوجمت في نفس الليلة قرى عزون والنبي الياس وخان صوفين في منطقة قلقيلية ، وأسفر الهجوم عن نسف عدة منازل واستشهاد ٤٨ شخصا وجرح ٣١ آخرين .

.. / ..

- * يوم ٢٩/١٠/١٩٥٦ وعشية العدوان الثلاثي على مصر نفذت قوات حرس الحدود الاسرائيلية مجزرة كفر قاسم المعروفة التي ذهب ضحيتها ٥٢ شخصا نصفهم من النساء والأولاد (راجع المرفق رقم ٣) .
- * لدى احتلال القوات الاسرائيلية لمخيم رفح ومدينة خان يونس في قطاع غزة ابان العدوان الثلاثي على مصر قتلت عشرات المدنيين بالجملة .
- * في ١٦/٣/١٩٦٢ هاجمت القوات الاسرائيلية قرية التوافيق شرقي بحيرة طبريا .
- * في ٢٧ أيار/مايو ١٩٦٥ هاجم الاسرائيليون جنين وقلقيلية في الضفة الغربية وبلدة المنشية في الضفة الشرقية وأسفر الهجوم عن مقتل أربعة أشخاص وجرح سبعة آخرين .
- * ليلة ٢٨/٢٩ تشرين الأول/اكتوبر ١٩٦٥ أغارت قوة اسرائيلية على قرية ميس الجبل وقرية حولا في جنوب لبنان وقتلت امرأة ونسفت منزلين .
- * في ١٤ تموز/يوليه ١٩٦٦ قصفت الطائرات الاسرائيلية قرية سورية فقتلت امرأة وجرح تسعة مدنيين آخرين .
- * يوم ١٣ تشرين الثاني/نوفمبر ١٩٦٦ هاجمت قوة اسرائيلية قرية السموع بمنطقة الخليل في الضفة الغربية ونسفت وأصابت بأضرار ١٢٥ منزلا بينها مدرسة وعيادة طبية ومسجد وقتلت ١٨ شخصا وجرح ١٣٠ آخرين جميعهم من المدنيين . وقد أدان مجلس الأمن هذا العدوان بقراره رقم ٢٨٨ الصادر في ١٩٦٦/١٢/٢٥ .
- * وفي عدوان الخامس من حزيران/يونيه عام ١٩٦٧ مارس المعتدون الاسرائيليون قتل المدنيين دون تمييز بالجملة وهدموا قرى بكاملها ونسفوا منازل وضربوا المستشفيات والمدارس بالقنابل .
- * في ١٢/٦/١٩٦٧ ، دمر المحتلون الاسرائيليون ثلاث قرى في منطقة وادي اللطرون بالضفة الغربية فأزالوها من الوجود وشردوا سكانها البالغ عددهم اكثر من عشرة آلاف .
- * نسفت سلطات الاحتلال في الضفة الغربية وقطاع غزة منذ عام ١٩٦٧ ، وحتى الآن أكثر من ٢٠ ألف منزل ، كما دمرت قوات الاحتلال الاسرائيلي عاصمة الجولان مدينة القنيطرة وجميع قرى الجولان المحتل ، (المرفق رقم ٤) .

٠٠/٠٠

(ج) وقد توسع المعتدون الاسرائيليون في نشاطهم العدواني ضد الأقطار العربية المجاورة في أعقاب عدوان عام ١٩٦٧ ؛

* ففي ١٩٦٨/٣/٧ قصف الاسرائيليون قريتي العدسية والدرج الاردنيتين وقتل نتيجة لذلك ١١ شخصا منهم خمسة اطفال .

* وفي يوم ١٩٦٨/٣/٢١ عبرت قوة اسرائيلية مكونة من ١٥ ألف جندي مدعمة بالدبابات والمدافع والطائرات نهر الأردن وهاجمت مخيم اللاجئين في الكرامة شرقي الأردن . وقد أحدثت أضرارا وخسائر كبيرة في بلدة الكرامة والمخيم، وأدان مجلس الأمن بقراره رقم ٢٤٨ بتاريخ ١٩٦٨/٣/٢٤ العمل الاسرائيلي .

* في ١٩٦٨/٨/٤ هاجمت الطائرات الحربية الاسرائيلية مدينة السلط وجوارها وقتلت ٢٣ مدنيا وجرحت ٧٦ آخرين ، وقد استخدمت الطائرات في قصفها لمدينة السلط والقرى المجاورة النابالم فأطلقت ساحات واسعة من الأحراش والمزروعات ، وأدان مجلس الأمن الدولي الهجوم بقراره رقم ٢٥٦ بتاريخ ١٩٦٨/٨/١٦ .

* يوم ١٩٦٨/١٢/٢٨ قامت قوة اسرائيلية محمولة جوا بهجوم على مطار بيروت الدولي ودمرت ١٣ طائرة مدنية كانت موجودة على أرض المطار . وقد أدان مجلس الأمن الدولي هذه القرصنة الاسرائيلية في قراره رقم ٢٦٢ الصادر بتاريخ ١٩٦٨/١٢/٣١ .

72

Deir Yasin*

April 10, 1948

JACQUES DE REYNIER**

On Saturday 10 April a very serious incident took place: I received a telephone call from the Arabs asking me to go immediately to the village of Deir Yassin,† where the civilian population of the whole village had just been massacred. I learned that this sector, situated very near to Jerusalem, was held by Irgun extremists.‡ The Jewish Agency and the Headquarters of the Haganah told me that they knew nothing of the affair and that in any case it was impossible for anyone to penetrate into Irgun territory. They advised me not to get mixed up in the affair, as, if I did, my mission would almost certainly be terminated.

Not only did they refuse to help me, they also refused to be responsible for what they were sure would happen to me. I replied that I intended to go, and that it was a matter of public knowledge that the Jewish Agency exercised its authority over all the territory in Jewish hands and was therefore responsible for my person as well as for my liberty of action, within the limits of my mission.

* From Jacques de Reynier, *A Jerusalem un drapeau flottait sur la ligne de feu* (Neuchâtel: Editions de la Baconnière, 1950), pp. 69-74. Reprinted by permission of Les Editions de la Baconnière, S.A. Translated by the Institute for Palestine Studies.

** Head of the delegation in Palestine of the International Red Cross throughout the period of hostilities, 1948.

† An Arab village of about four hundred inhabitants in the western suburbs of Jerusalem entirely surrounded by Jewish territory. A few weeks before the massacre its inhabitants had declared it an open village. The distance between Deir Yasin and Kastel is about two and a half miles.

‡ For the Irgun, see Jabotinsky, pp. 321-30, J. and D. Kimche, pp. 615-23, and "The Zionist Military Organisations, 1946," pp. 595-600.

However, I did not know what to do. Without Jewish help, it was impossible for me to reach the village. Then, by thinking hard, I remembered that a Jewish nurse in a nearby hospital had given me her telephone number, telling me, with an odd expression, that I could call her if ever I found myself in an inextricable situation. Taking a chance, I rang her up late at night and explained the situation. She told me to go to a certain place with my car at 7 o'clock next morning, and there pick up the person I found waiting. Then she rang off.

The next morning, at the appointed place and time, a man in civilian clothes, but with pockets bulging with revolvers, jumped into my car and told me to drive on without stopping. At my request, he agreed to show me the road to Deir Yassin, but admitted that he could not do much for me. We went out of Jerusalem, leaving the main road behind the rear of the regular army, and took a road that cut across it. Very soon, we were stopped by two soldier-like individuals, whose looks were far from reassuring, with machine-guns in their hands, and large cutlasses in their belts. From their appearance I gathered they must be the men I was looking for. I got out of the car and submitted myself to a thorough search, then realized that I was a prisoner. Everything seemed lost, when, suddenly, a huge fellow, at least two meters tall, and as large as a cupboard, appeared, pushed his comrades aside, and seized my hand and squeezed it in his enormous paws, shouting incomprehensibly. He did not understand either English or French, but in German we seemed to be able to communicate perfectly. He expressed his joy at seeing a member of the Red Cross because, as he explained, its intervention had saved his life no less than three times when he was a prisoner in a German concentration camp. He said that I was more than a brother to him, and that he would do everything I asked him. With such a bodyguard I felt I could go to the end of the world, and so to start with, we went to Deir Yassin.

After reaching a hill, 500 yards away from the village which we could just see, we had to wait a long time for the order to proceed. Arab firing broke out whenever anybody tried to cross the road, and the commander of the Irgun detachment did not seem willing to receive me. At last he arrived, young, distinguished, and perfectly correct, but there was a peculiar glitter in his eyes, cold and cruel. I explained my mission to him, pointing out that it was no part of my task either to pass judgment or arbitrate—I only wanted to save the wounded and take back the dead. The Jews, in any case, had signed the Geneva Convention, so that my mission was an official one. This last statement angered the officer who asked me to under-

stand once and for all that here the Irgun were in command and no one else, not even the Jewish Agency, with whom they had nothing in common. Here my "wardrobe" intervened, seeing the tension growing higher, and he seemed to find the right arguments, for suddenly the officer said that I could do as I wished but on my own responsibility. He told me the story of this village, inhabited exclusively by Arabs, to the number of approximately 400, never armed, and living on good terms with the surrounding Jews. According to him the Irgun had arrived 24 hours earlier and ordered the inhabitants by loudspeaker to evacuate all houses and surrender: the time given to obey the order was a quarter of an hour. Some of these miserable people had come forward and were taken prisoners, to be released later in the direction of the Arab lines. The rest, not having obeyed the order, had met the fate they deserved. But there was no point in exaggerating things, there were only a few dead, and they would be buried as soon as the "cleaning up" of the village was over. If I found any bodies, I could take them, but there were certainly no wounded. This account made my blood run cold.

I went back then to the Jerusalem road and got an ambulance and a truck that I had alerted through the Red Shield. The two Jewish drivers and the Jewish doctor who boarded them were more dead than alive, but followed me courageously. Before reaching the Irgun outpost I stopped and inspected the two vehicles. A good thing I did, too, as I discovered two Jewish journalists preparing to get the scoop of their lives. Unfortunately for them, I very firmly got rid of them. I reached the village with my convoy, and the Arab firing stopped. The gang was wearing country uniform, with helmets. All of them were young, some even adolescents, men and women, armed to the teeth: revolvers, machine-guns, hand grenades, and also large cutlasses in their hands, most of them still blood-stained. A beautiful young girl, with criminal eyes, showed me hers still dripping with blood; she displayed it like a trophy. This was the "cleaning up" team, that was obviously performing its task very conscientiously.

I tried to go into a house. A dozen soldiers surrounded me, their machine-guns aimed at my body, and their officer forbade me to move. The dead, if any, would be brought to me, he said. I then flew into one of the most towering rages of my life, telling these criminals what I thought of their conduct, threatening them with everything I could think of, and then pushed them aside and went into the house.

The first room was dark, everything was in disorder, but

there was no one. In the second, amid disembowelled furniture and covers and all sorts of debris, I found some bodies cold. Here, the "cleaning up" had been done with machine-guns, then hand grenades. It had been finished off with knives, anyone could see that. The same thing in the next room, but as I was about to leave, I heard something like a sigh. I looked everywhere, turned over all the bodies, and eventually found a little foot, still warm. It was a little girl of ten, mutilated by a hand grenade, but still alive. As I was about to carry her out, the officer tried to stop me, blocking the doorway. I pushed him aside and went through with my precious load protected by my good friend the glass cupboard. The ambulance set off, with orders to come back as soon as possible. As the gang had not dared to attack me directly, I could continue. I gave orders for the bodies in this house to be loaded on the truck, and went into the next house, and so on. Everywhere, it was the same horrible sight. I found only two more people alive, both women, one of them an old grandmother, hidden behind a heap of firewood where she had kept quiet for at least 24 hours.

There had been 400 people in this village; about fifty of them had escaped, and were still alive. All the rest had been deliberately massacred in cold blood for, as I observed for myself, this gang was admirably disciplined and only acted under orders.

Back in Jerusalem I went straight to the Jewish Agency where I found the leaders dismayed, apologetic and pretending, which indeed was true, that they had no power over the Irgun or the Stern Gang.* However, they had done nothing to try and prevent about a hundred men from committing this unspeakable crime.

Then I went to visit the Arabs. I said nothing about what I had seen, but only that after a preliminary hurried visit to the place, it seemed to me that there were several dead people, and that I wondered what to do with them and where to put them. The indignation of the Arabs was understandable, but it prevented them from taking a decision. They would have liked the corpses brought back to the Arab side, but feared a revolt of the population and did not know where to put them or bury them. Finally, they decided to ask me to see to it that they were decently buried in a place that could be recognised later. I agreed to undertake this task and went back to Deir Yassin. I found the Irgun people in a very bad temper; they tried to prevent me from approaching the village. I understood their attitude when I saw the number, and especially the state of the corpses that had

* Cf. "White Paper on Violence, 1946," pp. 601-12.

been lined up all along the main road. I asked very firmly that the burial be started and insisted on being present. After discussion, digging was started on a big grave in a small garden. It was impossible to check the identity of the dead as they had no papers, but I took careful note of all their particulars, with approximate ages. As night fell, I went back to Jerusalem, stating clearly that I was coming back the next day.

Two days later, the Irgun had disappeared from the place, and the Haganah had taken over; we discovered several places where the corpses had been stacked, without decency or respect, in the open air.

After this last visit, I went back to my office where I was visited by two gentlemen, well-dressed in civilian clothes, who had been waiting for me for more than an hour. They were the commander of the Irgun detachment and his aide. They had prepared a paper that they wanted me to sign. It was a statement to the effect that I had been very courteously received by them, and obtained all the facilities I had requested, in the accomplishment of my mission, and thanking them for the help I had received.

As I showed signs of hesitation and even started to argue with them, they said that if I valued my life, I had better sign immediately. The only course open to me was to convince them that I did not value my life in the least and that a declaration quite contrary to theirs had already gone to Geneva. I added that in any case I was not in the habit of signing statements written by others, but only those exclusively drawn up by me. Before I let them go, I tried to explain to them once more the purpose of our mission and asked them whether or not they intended to oppose us in the future. I did not get an answer that day, but later, in Tel Aviv, I saw them again; they needed our help for some of their own people, and in gratitude for our cooperation, they were of great assistance to us on several occasions, returning some hostages we claimed without argument.

The affair of Deir Yassin had immense repercussions. The press and radio spread the news everywhere among Arabs as well as the Jews. In this way a general terror was built up among the Arabs, a terror astutely fostered by the Jews. On both sides, it was made into a political argument, and the results were tragic. Driven by fear, the Arabs left their homes to find shelter among their kindred; first isolated farms, then villages, and in the end whole towns were evacuated, even when the Jewish invader had done no more than make it appear that he intended to attack. Finally, about 700,000 Arabs became refugees, leaving

everything behind in their haste, their one hope being to avoid the fate of the people of Deir Yassin. The effects of this massacre are far from being over today, as this immense crowd of refugees is still living in makeshift camps, without work and without hope, the Red Cross distributing to them emergency aid provided by the United Nations.

The Jewish authorities were terribly shocked by the affair, which took place four days after they had signed the Geneva Convention. They begged me to use my good offices with the Arabs to persuade them that it was an isolated incident. I replied that I would try, but did not hide my displeasure nor my fears for the future. The Arabs were absolutely furious and totally discouraged. For their part, they had no further hopes of anything good coming from the Jewish side, and could not help wondering whether it would not be better to abandon such humanitarian ideas as they had concerning the Jews. It was not easy to appease them, or to persuade them that the mistakes of one people can in no way excuse those of another. On the contrary, we said, the fact that the Arabs had kept their promise would prove to the world their honesty and faithfulness to their word of honour. We assured them that our long experience made it impossible that we should doubt them, and that we knew that they would act with dignity and humanity, whatever happened. After this memorable meeting, we had the impression that all was not lost, although it had been a very near thing.

THE GUN AND THE OLIVE BRANCH

The Roots of Violence in the Middle East

David Hirst

**FABER AND FABER
3 Queen Square, London**

١ - مذبحه قبية

As the *Paratroopers' Book* described it: 'The operation at Qibya was to be distinguished from other operations by its purposes and its effects. The dynamiting of dozens of houses in Qibya was an ambitious undertaking surpassing anything in the past. Once and for all, it washed away the stain of the defeats that Zahal [the Israel army] had suffered in its reprisal operations.'¹⁷ As the UN military observers, who reached the village two hours after the soot-smeared Israeli commandos had left, described it: 'Bullet-riddled bodies near the doorways and multiple bullet hits on the doors of the demolished houses indicated that the inhabitants had been forced to remain inside until their homes were blown up over them. . . . Witnesses were uniform in describing their experience as a night of horror, during which Israeli soldiers moved about in their village blowing up buildings, firing into doorways and windows with automatic weapons and throwing hand grenades.'¹⁸ Sixty-six men, women and children died in an operation which reminded even pro-Israeli newspapers like the *New York Post* of Lidice.¹⁹

The Israeli government did not admit responsibility for the reprisal raid. Public opinion still lagged behind the Arab-fighters; there were still too many people who could not reconcile such methods with 'purity of arms'. Ben-Gurion announced in a special broadcast that 'the government of Israel emphatically denies the false and fantastic tale according to which 600 Zahal soldiers participated in an operation against the village of Qibya. We have examined the facts in detail, and we can state without hesitation that not a single unit, not even the smallest, was absent from its barracks on the night of the attack on Qibya.' It was frontier settlers who had done it, the Prime Minister insisted, 'mostly Jewish refugees from Arab countries or survivors of Nazi concentration camps'; it had been their impulsive response to the murder of a mother and her two children. Such became the official explanation for all the exploits of Unit 101.

In time, however, public opinion did catch up, and by March 1955 the government all but officially announced to the world that 'there has been nothing reckless or impulsive about the lethal raids across the borders. On the contrary, the policy of reprisals is the fruit of cold, unemotional political and psychological reasoning.'²⁰ Unit 101 was never a large force, and it was composed entirely of volunteers, but its example was to be lasting and profound. Established as an antidote to the *Palmach*, the virus it carried did meet with some resistance. Of one squeamish recruit the *Paratroopers' Book* records, 'As an ex-Palmach who believed in the purity of arms he refused to participate in an expedition directed not against enemy soldiers but against the civilian population. Arik [Sharon's nickname] did not force him to take part. In a heated discussion, Shlomo Baum [Sharon's adjutant] hurled a remark at him: "There are no pure or impure arms; there are only clean weapons that work when you need them and dirty weapons that jam the moment you fire."'²¹ In spite of resistance, the virus quickly spread. Three months after

Qibya, at Dayan's initiative, Unit 101 was merged with the newly formed paratroop corps. According to Sharon, who assumed command of the combined force, Dayan 'was aware of the decisive influence the small unit would have on the Airborne (paratroopers) and, later, on the whole Zahal. . . . One might say that the ideology of reprisal operations was, in all respects, crystallized among the Airborne units.'²² The army did in fact fall increasingly under the influence and command of men of the 101 and the Airborne. The spirit and methods of the *Palmach*—and the *Palmach* was hardly gentle—gave way to the spirit and methods of the *Irgun*. Meanwhile, in the country as a whole, there developed around Unit 101 the aura of heroic legend. Its centrepiece was the Arab-fighter extraordinary, Meir Har-Zion. Two or three nights a week, for months on end, this young commando took part in reprisal raids, 'laconically killing Arab soldiers, peasants, and townspeople in a kind of fury without hatred'.²³ He would introduce variations into a monotonous routine. Once, he and his comrades crossed the frontier, seized six Arabs, killed five of them with a knife as the others watched, and left the sixth alive so that he could tell.²⁴ His private exploits revealed the same natural bent. On leave, and bored, he once made a daredevil foray deep into enemy territory; on his way back to Jerusalem he shot an Arab soldier on the main highway. Later his sister was killed by a bedouin on one of her own sorties into enemy territory. Har-Zion revenged her by killing two bedouins whom he deemed to be connected with her death. Eventually he was critically wounded in action; his life was saved by a battlefield tracheotomy performed with a penknife. His memoirs and numerous press interviews are the story of a man who can describe, with dry relish, what it is like to stab an Arab shepherd in the back—and who recommends that anyone who wishes for the 'marvellous, sublime feeling' of 'knowing that you are a male' should kill with a knife rather than a gun.²⁵

The cult which surrounded Har-Zion was both official and popular. Ministers and generals would glorify him as a 'model' for Israeli youth, the 'fighting symbol' of the entire Israeli army. He was placed above the law; when he killed the two bedouins, he was arrested and could have been charged with murder, but, on Ben-Gurion's personal intervention, he was released without trial.²⁶ Half-crippled and forced into retirement, he was pre-

sented with a large piece of confiscated Arab land on Mount Kaoukab high above Lake Galilee. In this desolate spot, not far from his old *kibbutz*, he set up his private cattle ranch and played host to the soldiers who came, as pilgrims, to see and admire him. 'A whole ceremony developed around Kaoukab,' he recalls in his memoirs; 'they arrived after a long march that lasted a day and a night. At the end of the march, the Unit's insignia were distributed to the soldiers. The goal of the march was the ranch. To ascend it has become a tradition; it is a summit one must reach.'²⁷

٢- مذبحه كفر قاسم

Armed with such Draconian powers, the military authorities lost no time in exploiting them. Outright violence, entirely punitive in intent, may not have been their characteristic method, but there is no more revealing example of the Arabs' plight than one notorious occasion when they did use it. The Arabs remember Kafr Qasem as the Deir Yassin of the established State. Less revealing, perhaps, than the event itself was the reaction it generated. On 29 October 1956, on the eve of Israel's invasion of Egypt, a detachment of Frontier Guards imposed a curfew on villages near the Jordanian frontier. Among them was Kafr Qasem. The Mukhtar was informed of the curfew just half an hour before it was due to go into effect. It was therefore quite impossible for him to pass the message on to the villagers who would be returning, as dusk fell, from their various places of work. Major Shmuel Melinki, the detachment commander, had foreseen this eventuality, and he asked his superior, Brigadier Yshishkhar Shadmi, what should be done about anyone coming home in ignorance of the curfew. The Brigadier had replied: 'I don't want any sentimentality . . . that's just too bad for him.'³⁰ And there was no sentimentality. In the first hour of the curfew, between five and six o'clock, the Frontier Guards killed forty-seven villagers. They had returned home individually or in batches. A few came on foot, but most travelled by bicycle, mule cart or lorry. They included women and children. But all the Frontier Guards wanted to know was whether they were from Kafr Qasem. For if they were, they were curfew-breakers, and once they had ascertained that they were, they shot them down at close range with automatic weapons. 'Of every group of returning workers, some were killed and others wounded; very few succeeded in escaping unhurt. The proportion of those killed increased, until, of the last group, which consisted of 14 women, a boy and 4 men, all were killed, except one girl, who was seriously wounded.'³¹ The slaughter might have gone on like this had not Lieutenant Gavriel Dahan, the officer on the spot

. . . informed the command several times over the radio apparatus in the jeep of the number killed. Opinions differ as to the figure he gave in his reports, but all are agreed that in his first report he said: 'one less', and in the next two reports: 'fifteen less' and 'many less—it is difficult to count them'. The last two reports, which followed each other in quick succession, were picked up by Captain Levy, who passed them on to Melinki. When he was informed that there were 'fifteen less' in Kafr Qasem, Melinki gave orders which he was unable to transmit to Dahan before the report arrived of 'many less—it is difficult to count them', for the firing to stop and for a more moderate procedure to be adopted in the whole area. . . . This order finally ended the bloodshed at Kafr Qasem.³²

All this was established in the trial which, as the scandal slowly leaked out, the government was obliged to hold. The trial was a *pro forma* affair. There was little moral outrage in the courtroom, and, apart from a few lone voices, very little outside it. During the proceedings the leading newspaper *Haaretz* reported that 'the eleven officers and soldiers who are on trial for

the massacre in Kafr Qasem have all received a fifty per cent increase in their salaries. A special messenger was sent to Jerusalem to bring the cheques to the accused in time for Passover. A number of the accused had been given a vacation for the holiday. . . . The accused mingle freely with the spectators; the officers smile at them and pat them on the back; some of them shake hands with them. It is obvious, that these people, whether they will be found innocent or guilty, are not treated as criminals, but as heroes.³³ One Private David Goldfield reportedly resigned from the Security Police in protest against the trial. According to the *Jewish Newsletter*, his testimony merely reflected what most Israelis thought: 'I feel that the Arabs are the enemies of our State. . . . When I went to Kafr Qasem, I felt that I went against the enemy and I made no distinction between the Arabs in Israel and those outside its frontiers.' Asked what he would do if he met an Arab woman, in no sense a security threat, who was trying to reach her home, he replied: 'I would shoot her down, I would harbour no sentiments, because I received an order and I had to carry it out.'³¹ The sentences were *pro forma* too. Melinki and Dahan got gaol terms of seventeen and fifteen years respectively, but it was a foregone conclusion that they would only serve a fraction of them. In response to appeals for a pardon, the Supreme Military Court decided to reduce the 'harsh' sentence; and, following this generous example, the Chief of Staff, then the Head of State, and finally a Committee for the Release of Prisoners all made contributions, so that within a year of their sentence Melinki and Dahan were free men. As for Brigadier Shadmi—the 'no sentimentality' senior officer—a Special Military Court found him guilty of a 'merely technical' error, reprimanded him and fined him one piastre. But the twist in the tail was yet to come. Nine months after his release from prison, Dahan, convicted of killing forty-three Arabs in an hour, was appointed 'officer responsible for Arab affairs' in the town of Ramleh.³⁵ And the last that has been heard of Major Melinki was that, through his influential connections in the army, he had secured a coveted permit, sought after by many an entrepreneur, to set up a tourist centre in southern Israel.³⁶

٣- اغتتيال وسيط الأمم المتحدة لفلسطين

On 17 September, the day after he submitted his report to the UN, the Mediator flew to Jerusalem to inspect the building to which he was thinking of transferring his headquarters. It seemed foolish to risk his life on a mere administrative chore. That there was indeed such a risk he was well aware. The Jerusalem front line was the scene of constant ceasefire violations; it was infested with snipers and assorted gunmen who subjected the UN Observers to hold-ups. Only the previous day Rhodes radio station had picked up a report about a policeman coming across Bernadotte's dead body in a Haifa street. As his aircraft approached Jerusalem, the radio operator received a message, purporting to come from Haifa, warning that all aircraft landing at the city's Kalendia airport would be fired upon.

They landed without incident, but when General Aage Landström, the Mediator's Personal Representative and Chief of Staff of the UN Observer Corps, suggested that they take a round-about route into the city so as to avoid the 'hot' area of the Mandelbaum Gate, Bernadotte demurred. 'I would not do that,' he said, 'I have to take the same risks as my Observers and, moreover, I think no one has the right to refuse me permission to pass through the line.'²³

They were on their way back when the assassins struck. 'We drove rapidly through the Jewish lines without incident,' Lundström wrote.

The barrier was up, but when the guard saw us, he let it down halfway, then drew it right up, and finally let it down completely. This forced us to stop. The Jewish liaison officer shouted something to the guard in Hebrew, after which he drew up the barrier completely and we were able to pass. It was suspected after the murder that this mysterious manipulation of the barrier must have been a signal to the murderers that we were on our way, possibly even indicating which car Folke Bernadotte was travelling in. That pre-supposes, however, that the Jewish Soldiers at the road barrier were accomplices in the plot. . . . In the Qatamon Quarter we were held up by a Jewish army-type jeep, placed in a road block, and filled with men in Jewish army uniforms. At the same

time I saw a man running from the jeep. I took little notice of this because I merely thought that it was another check-point. However, he put a tommy gun through the open window on my side of the car and fired point-blank at Count Bernadotte and Colonel Sérot. I also heard shots fired from other points and there was considerable confusion. . . . Colonel Sérot fell in the seat at the back of of it and I saw at once that he was dead. Count Bernadotte fell forward and I thought at the time he was trying to get cover. I asked him: 'Are you wounded?' He nodded and fell back. I helped him to lie down in the car. I now realized that he was severely wounded; there was a considerable amount of blood on his clothes mainly around the heart. . . . On reflection after the incident, I am convinced that this was a deliberate and carefully planned assassination. The spot where the cars were halted was carefully chosen, and the people who approached the cars quite obviously not only knew which car Count Bernadotte was in but also the exact position in the car which he occupied.²⁴

Count Bernadotte died a few minutes after the shooting, and three days later the assassins identified themselves as *Hazit Hamoledeth* (Fatherland Front), a sub-group of the *Stern Gang*. In a letter to *Agence France Presse* in Tel Aviv, they declared that 'in our opinion all United Nations Observers in Palestine are members of foreign occupation forces which have no right to be in our territory'. They conceded, however, that the killing of Colonel Sérot was 'a fatal mistake. . . . Our men thought that the officer sitting beside Count Bernadotte was the British agent and anti-Semite General Lundström'.²⁵

In a letter of protest, General Lundström described the assassinations as 'a breach of the truce of utmost gravity, and a black page in Palestine's history for which the United Nations will demand a full accounting'.²⁶

There was to be no accounting, however, either to the UN or to any other authority. To the UN demand that the assassins be brought to justice, the Israelis at first replied that they could not find them. Then, after two months of international pressure, they arrested Nathan Yellin-Mor, the head of the *Stern Gang*, and Matitiahu Schmulevitz, both Polish Jews who had emigrated to Palestine a few years before.

The two were tried by military court in Acre. They claimed that there was no case against them. Their organization was not a terrorist one, nor had they themselves been party to terrorist acts, since the prosecution furnished no proof. Yellin-Mor further objected to the trial of civilians by a military court.²⁷ As for Bernadotte, he denounced him, in a lengthy tirade, as an enemy of Israel. Among other things 'he stood in the way of Jewish absorption of the Kingdom of Transjordan as well as the whole of Palestine'.²⁸ The two men were sentenced to eight and five years. They were, however, to receive special treatment as political prisoners. Then, growing even more lenient, the court ordered that they and their witness be released altogether, since they had protested their sincere desire to be law-abiding citizens . . .²⁹

المرفق رقم ٤

قدسية المدينة القنصلية

THE ZIONIST CONNECTION II

What Price Peace?

ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL

"To the Jew as a man—everything:
to Jews as a nation—nothing."
—Count Stanislas Clermont-Tonnerre
to the French Assembly, October 12, 1789

"Peace in Palestine cannot be achieved by
force, but only through understanding."
—Albert Einstein

"The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
but in ourselves, that we are underlings."
—William Shakespeare

NORTH AMERICAN
New Brunswick, New Jersey

QUNEITRA

The Syrian returnees in June 1967 were greeted by a Hebrew inscription on a demolished wall: "You wanted Quneitra. You will have it in ruins." This threat was carried out.

Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the U.N., after visiting the former capital of the Golan Heights, remarked: "I was very shocked by what I saw at Quneitra." For the Soviet Ambassador to Syria, Quneitra revived memories of Stalingrad at the end of the last war. And to Father George Muhassal, when he and his flock were finally permitted to reenter the city, it was Hiroshima all over again.

In a statement released through the Near East Ecumenical Bureau in Beirut, this pastor of the Greek Orthodox Church in Quneitra charged the Israelis with bulldozing 80 percent of the city and with desecrating-looting Christian churches and the cemetery just prior to their withdrawal on June 26: "The concrete tombs were opened by machine-gun fire and, in some cases, hand grenades. The bodies were brought outside and systematically looted. Hands were broken off to get bracelets, teeth with gold were taken, and parts of the bodies were not put back in the proper coffins."

Such accusations coming from a priest of a church in the city might be dismissed as exaggerations. But Irene Beeson, writing in the *Guardian*, was most explicit in her description of the systematic Israeli destruction before leaving. These are the words, as recounted by Beeson, of one of the ten inhabitants who alone had remained under the Israeli occupation in 1967:

They had about eleven bulldozers stationed in the town, but they had to bring in reinforcements to cope with the huge task. The smaller houses collapsed

under a single thrust. For the larger two, three and four-story villas and buildings, they had to build earth ramps so that the bulldozers could reach the upper floors.

They worked from dawn to dusk for several days with grim determination and great expertise. It took them practically a whole day to finish off the three-story house down the street. Only the houses of the ten Arab inhabitants who had not fled were intact. Left standing, also, was the gutted, bullet-ridden 300-bed hospital which the Israelis used for target practice. One of the town's churches was destroyed. Others left standing and only slightly damaged structurally, but had been stripped of everything—marble facings on the walls, furnishings, precious 4th-century icons, statues, lamps.

The shell of the Officers' Club is another landmark. What remains of this wall is riddled with bullet holes, decorated with sexy murals, insulting and pornographic graffiti. . . . Generators were removed and carted away by the Israelis, who made off with all the town's pumps for drinking and irrigation water. Into the water reserves and wells the Israelis had poured diesel oil, petrol and garbage, making good the inscription they had left behind.⁶²

You can always read what others have to say, but that is not the same as viewing for yourself, as I did a year later, the utter emptiness and desolation of Quneitra, a city that had been bulldozed in its entirety. The tracks of the machines were still evident everywhere. Smaller houses had collapsed under a single thrust, while the larger villas and buildings had obviously been bulldozed in the manner described by Irene Beeson.

Such dark devastation visited by man upon man has had few equals. The only signs of life were the stray, hungry-looking cat streaking across the road and a few wild red poppies that had sprung up beside the burnt-out framework of what once had been Quneitra's proud hospital. To me came a flashback to childhood:

In Flanders Field the poppies grow
Between the crosses row on row
That mark their place.

My visit to Quneitra was on a cold May afternoon, but the temperature in no way could match the fridity of the scene—dramatized by nearby snow-capped Mount Herman, where so many fierce aerial battles between the Syrians and the Israelis had occurred. The approaches to Quneitra were guarded by the Austrian U.N. peacekeeping force.

This tragedy can best be seen through neutral eyes. However, despite continued widespread coverage of violence and terrorism in the U.S. media, there were no reports on Quneitra. In July 1974 an Australian delegation comprised of two members of Parliament, two

Labor leaders, two journalists, and the Federal Secretary of the Young Labor Association visited the Golan Heights. Leader of the delegation George Petersen wrote an article, "The Town That Used To Be," for the Australian publication, *Nation Review*:

The most striking feature of the Quneitra buildings is that, in most cases, there are no walls and the roofs are resting on the ground. How this was done is only too apparent by the caterpillar tracks on the ground near the destroyed buildings.⁶³

After describing the conditions he found in the city, Petersen concluded:

Quneitra was destroyed for the same reasons that most of the original inhabitants were expelled from Palestine—because the Zionists intend to take over the land, expel the original inhabitants and use it for their own purposes. . . . Looking across the cease-fire lines to Aïn Zivan kibbutz in Israel, I know whom I would hate the most if I were a native of Quneitra. Not the soldiers, not even the bulldozer operators, but the men, women and children living on that kibbutz for the benefit of whom and of others like them the destruction of Quneitra was instituted at an enormous cost to the native inhabitants. And I know that I would want to cross the cease-fire line and kill those usurpers.

In the same publication, many letters from Zionists who knew nothing whatsoever about Quneitra emotionally reacted to the Petersen article. In a reply to one of the letters signed by five persons, Petersen struck back:

When I was at Quneitra on July 5, the bulldozer tracks were clearly visible. . . . I am puzzled why the apologists for the Israeli government deny that Quneitra was destroyed by bulldozers and explosives! The Israeli practice of bulldozing Arab villages to the ground is well substantiated in past reports by such impartial parties as the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. . . . Why should the Zionists have made an exception of Quneitra? I would particularly like your five correspondents to explain how they justify the forcible eviction to Syria of over 100,000 native inhabitants of the Golan Heights area. Does Israel's right to exist justify turning the civilian residents into homeless refugees? Or are your correspondents' concepts of humanity confined only to people who describe themselves as "Jews"?

Zionists contend that Quneitra had been destroyed during the 1967 and 1973 wars rather than methodically bulldozed at the time of the Israeli withdrawal. But a BBC documentary film showed Commentator Peter Snow some three or four days before the Israeli evacuation in a very alive city with many houses all intact—further proof that the city had been calculatingly destroyed, house by house, church by church.

Another eyewitness from the Australian delegation was Stewart West, President of the South Post Branch of the Waterside Workers Federation of Australia. Under the title "The Destruction of Quneitra," he wrote as follows:

In most war-damaged cities, you see heaps of rubble, bomb and shell craters, burned-out buildings, with walls still standing and sometimes whole streets left undamaged. But not in Quneitra. The city was completely destroyed in a couple of days immediately prior to the Israeli withdrawal on June 25, 1974. Most of the houses were demolished with explosives or pushed down with bulldozers. . . . The destruction of Quneitra must be in the same category as *the destruction of ancient Carthage, as the destruction of European cities by the Huns, and the Mongols, and with Hiroshima and the Nazi destructions during World War II.*⁶⁴ [Italics added.]

Australian trade union newspaper *Scope*, in a special twenty-eight page supplement of August 1, 1974, devoted two of its pages to the Quneitra atrocities with a lead that read: "Syrian city of Quneitra used to be half-way between the Israeli border and Damascus. In June of this year, Israeli bulldozers destroyed the last of its houses, ripped down the last of its trees and orchards and pulled back up the hills of the Golan Heights." The main piece, presumably written by *Scope*'s Editor, George Coote, added in part:

June 26 was days after the disengagement between Israeli and Syrian troops, and the last Arab house in Quneitra was destroyed minutes before UN peace-keeping forces moved in. . . . Quneitra was smashed with dynamite and bulldozers which made sure nobody would live there again. . . . This was a puzzle for the Australian delegation visiting the city. Did the Quneitra story hit the Australian media?

The answer to this question and to the query posed by British journalist Kathleen Evan's contribution to the same special issue, "Had You Really Heard About Israel's Genocide?" was identical. Next to nothing had appeared in Australia and Britain—and nothing in the U.S.—on the story of a gutted city where nearly 45,000 people once had happily lived.

المرافق رقم ٥

تد مير مستشفيات بيروت وفيها من المرافق الحيوية

THE FATEFUL TRIANGLE

**The United States, Israel
and the Palestinians**

Noam Chomsky

SOUTH END PRESS

BOSTON, MA

5.2 Beirut: Precision Bombardment

Repeatedly, Israel blocked international relief efforts and prevented food and medical supplies from reaching victims.* Israeli military forces also appear to have gone out of their way to destroy medical facilities—at least, if one wants to believe Israeli government claims about “pinpoint accuracy” in bombardment. “International agencies agree that the civilian death toll would have been considerably higher had it not been for the medical facilities that the Palestine Liberation Organization provides for its own people”¹¹⁶—and, in fact, for many poor Lebanese—so it is not surprising that these were a particular target of attack.

In the first bombing in June, a children's hospital in the Sabra refugee camp was hit, Lebanese television reported, and a cameraman said he saw “many children” lying dead inside the Bourj al Barajneh camp in Beirut, while “fires were burning out of control at dozens of apartment buildings” and the Gaza Hospital near the camps was reported hit.¹¹⁷ This, it will be recalled, was in “retaliation” for the attempt by an anti-PLO group with no base in Lebanon to assassinate Ambassador Argov. On June 12, four bombs fell on a hospital in Aley, severely damaging it. “There is nothing unusual” in the story told by an operating room assistant who had lost two hands in the attack; “That the target of the air strike was a hospital, whether by design or accident, is not unique either,” William Branigan reports, noting that other hospitals were even more badly damaged. Fragments of cluster bombs were found on the grounds of an Armenian sanitarium south of Beirut that was also “heavily damaged during the Israeli drive.”¹¹⁸ A neurosurgeon at the Gaza hospital in Beirut “insists that Israeli gunners deliberately shelled his hospital,” it was reported at the same time.¹¹⁹ A few days later, Richard Ben Cramer reported that the Acre Hospital in Beirut was hit by Israeli shells, and that the hospitals in the camps had again been hit. “Israeli guns never seem to stop here,” he reported from the Sabra camp, later to be the scene of a major massacre: “After two weeks of this random thunder, Sabra is only a place to run through.”¹²⁰

* The International Red Cross, World Vision International, UNICEF and other relief agencies report long delays in supply of food and medicines caused by Israeli interference.¹¹⁹ This is confirmed by Israeli officials responsible for relief, as we will see directly.

The Acre hospital was again hit on June 24, along with the Gaza hospital and the Islamic Home for Invalids, where "the corridors were streaked with blood." The hospitals were short of supplies because Israel was blocking tons of medical supplies ready for shipment in Cyprus, according to the International Red Cross.¹²¹ By mid-August, the Islamic Home had been repeatedly shelled, only 15 of 200 staff members remained, and "several of the retarded children have died of starvation for lack of someone who has the time to feed them properly." At the Palestinian Hospital for the Disabled (perhaps the same institution), "a visitor walking the gloomy corridors is approached by stumbling figures crying 'Food, food' in Arabic"; 800 patients remained, all mentally ill, half of them children, cared for by a dozen nurses.¹²²

A French doctor reported witnessing "an intense Israeli bombing raid around and against the [Gaza] hospital, which forced the evacuation of the hospital at the time."¹²³ When the Beirut mental hospital was hit shortly after, "800 patients varying in condition from senile dementia to violent schizophrenia were released into the streets of Beirut." The hospital, clearly marked by Red Cross flags, was hit by artillery and naval gunfire, including four phosphorus shells. Medical personnel reported that the patients, including children with mental problems whose nursery was hit by rockets that set beds on fire, were 90% Lebanese. No military target was found within a half-mile. The hospital was, however, "precariously located near the Palestinian ghettos of Sabra and Shatila, frequent targets of Israeli bombardment," though the "immediate surroundings are residential" (i.e., not Palestinian slums).¹²⁴

Most of this was before the bombing escalated to new levels of violence in August. By August 4, 8 of the 9 Homes for Orphans in Beirut had been destroyed, attacked by cluster and phosphorus bombs. The last was hit by phosphorus and other rockets, though clearly marked by a red cross on the roof, after assurances by the International Red Cross that it would be spared.¹²⁵ On August 4, the American University hospital was hit by shrapnel and mortar fire. A doctor "standing in bloodstained rags" said: "We have no more room." The director reported: "It's a carnage. There is nothing military anywhere near this hospital."¹²⁶ The hospital was the only one in Beirut to escape direct shelling, and even there, sanitary conditions had deteriorated to the point where half the intensive-care patients were lost and with 99% of the cases being trauma victims, there was no room for ordinary illnesses. "Drive down any street and you will almost always see a man or woman with a missing limb."¹²⁷

The Red Cross reported that by August 6, "there were 130 beds available in west Beirut out of a total of about 1,400." The American University Hospital was admitting only "those who look salvageable" on bad days, the staff reported. The Berbir hospital was "just an underground dormitory with generators churning away to give the few patients

At the Hotel Bristol, hit by an Israeli phosphorus shell, the Red Cross had set up an underground hospital. "The majority of the doctors and nurses working in the city have fled."¹²⁰ "Even the Red Cross delegation has been shelled twice. In an Israeli naval bombardment on July 30, six shells struck the building and on Aug. 5 it was again hit by two artillery shells." The Berbir hospital was already seriously damaged by mid-July, with trails of blood in the corridors, many of the patients removed from the wreckage, and the mortuary full of corpses until the remaining doctors were able to leave the building to bury the unidentified bodies in a communal grave when the shelling and air attacks temporarily stopped.¹²¹

One of the true heroes of the war is Dr. Amal Shamma, an American-trained Lebanese-American pediatrician who remained at work in Beirut's Berbir hospital through the worst horrors. In November, she spent several weeks touring the U.S., receiving little notice, as expected. She was, however, interviewed in the *Village Voice*, where she described the extensive medical and social services for Palestinians and poor Lebanese that were destroyed by the Israeli invasion. For them, nothing is left apart from private hospitals that they cannot afford, some taken over by the Israeli army. No medical teams came from the U.S., although several came to help from Europe; the U.S. was preoccupied with supplying weapons to destroy. She reports that the hospitals were clearly marked with red crosses and that there were no guns nearby, though outside her hospital there was one disabled tank, which was never hit in the shelling that reduced the hospital to a first-aid station. On one day, 17 hospitals were shelled. Hers "was shelled repeatedly from August 1 to 12 until everything in it was destroyed." It had been heavily damaged by mid-July, as already noted. Hospital employees stopped at Israeli barricades were told: "We shelled your hospital good enough, didn't we? You treat terrorists there."¹²² Recall that this is the testimony of a doctor at a Lebanese hospital, one of those liberated by the Israeli forces, according to official doctrine.

An American nurse working in Beirut, who was appalled by the "watered-down descriptions in American newspapers," reported that Israel "dropped bombs on everything, including hospitals, orphanages and, in one case, a school bus carrying 35 young schoolgirls who were traveling on an open road"; she cared for the survivors.¹²³ The U.S. Navy Lieut. Commander in charge of removing unexploded ordnance in Beirut reports that "we found five bombs in an orphanage with about 45 cluster bombs in the front yard. We were called there after five children were injured and four killed." About 3-5% of the shells and bombs failed to go off and are considered highly dangerous, he said.¹²⁴ This particular orphanage, then, must have been heavily bombed.

One of the most devastating critiques of Israeli military practices was provided inadvertently by an Israeli pilot who took part in the bombing.

... / ...

an Air Force major, who described the careful selection of targets and the precision bombing that made error almost impossible. Observing the effects, one can draw one's own conclusions. He also expressed his own personal philosophy, saying "if you want to achieve peace, you should fight." "Look at the American-Japanese war," he added. "In order to achieve an end, they bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki."¹³³

The precedents this pilot cited can be placed alongside of others offered by Prime Minister Begin in justification of the war: Dresden and Coventry, for example. The reference to Coventry particularly amazed Israeli listeners; "We know who carried out the bombardment of Coventry," Abba Eban wrote—commenting also on the "delegations of diaspora Jews [who] came to Israel, or rather to Lebanon, and applauded the decision to make war as enthusiastically as they would have applauded a decision not to make it," and the "embarrassing vulgarity in holding [United Jewish Appeal] fundraising appeals" in occupied Lebanon. These precedents give some insight into the mentality of the Israeli political leadership and segments of the officer corps, and also of American supporters who appeal to the same precedents, for example, former Supreme Court Justice and UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg. In his interesting comments in support of the invasion, to which we return, he cites the precedent of the bombing of Dresden and more generally, the war "against the demented barbarian who sought to enslave the world." "Is not the government of Israel faced with the same terrible dilemma in view of repeated PLO acts of terrorism against Israeli civilians and the bombing of its northern settlements?"¹³⁴ Recall the actual scale of PLO terrorism and the comparison to Israeli terrorism, already discussed, and the fact that there had been no unprovoked bombardment of northern settlements for a year, none at all for 10 months despite extensive Israeli provocation, including bombing in April.

Goldberg's notion that Israel's invasion of Lebanon is comparable to the war against Hitler was also invoked by Prime Minister Begin in a letter to President Reagan in which he portrayed himself as marching to "Berlin" to liquidate "Hitler." To the Labor Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Abba Eban, this seemed "a dark and macabre fantasy," "one of the most bizarre documents in recent diplomatic history," an example of "losing touch with reality."^{*} Other Israeli commentators also ridiculed this comparison, suggesting that it raised questions about Begin's sanity. I noticed no comment here on Goldberg's sanity. It is, perhaps, not too surprising that a liberal American hero should surpass the "macabre fantasies" of Israel's Nobel Peace Prize winner in his own ruminations on the topic.

* Eban remarks that "Arafat's ideology and rhetoric, repulsive as they are, are identical with those of Anwar Sadat until a few months before Begin embraced him in the Knesset."¹³⁵ There is some truth to what he says, though not in the sense that he intended his audience to understand, as we see when we recall Sadat's rebuffed efforts to make peace with Israel for over six years before his visit to Jerusalem, and Arafat's moves towards the accommodationist international consensus, also regularly rebuffed, from the mid-1970s. See chapter 3. Eban surely knows all of this, and more, very well. He is able to exploit his reputation as a dove to conceal the historical record with considerable effectiveness.

المرفق رقم ٦

وفي صدد التشابه ما بين اسرائيل وجنوب افريقيا ، اسمحوا لي بالاقتباس
من الصحفي الصهيوني Jacobo Timerman الذي نشر كتابا بعنوان :

The Longest War - Israel in Lebanon
(Vintage Books Edition, December 1982)

وقد نصح الكاتب ابنه الذي حارب مع الجيش الاسرائيلي في لبنان ،
واقتبس :

"Son, you can't compare an Argentine jail to an Israeli jail. In our jails, only Arabs are maltreated, and you are a member of the superior race. It's true that once we were the people chosen by God to be witnesses of his truth, but now that we have girded ourselves for the murder of another people, we are a superior race since, as our government says, nobody can defeat us. They won't torture you in jail. Once you arrange your daily routine, thirty or sixty days pass quickly. But if you don't go now to your base, it will be merely an individual act. Perhaps others in your regiment think as you do, and together you can organize a collective protest. In any case, all of you must refuse to go to Lebanon. One can't be an accomplice in a crime and justify oneself by citing orders from above. It's time to rebel."

وأضاف الصحفي :

"Derech Haifa, the highway to the north, runs in front of my house. Every morning at seven o'clock a truck or a bus brings the Arab workers from the villages near Tel Aviv where they are authorized to live. They are preparing the soil to plant a row of palms. My city has a good administrator who is filling it with flowers and trees. The Arab laborers toil, rest, pull out their water bottles, their meals, go back to work, and then get into the trucks or buses to return to their homes. They leave behind a touch of beauty. Each time they leave, my city is more beautiful. Looking at them from my balcony, I can only relieve myself by vomiting for this Israel which wants to be like South Africa. The heat is terrible; vomiting does me good. This is South Africa."

واختتم وصفه لاسرائيل بالقول :

"What is it that has turned us into such efficient criminals?
I fear that in our collective subconscious, we may not be
wholly repelled by the possibility of a Palestinian genocide.
I don't believe we Israelis can be cured without the help of
others."
