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CARTA DE FECHA 1° DE MAYO DE 1984 DIRIGIDA AL PRESIDENTE DEL
CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD POR EL REPRESENTANTE PERMANENTE DE LA
REPUBLICA ARABE SIRIA ANTE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Con relación a la carta del representante israelí, que se distribuyó en el documento S/16479, de fecha 13 de abril de 1984, tengo el honor de informar de lo que sigue:

1. En su carta, el representante de Israel intenta, una vez más, ofuscar a la opinión pública y desviar la atención de las atrocidades que ha cometido y sigue cometiendo Israel contra el pueblo árabe, víctima de la ocupación, del colonialismo de asentamiento israelí tanto en Palestina como en el Golán, ocupación que, en el año 1982, abarcó también la región meridional del Líbano hermano.
2. La carta israelí expresa un intenso rencor contra las Naciones Unidas, porque los objetivos agresivos de Israel y su política expansionista están en total oposición con la Carta de la Organización Universal, y porque las Naciones Unidas y sus distintos organismos piden con insistencia la total retirada israelí de todas las tierras árabes ocupadas y la devolución al pueblo palestino de los derechos que Israel le usurpó, entre los que se cuentan en lugar prominente el derecho a la libre determinación y el derecho a volver a su país.
3. La carta de Israel a la que nos hemos referido más arriba y otras cartas cuyas concuerdan con agresivas declaraciones y con maniobras y movimientos sospechosos israelíes a los que los Estados Unidos de América son favorables. Todo ello indica que Israel pretende llevar a cabo nuevos actos de agresión contra la República Árabe Siria.
4. Los informes procedentes de los territorios árabes ocupados indican que existe un arreglo entre las autoridades de ocupación israelíes y los colonos sionistas para llevar a cabo acciones terroristas en gran escala contra los árabes. Esto es lo que nos lleva a la convicción, a la luz de nuestro conocimiento del historial del terrorismo sionista, de que existe un reparto de papeles, según el cual el ejército israelí se encarga del terrorismo oficial y los colonos sionistas del terrorismo privado contra los civiles árabes. La meta de todo ello es lograr el principal objetivo sionista que no es otro que desalojar de las tierras árabes a sus habitantes autóctonos y que los colonos inmigrantes ocupen su lugar.
5. La historia del sionismo mundial y su base regional, Israel, demuestra que el terrorismo es el soporte de la doctrina sionista mediante el cual ha sido posible a Israel usurpar Palestina y otros territorios árabes. Con este motivo queremos

* Publicado nuevamente por razones técnicas.

recordar que el terrorismo institucionalizado sionista de Israel no se diferencia en nada del terrorismo del régimen del apartheid contra millones de africanos en Sudáfrica y Namibia (véase el anexo VI), y que no se diferencia en su esencia ni en su naturaleza del terrorismo nazi que derramó la sangre de Europa y trajo a sus pueblos la destrucción y la ruina.

6. Los dirigentes de Israel de hoy, al igual que sus dirigentes de otrora, se vanaglorian públicamente de su pasado y su presente terroristas, y compiten entre sí en ensalzar sus crímenes contra los árabes en sus diarios y memorias. Estos crímenes son, según la norma del derecho internacional, crímenes de guerra y crímenes de lesa humanidad, por los que Israel y quienes los han cometido asumen una responsabilidad internacional. Si quisiéramos relatar la historia terrorista de Israel necesitaríamos volúmenes y volúmenes, y, por este motivo, nos limitamos a mencionar, en los anexos a esta carta, algunos actos criminales cometidos metódicamente por las bandas sionistas y por Israel, para lograr los objetivos del colonialismo de asentamiento en las tierras palestinas y árabes ocupadas. A la cabecera de estos actos criminales, están las matanzas de Deir Yasin, Qibya y Kafr Qasem, y finalmente, aunque no es la última, la matanza de Sabra y Shatila de la que son totalmente responsables Israel y, especialmente, el anterior Ministro de Defensa israelí, Sharon, que la planeó.

A pesar de todo esto, hay quien dice que la entidad racista israelí es una prolongación de los valores democráticos de los Estados Unidos en el Oriente Medio. Ultimamente hemos visto cómo compiten dos candidatos a la presidencia estadounidense en apoyar por todos los medios a esta "democracia" sangrienta y demencial para que cometan más actos de terrorismo, más asesinatos y causen más destierros en nuestra nación árabe. Estos candidatos van hasta el límite de violar los principios elementales del derecho internacional al hacer un llamamiento para que se trasladen las embajadas de Tel Aviv a Jerusalén.

Para terminar, el contenido de la carta del representante de Israel a la que nos hemos referido anteriormente tiene que valorarse a la luz de lo que dijo el asesino del Conde Folke Bernadotte, mediador de las Naciones Unidas para Palestina (véase el anexo III). Shamir, jefe de la banda "Stern" y actual jefe del Gobierno de Israel, dijo que Israel:

"no ha arrebatado las tierras por la fuerza a sus habitantes legítimos, sino que las ha liberado de un país que las invadió en el año 1948."

Y también dijo:

"Nosotros no nos las hemos "anexionado" ni nos las "anexionaremos", puesto que son parte de la tierra de Israel, y lo que es parte del propio país no se puede anexionar."

Le ruego tenga a bien distribuir esta carta y sus anexos como documento oficial del Consejo de Seguridad.

(Firmado) Dia Allah EL-FATTAL
Embajador
Representante Permanente

Anexos: (6)

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ANEXOS

Relación de acciones terroristas sionistas desde la implantación de la entidad sionista israelí hasta nuestros días

Anexo I

A continuación se exponen algunas de las acciones más importantes de la banda Irgún Tsva Leumi contra los árabes palestinos extraídas en su mayoría del libro escrito por el conocido terrorista Shamuel Kat que, después de la subida al poder del Likud en Israel, trabajó como consejero e informador de su camarada y jefe el famoso terrorista Menachem Begin; luego dimitió de su cargo y se afilió al movimiento racista derechista Tehiyá. El título del libro en hebreo es "Yom ha Esh" es decir el día de la batalla. También están extraídas de otro libro compuesto por el historiador sionista David Nev con el título de "Las batallas de la Organización Militar Nacional" y de otras fuentes, en su mayoría israelíes. Los dos libros mencionados exponen las acciones del Irgún, que es la banda que encabezaba Menachem Begin desde finales del año 1943; en el año de 1940 se escindió del Irgún otra banda terrorista conocida con el nombre de Lehi o "Stern", de la que el actual jefe del Gobierno israelí Yitzhak Shamir, era uno de los principales caudillos:

1. Antes de la implantación de la entidad sionista "Israel" en la Palestina ocupada:

a) Algunas de las acciones más importantes del Irgún contra los árabes palestinos en este período son las siguientes:

El 11 de noviembre de 1937 uno de los miembros del Irgún lanzó una bomba en un café árabe en el jardín de Jaffa causando la muerte de dos personas y heridas a otras.

El 6 de marzo de 1938 lanzaron en el zoco de Haifa una bomba que mató a 18 personas causando heridas a otras 38.

El 6 de julio de 1938 hicieron explosión dos vehículos cargados de explosivos que el Irgún había colocado en el zoco de Haifa, causando la muerte de 21 ciudadanos árabes y heridas a otros 52. El mismo día hizo explosión en la parte antigua de Jerusalén, una bomba colocada por el Irgún que causó la muerte de dos personas y heridas a otras cuatro.

El 15 de julio de 1938 hizo explosión una bomba lanzada por uno de los elementos del Irgún frente a una de las mezquitas de Jerusalén durante la salida de los fieles, causando la muerte de diez personas y heridas a otras 30.

El 26 de julio de 1938 hizo explosión un vehículo cargado de explosivos, colocado por el Irgún en el zoco de Haifa, causando la muerte de 35 ciudadanos árabes y heridas a otros 70.

El 26 de julio de 1938 uno de los elementos de la banda Irgún lanzó una bomba en el zoco de Haifa quitando la vida a 47 árabes y causando heridas a otros.

El 26 de agosto de 1938 hizo explosión un vehículo cargado de explosivos que la banda Irgún había colocado en el zoco de Jerusalén árabe causando la muerte de 34 personas y heridas a otras 35.

El 13 de noviembre de 1938 la banda Irgún mató, en tres sucesos distintos a cinco árabes y causó heridas a otros cuatro.

El 27 de febrero de 1939 la banda Irgún hizo estallar dos bombas en Haifa que causaron la muerte de 27 ciudadanos árabes y heridas a otros 39; el mismo día mató a tres árabes en Tel Aviv y causó heridas a un cuarto; en Jerusalén tres ciudadanos fueron asesinados y otros seis resultaron heridos a manos de los terroristas del Irgún.

El 29 de mayo de 1939 los miembros del Irgún lanzaron bombas en el cine Rex de Jerusalén, causando heridas a 18 personas.

El día 26 de agosto de 1939 la banda Irgún hizo estallar una bomba en Jaffa; matando a 24 árabes y causando heridas a otros 35.

El 23 de marzo de 1944 el Irgún voló una casa de cuatro pisos en Jaffa, so pretexto de que era sede de la policía árabe británica, y con el mismo pretexto voló otra casa en Jerusalén y otra en Haifa.

El 22 de julio de 1946 la banda Irgún voló el ala sur del King David Hotel en Jerusalén, donde se encontraban las oficinas de la dirección del Mandato, causando la muerte de cinco transeúntes y 83 ciudadanos entre los que había gran número de árabes.

A finales de diciembre de 1947 uno de los miembros del Irgún lanzó una bomba en el zoco de verduras cercano a la puerta de Nablus en Jerusalén quitando la vida a decenas de árabes entre los que había muchas mujeres y niños.

El 31 de diciembre de 1947 una unidad terrorista de la banda Irgún lanzó una bomba contra unos obreros árabes de una refinería de petróleo en Haifa, causando la muerte de seis personas y heridas a otras 31.

La noche del 9 al 10 de abril de 1948, las bandas del Irgún y Lehi con el conocimiento y la aprobación del jefe de la banda Haganá en la zona de Jerusalén, que se llamaba David Shalíel, hicieron una espantosa matanza en el pueblo árabe de Deir Yasin, en las colinas de la parte occidental de Jerusalén, en la que resultaron muertas 254 personas, en su mayoría ancianos, mujeres y niños; el objetivo de la matanza era espantar a los árabes y aterrorizarlos para forzarlos a abandonar sus hogares y pueblos (véase el anexo II).

b) La banda Haganá, dependiente del partido Mapai y lo que se llama Movimiento Obrero Sionista, participó en acciones terroristas y asesinatos de ciudadanos árabes entre los que había ancianos, mujeres y niños; a continuación se exponen algunas de las acciones de la Haganá y de su fuerza de choque, el Palmaj, extraídas de las mismas fuentes sionistas:

El 12 de junio de 1939 elementos de la banda Haganá destruyeron el pueblo de Balad al-Saij, en las cercanías de Haifa, secuestraron a cinco de los habitantes y los asesinaron.

El 19 de diciembre de 1947 la Haganá destruyó el pueblo de Al-Jasas, en la alta Galilea, matando a diez personas entre las que había cinco niños. También destruyó el pueblo de Silwad, en la zona de Jerusalén, matando a una mujer y dos niños, y destruyó asimismo un autobús árabe en Haifa causando la muerte a todos sus ocupantes.

En la noche del 30 al 31 de diciembre de 1947 las fuerzas del Palmaj hicieron una incursión en el pueblo de Balad al-Saij, cerca de Haifa, matando a más de 60 habitantes del lugar.

El 1° de enero de 1948 la Haganá atacó otro pueblo de la zona de Haifa matando o hiriendo a 111 ciudadanos árabes.

La noche del 14 al 15 de febrero de 1948 la fuerza de la Haganá y el Palmaj atacó el pueblo árabe de Sa'sa en la alta Galilea, destruyendo 20 casas sobre las cabezas de sus dueños y matando a más de 40 personas.

c) A esto se añade otra serie de acciones terroristas cometidas por las bandas sionistas contra los ciudadanos árabes sin que se haya determinado el nombre de la banda que las cometió. Entre ellas están las siguientes:

El 13 de diciembre de 1947 fueron asesinados 18 ciudadanos árabes y heridos otros 60 en tres atentados con lanzamientos de bombas, el primero en el zoco de Jerusalén, el segundo en un café de Jaffa, y el tercero en el pueblo de Al'Abbasiya, cerca de Lydda.

El 29 de diciembre de 1947, fueron asesinados 11 ciudadanos árabes y heridos otros 32 en un atentado al ser lanzada una bomba cerca de la puerta de Damasco en Jerusalén.

El 4 de enero de 1948 fueron asesinadas 40 personas y heridas otras 98 por la voladura del Palacio de Gobierno en un barrio de la ciudad de Jaffa.

El 5 de enero de 1948 fue volado el hotel Semíramis en Jerusalén y resultaron muertos 20 de sus huéspedes en su mayoría árabes y el Cónsul de España en Jerusalén.

El 7 de enero de 1948, fueron asesinados 17 ciudadanos árabes en un atentado, al ser lanzada una bomba en la puerta de Jaffa en la ciudad de Jerusalén.

El 16 de enero de 1948 fueron volados tres edificios, en uno de los cuales murieron ocho niños cuyas edades oscilaban entre uno y 12 años.

El 3 de marzo de 1948 fue volado, en Haifa, un edificio en el que murieron 11 personas y otras 23 resultaron heridas.

El 31 de marzo de 1948 las bandas sionistas volaron, por segunda vez en un mes, el tren de Haifa a Jaffa a su paso por las cercanías de la colonia de Netania al norte de Tel Aviv, resultando muertas en el suceso 40 personas y heridas otras 60.

El 19 de abril de 1948 las bandas sionistas volaron una casa árabe en la ciudad de Tiberíades matando a 14 de sus habitantes.

2. Después de la implantación de la entidad sionista "Israel" en la Palestina ocupada:

El terrorismo, el asesinato, la destrucción de pueblos y casas, la expulsión de sus habitantes, el uso de la violencia y la fuerza para usurpar los derechos y las tierras de los árabes en los territorios ocupados por Israel en el año 1948, la agresión y la expansión a costa de los territorios árabes vecinos se convirtieron en la política oficial y pública de Israel; Israel no se conformó con los territorios que ocupó en el año 1948 y que constituyen la tercera parte de la superficie de toda Palestina, ni con la destrucción de más de 350 pueblos y lugares árabes y su aniquilación tras la expulsión de sus habitantes y la confiscación de aproximadamente 3,25 millones de dunams de sus tierras agrícolas 1/, sino que su operación de saqueo y usurpación continuó hasta las tierras de los ciudadanos árabes que seguían aferrados a sus tierras en Galilea, el Negev y Al-Mutallat, e intentó y sigue intentando con diversos medios y métodos arrancarlos de sus tierras y dividir su unidad, utilizando para ello distintas clases y formas de discriminación racial, de persecución y demás actos de exterminio, además de la usurpación de los derechos humanos, nacionales, políticos y culturales. Con el pretexto de la seguridad y con la excusa del estado de emergencia, ha impuesto a la minoría árabe en Israel el gobierno militar con toda su arbitrariedad y vejaciones durante 20 años. Israel ha aplicado a los habitantes árabes las leyes del estado de emergencia del Mandato, que las autoridades británicas del Mandato habían promulgado, en los años 1936 y 1945 con objeto, en aquel momento, de reprimir el movimiento nacionalista árabe en Palestina.

Las autoridades de Israel promulgaron otra serie de leyes que incluyen formas más repugnantes y más monstruosas de discriminación racial contra los árabes: son las leyes conocidas como leyes de la tierra, cuyo objetivo es justificar la confiscación y el saqueo de tierras de los árabes y su expulsión de ellas, como la ley de propiedad de los ausentes, promulgada en 1950, la ley de ocupación de baldíos, de 1948, la ley de zonas de seguridad y la ley de ocupación de tierras durante el estado de emergencia, promulgadas en 1949, la ley de expropiación de tierras, de 1953, y la ley de concentración parcelaria, de 1960. Las autoridades israelíes han impuesto también, en el ámbito de la confiscación de tierras árabes, algunas leyes del Mandato como la ley del estado de emergencia del año 1945, y las leyes de bosques y de prescripción después de enmendarlas.

a) Basándose en estas leyes y métodos racistas se apropiaron de las tierras de otros 62 pueblos árabes en Galilea y el Nutallat, expulsando a sus habitantes fuera del país o a algunos de los pueblos vecinos 2/:

En el período que va de 1949 a 1951 las autoridades de Israel se apoderaron de las tierras de los siguientes pueblos en Galilea, después de expulsar a sus habitantes: Al-Birwa, Al-Bass, Safuriya, Kafr-Inan, Qumaym, Amqa, Al-Mansiya, Arab-Sabt, Samhata, Ma'loul, Al-Ruways, Al-Sayara, Al-Gabisiya, Al-Damun, Hadatiya, AlAbbasiya, Al-Tayra (Qada'Bisan), Umm Al-Faray, Mt'ar, Sa'b, Al-Jasas, Fita y Al-Ya'una.

1/ 1968 Israel Yearbook, pág. 235.

2/ Ha'aretz, 28 de julio de 1982, Ma'arif, 24 de agosto de 1967.

En febrero de 1951 fueron expulsados fuera de las fronteras de la zona ocupada en el año 1948, los habitantes de 13 pueblos árabes en Wadi'Ara en la zona norte de Al-Mutallat y sus tierras fueron confiscadas.

En el período que va de 1948 a 1952 gran número de beduinos fueron expulsados del Negev a la Ribera Occidental y Oriental del Jordán y se apoderaron de sus tierras.

El 25 de diciembre de 1951, la noche de Navidad, el ejército israelí voló las casas del pueblo de Aqrat en Galilea, junto con la iglesia del pueblo; se había obligado a la gente de dicho pueblo a salir de él en octubre de 1948 con la excusa de consideraciones de seguridad y con promesas de que volverían a sus casas en un plazo de dos semanas.

En el año 1952 la población que quedaba en la ciudad de Maydal Asqalan fue expulsada a la Faja de Gaza y se apoderaron de sus tierras y sus casas.

La noche del 16 al 17 de septiembre de 1953 el pueblo de Kafr Bur'um en Galilea siguió la misma suerte que el pueblo de Aqrat, siendo sus habitantes obligados a abandonar el lugar junto con los habitantes de Aqrat y con los mismos pretextos.

En el período que va de 1948 a 1972, según las leyes y los métodos racistas a los que se ha aludido antes, fueron confiscados más de 1 millón de dunams de un total de 1 millón y medio, que, en el origen, eran las tierras de los pueblos en Galilea y Al-Mutallat, y también fueron objeto de confiscación grandes extensiones de las tierras del wagf islámico, como, por ejemplo, del wagf de Rubin al sur de Jaffa (superficie: 160.000 dunams), del wagf de Al-Ridwan (superficie: 200.000), y del wagf de Sayyidua'Ali al norte de Jaffa (superficie: 122.000).

Las confiscaciones de tierras de los pueblos árabes empezaron de nuevo en el año 1976, cuando las autoridades de Israel confiscaron 20.000 dunams en los pueblos de Sajnin, Dair Hanna, Arraba y Arab Al-Sawa'id en la Galilea Central, siendo este hecho la causa directa del estallido de los sucesos del Día de la Tierra, el 30 de marzo de 1976, en el que seis ciudadanos árabes cayeron bajo las balas de las fuerzas del ejército y de la guardia fronteriza de Israel.

A principios del año 1978 arrancaron de sus tierras a los habitantes del pueblo árabe de Al-Mafyar, cerca de Al-Yudayra, apropiándose de ellas para mejor desarrollo de la vecina ciudad judía de Cesárca 3/.

A mediados del año 1978 las autoridades israelíes confiscaron unos 1.300 dunams en los pueblos de Yulis, al-Mukabbar y Yadida en la Galilea Occidental, cerca de Acre 4/.

3/ Al-Hamishmar, 24 de enero de 1978.

4/ Al-Hasmishmar, 25 de enero de 1978-11 de junio de 1978.

En abril de 1978 se confiscaron unos 7.000 dunams de las tierras del pueblo de Bait Yinn 5/, y unos 450 dunams en el pueblo de Kawkab Abu-l-Hiya 6/ en la Galilea Central.

En junio de 1979 se confiscaron 300 dunams de las tierras del pueblo de Ma'liya 7/ en la alta Galilea, estableciendo allí una colonia judía.

Desde el año 1976, y hasta ahora, las autoridades israelíes planean e intentan apoderarse de 2.000 dunams en el pueblo de Al-Rina y de 3.000 dunams en el pueblo de Ayn Mahil, situados al noreste de Nazareth, para utilizarlos para ampliar las tierras comunales de la Nazareth de arriba, que es una ciudad judía 8/.

Durante los últimos años, y especialmente tras la subida al poder del Likud, las autoridades de Israel han promulgado una nueva serie de leyes racistas cuyo objetivo es incomodar a los habitantes árabes y expulsarlos de su país y de sus pueblos. Entre esas leyes se cuentan: la ley Kotchef, del año 1979, que prohíbe a las compañías de agua y electricidad y a los servicios de teléfono y correos, así como a los consejos locales, que presten servicios a las viviendas que consideran ilegales las autoridades de Israel, olvidándose de que sus propietarios se vieron obligados a construirlas a causa del aumento del número de habitantes en los pueblos árabes y de la política de reducción de las alturas permitidas para la construcción en esos pueblos (esta ley abusiva y racista, cuya aplicación se ha decidido con efecto retroactivo, afecta aproximadamente a 20.000 ciudadanos árabes y a 6.000 casas); la ley del "impuesto de mejora" que dispone la imposición de un nuevo tributo a los agricultores árabes para forzarles a abandonar sus tierras, y la ley de "expulsión de los extranjeros de las tierras del Estado", es decir la expulsión de los árabes de sus tierras confiscadas por las autoridades de Israel.

b) Por lo que se refiere a los crímenes de asesinato y demolición de casas, y a los atentados contra los pueblos árabes y otras acciones terroristas cometidas por Israel desde su creación, son más de las que se pueden enumerar en un anexo como éste. Basta con que indiquemos que los archivos de las Naciones Unidas y de las comisiones de armisticio indican que el número de actos de agresión realizados por Israel en el período 1948-1967 excede los 21.000, y por esto nos contentaremos aquí con enumerar algunos de estos sucesos de entre los innumerables ejemplos:

5/ Jerusalem Post, 20 de abril de 1979.

6/ Davar, 29 de abril de 1979.

7/ Ha'aretz, 17 de junio de 1979.

8/ Al-Fayr, 20 de diciembre de 1980.

El 12 de julio de 1948 las fuerzas israelíes hicieron en la ciudad de Lydda, después de su ocupación, una matanza de la que fueron víctimas más de 500 ciudadanos árabes de los que, por lo menos, 150 sufrieron la muerte en la mezquita de la ciudad utilizada como lugar de detención de los prisioneros. El llamado Moshé Gilman, jefe de la brigada Yaftah, dependiente del Palmaj, que ocupó la ciudad, confesó haber cometido la masacre afirmando que el número de muertos fue de 250 personas 9/.

A principios del decenio de los 50 las autoridades sionistas crearon una unidad especial en el ejército israelí llamada la Unidad 101, cuyo objetivo era realizar ataques terroristas contra las ciudades y pueblos de la Ribera Occidental y de la Faja de Gaza. Ariel Sharon, el anterior Ministro de Defensa, era el jefe de esta Unidad que llevó a cabo varios ataques entre los cuales se cuentan:

El ataque al campamento de refugiados de Al-Burayy, en la Faja de Gaza, el 28 de agosto de 1953, en el que resultaron muertos 30 ciudadanos y heridos otros 62.

La noche del 14 al 15 de octubre de 1953 un grupo de la Unidad israelí 101 atacó el pueblo de Qibya en la Ribera Occidental y voló 45 casas. A consecuencia de este ataque resultaron muertos 69 ciudadanos, la mitad de los cuales eran mujeres y niños. El Consejo de Seguridad condenó este crimen israelí en su resolución 101 (1953), de 24 de noviembre de 1953 (véase el anexo III).

El 8 de febrero de 1954, la unidad militar israelí volvió a atacar el campamento de refugiados de Al-Burayy, en la Faja de Gaza, matando a 38 personas e hiriendo a otras 31. El Consejo de Seguridad condenó este acto criminal israelí en su resolución 106 (1954), de 29 de marzo de 1954.

La noche del 28 al 29 de marzo de 1954 el pueblo de Nahhalin en la Ribera Occidental, fue objeto de un ataque israelí en el que resultaron muertas 14 personas y heridos muchos de los habitantes del pueblo.

En febrero de 1955 los alrededores de la ciudad de Gaza fueron objeto de un ataque israelí que causó la muerte o heridas a 55 personas.

En mayo de 1955 algunos grupos de la unidad israelí 101 atacaron los pueblos de Yanin y Qalqilya en la Ribera Occidental y Al Sawna al otro lado del río Jordán.

En la noche del 31 de agosto de 1955 la ciudad de Jan Yunis y el pueblo de Bani Sunayla en la Faja de Gaza fueron objeto de un ataque israelí en que las fuerzas atacantes volaron el edificio de la policía en Jan Yunis. En el suceso resultaron muertas 46 personas y heridas otras 50.

En septiembre de 1955 Qalqilya, en la Ribera Occidental, fue blanco de un segundo ataque que causó muchos daños entre los habitantes.

En los días 4 y 5 de abril de 1956 la ciudad de Gaza fue objeto de un bombardeo israelí con obuses y morteros que causó la muerte o heridas a 56 personas.

En la noche del 10 al 11 de octubre de 1956 la ciudad de Qalqilya en la Ribera Occidental fue blanco de un tercer ataque israelí, y en la misma noche fueron atacados los pueblos de Calzzun, de Al-Nabi Ilyas y de Jan Sufin en la zona de Qalqilya. El ataque causó la demolición de varias casas, la muerte de 48 personas y heridas a otras 31.

El 29 de octubre de 1956, víspera de la agresión tripartita contra Egipto las fuerzas de la guardia fronteriza israelí cometieron la famosa matanza de Kafr Qasem, de la que fueron víctimas 52 personas, la mitad de las cuales eran mujeres y niños (véase el anexo III).

Al ocupar las fuerzas israelíes el campamento de Rafah y la ciudad de Jan Yunis en la Faja de Gaza, durante la agresión tripartita contra Egipto, decenas de civiles fueron asesinados en masa.

El 16 de marzo de 1962 las fuerzas israelíes atacaron el pueblo de Al-Tawafiq al este del lago Tiberíades.

El 27 de mayo de 1965 los israelíes atacaron el Yanin y Qalqilya en la Ribera Occidental y la ciudad de Al-Mansiya en la otra margen del Jordán. El ataque causó la muerte de cuatro personas y heridas a otras siete.

La noche del 28 al 29 de octubre de 1965 las fuerzas israelíes atacaron el pueblo de Mis al-Yabal y el pueblo de Hula al sur del Líbano, matando a una mujer y volando dos casas.

El 14 de julio de 1966 los aviones israelíes bombardearon un pueblo sirio matando a una mujer e hiriendo a otros nueve civiles.

El 13 de noviembre de 1966 las fuerzas israelíes atacaron el pueblo de Al-Samu' en la región de Galilea en la Ribera Occidental, volando y causando daños en 125 edificios, entre ellos una escuela, una clínica y una mezquita, matando a 18 personas y causando heridas a otras 130, todos civiles. El Consejo de Seguridad condenó esta agresión en su resolución 288 (1966), de 25 de diciembre de 1966.

La agresión del 5 de junio de 1967, llevada a cabo por el enemigo israelí causó la muerte de civiles, sin distinción y en masa, y destruyó pueblos enteros, volando casas y bombardeando hospitales y escuelas.

El 12 de junio de 1967 los ocupantes israelíes destruyeron tres pueblos en la zona de Wadi-l-Latrun en la Ribera Occidental y los aniquilaron, expulsando a sus habitantes cuyo número ascendía a más de 10.000.

Las autoridades de ocupación han demolido en la Ribera Occidental y la Faja de Gaza desde el año de 1967 hasta ahora más de 20.000 casas. Estas mismas fuerzas israelíes de ocupación destruyeron la capital del Golán, la ciudad de Quneitra, y todos los pueblos del Golán ocupado (anexo IV).

c) Los enemigos israelíes extendieron su actividad agresora contra los países árabes vecinos después de la agresión del año 1967:

El 7 de marzo de 1968 los israelíes bombardearon los pueblos de Al-Adsiya y Al-Mudriy en Jordania, resultando muertos a consecuencia de ello 11 personas de las que cinco eran niños.

El 21 de marzo de 1968 tropas israelíes de 15.000 hombres reforzados por tanques, carros blindados y aviación atravesaron el río Jordán y atacaron el campamento de refugiados en Al-Karama. Se produjeron grandes daños y pérdidas en la ciudad de Al-Karama y en el campamento; el Consejo de Seguridad condenó en su resolución 248 (1968), de 24 de marzo de 1968, la acción israelí.

El 4 de agosto de 1968 los aviones de guerra israelíes destruyeron la ciudad de Al-Salt y sus alrededores matando a 23 civiles e hiriendo a otros 76; los aviones utilizaron napalm en su bombardeo de la ciudad de Al-Salt y de los pueblos vecinos y asolaron amplias superficies de bosques y cultivos; el Consejo de Seguridad condenó el ataque en su resolución 256 (1968), de 16 de agosto de 1968.

El 28 de diciembre de 1968 tropas israelíes aerotransportadas llevaron a cabo un ataque contra el aeropuerto internacional de Beirut y destruyeron 13 aviones civiles que se encontraban en el aeropuerto. El Consejo de Seguridad condenó este acto de piratería israelí en su resolución 262 (1968) de 31 de diciembre de 1968.

Anexo II

La matanza de Deir Yasin

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 drapenu 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

La matanza de Qibya

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

La matanza de Kafr Qasem

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.'¹⁰ 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.'¹¹ 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.¹²

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.'³⁴ 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

El asesinato del mediador de las Naciones Unidas
para Palestina

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 Lundström, 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'.²⁴

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'.²⁵

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

Anexo IV

Destrucción de la ciudad de Quneitra

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
in 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

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 frigidity 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, bombs 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.

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 “the hospitals in the camps had again been hit. ‘Israeli guns never 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.¹¹⁵ 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 rage" 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

am. 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."¹⁰ "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.¹²

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."¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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."¹³

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?"¹⁴ 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."¹⁵ 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.

¹³ 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."¹³ 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.

Anexo VI

Por lo que se refiere a la similitud que existe entre Israel y Sudáfrica, me permito citar al periodista sionista Jacobo Timerman que publicó un libro titulado:

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

El escritor aconsejó a su hijo que combatió con el ejército israelí en el Líbano y citó:

"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."

El periodista añade:

"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."

Y termina su descripción de Israel diciendo:

"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."
